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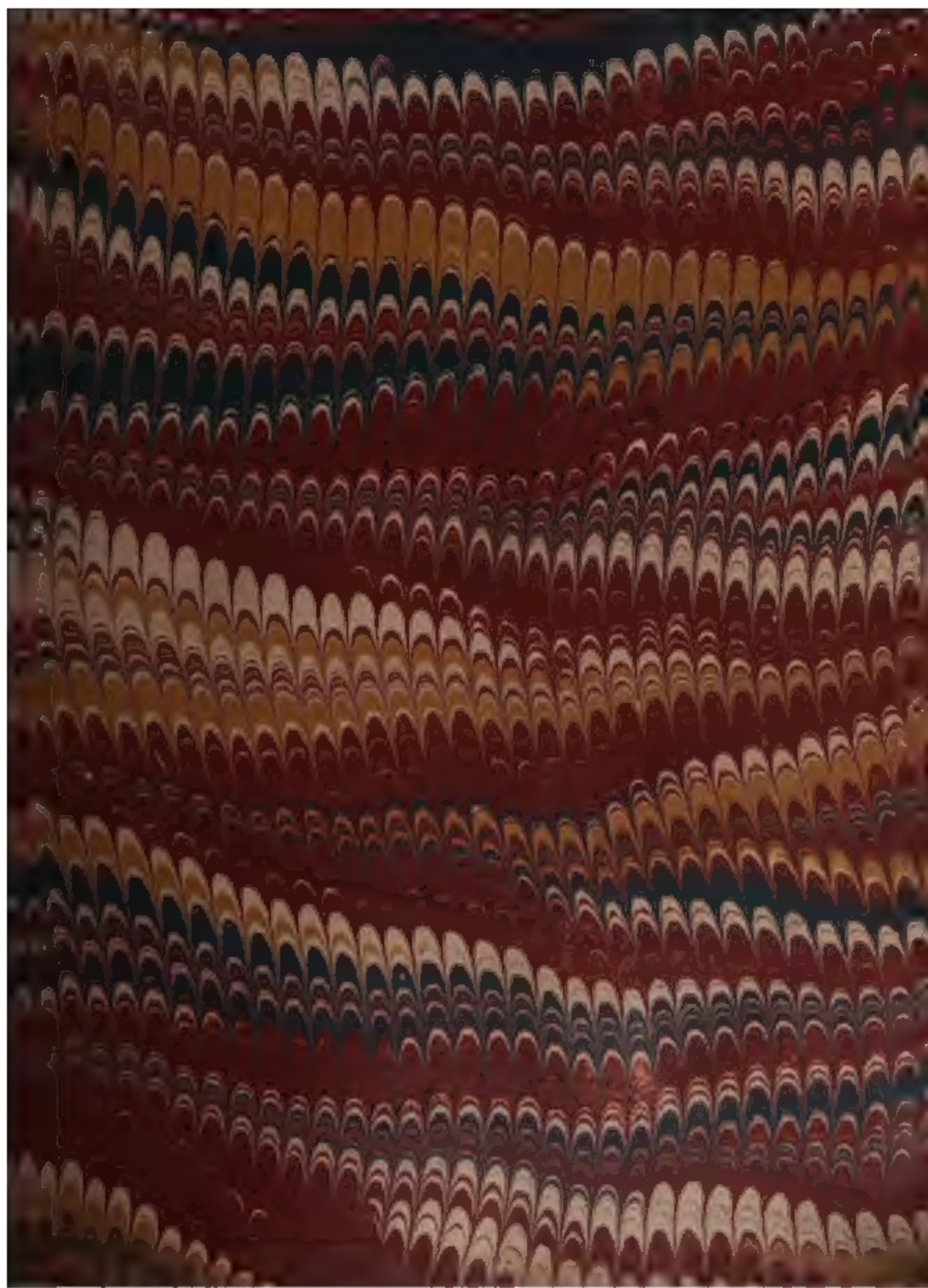
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AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,
ANTIENT AND MODERN,
FROM
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST
TO THE
BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.
VOL. II.

AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,
ANTIENT AND MODERN,

FROM
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST
TO THE
BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY:

IN SIX VOLUMES.

IN WHICH
THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND VARIATIONS OF CHURCH POWER
ARE CONSIDERED
IN THEIR CONNEXION WITH THE STATE OF LEARNING AND PHILOSOPHY,
AND
THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE DURING THAT PERIOD.

BY THE LATE LEARNED
JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D. D.
AND CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN.

TRANSLATED from the ORIGINAL LATIN, and accompanied with **NOTES**
and **CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES,**

BY ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D. D.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
AN ACCURATE INDEX.

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THE
FIFTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External History of the CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

*Concerning the prosperous events that happened
to the church.*

I. **I**N order to arrive at a true knowledge of ^{CENT.}
the causes, to which we are to attribute ^{V.}
the outward state of the church, and the events ^{PART I.}
which happened to it during this century, we ^{The state of}
must keep in view the civil history of this pe- ^{the Roman}
riod of time. It is, therefore, proper to observe, ^{empire.}
that, in the beginning of this century, the Ro-
man empire was divided into two distinct so-
vereignties, of which the one comprehended the
eastern provinces, the other those of the west.
ARCADIUS, the emperor of the east, reigned at
Constantinople ; and HONORIUS, who governed
the western provinces, chose *Ravenna* for the
place of his residence. This latter prince, re-
markable only for the sweetness of his temper,
and the goodness of his heart, neglected the great
affairs of the empire, and, inattentive to the
weighty duties of his station, held the reins of
government with an unsteady hand. The Goths
took advantage of this criminal indolence ; made
incursions into *Italy* ; laid waste its fairest pro-
vinces ;

C E N T. vinces ; and sometimes carried their desolations as
 PART I. ^{V.} far as *Rome*, which they ravaged and plundered
 in the most dreadful manner. These calamities,
 which fell upon the western part of the empire
 from the Gothic depredations, were followed by
 others still more dreadful under the succeeding
 emperors. A fierce and warlike people, issuing
 out of *Germany*, overspread *Italy*, *Gaul*, and
Spain, the noblest of all the European provinces,
 and erected new kingdoms in these fertile coun-
 tries ; and ODOACER, at last, at the head of the
 Heruli, having conquered AUGUSTULUS, in the
 year 476, gave the mortal blow to the western
 empire, and reduced all *Italy* under his domi-
 nion. About sixteen years after this, THEO-
 DORIC, king of the Ostrogoths, made war upon
 these Barbarian invaders, at the request of ZENO,
 emperor of the east, conquered ODOACER in se-
 veral battles, and obtained, as the fruits of his
 victories, a kingdom for the Ostrogoths in *Italy*,
 which subsisted under various turns of fortune
 from the year 493 to 552 [a].

These new monarchs of the west pretended to
 acknowledge the supremacy of the emperors who
 resided at *Constantinople*, and gave some faint ex-
 ternal marks of a disposition to reign in subordi-
 nation to them ; but, in reality, they ruled with
 an absolute independence, in their respective go-
 vernments ; and, as appears particularly by the
 dominion exercised by THEODORIC in *Italy*, left
 nothing remaining to the eastern emperors but a
 mere shadow of power and authority [b].

II. These

[a] See, for a fuller illustration of this branch of history, the
 learned work of DE BOS, intitled, *Histoire Critique de la Mon-
 archie Francoise*, tom. i. p. 258 ; as also MASCOW's *History
 of the Germans*.

[b] CAR. DU FRÉSNE, *Dissert.* xxiii. ad *Histor. Ludovici
 S.* p. 280. MURATORI *Antiq. Ital.* tom. ii. p. 578. 832.

GIANNONE,

II. These constant wars, and the inexpressible C E N T. calamities with which they were attended, were ^{V.} P A R T I. undoubtedly detrimental to the cause and progress of Christianity. It must, however, be acknowledged that the Christian emperors, especially those who ruled in the east, were active and assiduous in extirpating the remains of the ancient superstitions. THEODOSIUS the younger distinguished himself in this pious and noble work, and many remarkable monuments of his zeal in this matter are still preserved [c]; such as the laws which enjoined either the destruction of the heathen temples, or the dedication of them to CHRIST and his saints; the edicts by which he abrogated the sacrilegious rites and ceremonies of Paganism, and removed from all offices and employments in the state such as preserved in their attachment to the absurdities of Polytheism. The farther decline of idolatry.

This spirit of reformation appeared with less vigour in the western empire. There the feasts of Saturn and Pan, the combats of the gladiators, and other rites that were instituted in honour of the Pagan deities, were celebrated with the utmost freedom and impunity; and persons of the highest rank and authority professed publicly the religion of their idolatrous ancestors [d]. This liberty was, however, from time to time, B 2 reduced

GIANNONE *Histoire de Naples*, tom. i. p. 207. JO. COCHLAEI *Vita Theodorici Ostrogothorum regis*, printed in 4to in the year 1699, with the observations and remarks of PERINGSKIOLD.

[c] See the *Theodosian Code*, tom. vi. p. 327.

[d] See the *Saturnalia* of MACROBIUS, lib. i. p. 100. edit. GIRONOV. SCIPIO MAFFEI *delii Anfiteatri*, lib. i. p. 56, 57. PIERRE LE BRUN, *Hist. Critique des pratiques superstitieuses*, tom. i. p. 237. and above all MONTFAUCON, *Diss. de Moribus tempore Theodosi M. et Arcadii*, which is to be found in Latin, in the eleventh volume of the works of St CHRYSOSTOM, and in French, in the twentieth volume of the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, p. 197.

C E N T. reduced within narrower limits; and all those
 V.
 P A R T I. public sports and festivals, that were more pecu-
 liarily incompatible with the genius and sanctity
 of the Christian religion, were every where abo-
 lished [e].

Nations
 converted
 to Christia-
 nity.

III. The limits of the church continued to extend themselves, and gained ground daily upon the idolatrous nations both in the eastern and western empires. In the east, the inhabitants of mount *Libanus* and *Antilibanus* being dreadfully infested with wild beasts, implored the assistance and counsels of the famous SIMEON the Stylite, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. SIMEON gave them for answer, that the only effectual method of removing this calamity was to abandon the superstitious worship of their ancestors, and substitute the Christian religion in its place. The docility of this people, joined to the extremities to which they were reduced, engaged them to follow the counsels of this holy man. They embraced Christianity, and, in consequence of their conversion, they had the pleasure of seeing their savage enemies abandon their habitations; if we may believe the writers who affirm the truth of this prodigy. The same SIMEON, by his influence and authority, introduced the Christian worship into a certain district of the Arabians; some allege, that this also was effected by a miracle, which to me appears somewhat more than doubtful [f]. To these instances of the progress of the gospel, we may add the conversion of a considerable number of Jews in the isle of *Crete*, who, finding themselves grossly deluded by the impious pretensions of an impostor,
 called

[e] ANASTASIUS prohibited, towards the conclusion of this century, the combats with the wild beasts, and other shews. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 246.

[f] ASSEMANI *Bibl. Orient. Vat.* tom. i. p. 246.

called MOSES CRETENSIS [*g*], who gave himself out for the MESSIAH, opened their eyes upon the truth, and embraced the Christian religion of their own accord [*b*].

IV. The German nations, who rent in pieces the Roman empire in the west, were not all converted to Christianity at the same time. Some of them had embraced the truth before the time of their incursion; and such, among others, was the case of the Goths. Others, after having erected their little kingdoms in the empire, embraced the gospel, that they might thus live with more security amidst a people, who, in general, professed the Christian religion. It is, however, uncertain (and likely to continue so) at what time, and by whose ministry the Vandals, Sueves, and Alans were converted to Christianity. With respect to the Burgundians, who inhabited the banks of the *Rhine*, and who passed from thence into *Gaul*, we are informed, by SOCRATES [*i*], that they embraced the gospel of their own accord, from a notion that CHRIST, or the God of the Romans, who had been represented to them as a most powerful being, would defend them against

B 3

the

✠ [*g*] We shall give the relation of SOCRATES, concerning this impostor, in the words of the learned and estimable author of the *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*. “ In the time
“ of THEODOSIUS the younger, an impostor arose, called MO-
“ SES CRETENSIS. He pretended to be a second MOSES, sent
“ to deliver the Jews who dwelt in *Crete*, and promised to
“ divide the sea, and give them a safe passage through it.
“ They assembled together, with their wives and children, and
“ followed him to a promontory. He there commanded them
“ to cast themselves into the sea. Many of them obeyed, and
“ perished in the waters, and many were taken up and saved by
“ fishermen. Upon this, the deluded Jews would have torn
“ the impostor to pieces, but he escaped them, and was seen no
“ more.” See JORTIN’s *Remarks*, &c. first edit. vol. iii. p. 331.

[*b*] SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xxxviii. p. 383.

[*i*] Idem. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xxx. p. 371.

C E N T. the rapines and incursions of the Huns. They
PART ^{V.} afterwards sided with the Arian party, to which
 also the Vandals, Sueves, and Goths were zeal-
 ously attached. All these fierce and warlike na-
 tions judged a religion excellent, in proportion
 to the success which crowned the arms of those
 that professed it, and esteemed, consequently,
 that doctrine the best, whose professors had gained
 the greatest number of victories. When there-
 fore they saw the Romans possessed of an empire
 much more extensive than that of any other
 people, they concluded that CHRIST, their God,
 was of all others the most worthy of religious
 homage.

Of the
Franks.

V. It was the same principle and the same
 views that engaged CLOVIS [*k*] king of the *Salii*,
 a nation of the Franks, to embrace Christianity.
 This prince, whose signal valour was accompa-
 nied with barbarity, arrogance, and injustice,
 founded the kingdom of the Franks, in *Gaul*, after
 having made himself master of a great part of that
 country, and meditated with a singular eagerness
 and avidity the conquest of the whole. His con-
 version to the Christian religion, is dated from the
 battle he fought with the Alemans, in the year
 496, at a village called *Tolbeacum* [*l*]; in which,
 when the Franks began to give ground, and their
 affairs seemed desperate, he implored the assistance
 of CHRIST (whom his queen CLOTHILDIS, daugh-
 ter of the king of the Burgundians, had often re-
 presented to him, in vain, as the *Son* of the *true*
God), and solemnly engaged himself, by a vow,
 to worship him as his God, if he rendered him
 victorious over his enemies. Victory decided in
 favour

[*k*] Besides the name of CLOVIS, this prince was also
 called CLODOVÆUS, HLUDOVICUS, LUDOVICUS, and LU-
 DICIN.

[*l*] *Tolbiacum* is thought to be the present *Zulpick*,
 which is about twelve miles from *Colegn*.

favour of the Franks ; and CLOVIS, faithful to his C E N T.
 engagement, received baptism at *Rheims* [*m*], to-^{V.}_{P A R T I.}
 wards the conclusion of that same year, after ha-
 ving been instructed by REMIGIUS, bishop of that
 city, in the doctrines of the gospel [*n*]. The ex-
 ample of the king had such a powerful effect upon
 the minds of his subjects, that three thousand of
 them immediately followed it, and were baptiz-
 ed with them. Many are of opinion, that the
 desire of extending his dominion was that which
 contributed principally to render CLOVIS faithful
 to his engagement ; though some influence may
 also be allowed to the zeal and exhortations of his
 queen CLOTHILDIS. Be that as it will, nothing is
 more certain than that his profession of Christianity
 was, in effect of great use to him, both in con-
 firming and enlarging his empire.

The miracles, which are said to have been
 wrought at the baptism of CLOVIS, are utterly un-
 worthy of the smallest degree of credit. Among
 others the principal prodigy, that of the phial
 full of oil said to be brought from heaven by a
 milk white dove, during the ceremony of bap-
 tism, is a fiction, or rather, perhaps, an impos-
 ture ; a pretended miracle contrived by artifice
 and fraud [*o*]. Pious frauds of this nature were
 very commonly practised in *Gaul* and in *Spain*
 at

✠ [*m*] See GREGORY of *Tours*, *Historia Francorum*, lib.
 ii. cap. xxx, xxxi. HENRY Count BUNAU's *Historia Imperii*
Romano-Germanici, tom. i. p. 588. DE BOS's *Histoire Criti-*
que de la Monarchie Francoise, tom. ii. p. 340.

✠ [*n*] The epitomiser of the history of the Franks tells us,
 that REMIGIUS having preached to CLOVIS, and those who had
 been baptized with him, a sermon on the passion of our Saviour ;
 the king in hearing him, could not forbear crying out, " If I
 " had been there with my Franks, that should not have hap-
 " pened."

[*o*] The truth of this miracle has been denied by the
 learned JOHN JAMES CHIFLET, in his book *De ampulla Rhe-*
mensi, printed in folio at *Antwerp*, in the year 1651 ; and it

C E N T. at this time, in order to captivate, with more
 P A R T I. ^{V.} facility, the minds of a rude and barbarous people, who were scarcely susceptible of a rational conviction.

The conversion of CLOVIS is looked upon by the learned as the origin of the titles of *Most Christian king*, and *Eldest son of the church*, which have been so long attributed to the kings of *France* [p]. For, if we except this prince, all the kings of those barbarous nations, who seized upon the Roman provinces, were either yet involved in the darkness of paganism, or infected with the Arian heresy.

Of the Irish.

VI. CELESTINE, the Roman pontif, sent PAL-LADIUS into *Ireland*, to propagate the Christian religion among the rude inhabitants of that island.

This

has been affirmed by VERTOT, in the *Memoires de l'Academie des inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. iv. p. 350. After a mature consideration of what has been alleged on both sides of the question, I can scarcely venture to deny the fact: I am therefore of opinion, that, in order to confirm and fix the wavering faith of this barbarian prince, REMIGIUS had prepared his measures before hand, and trained a pigeon by vast application and dexterity in such a manner, that, during the baptism of CLOVIS, it descended from the roof of the church with a phial of oil. Among the records of this century, we find accounts of many such miracles. ¶ There is one circumstance, which obliges me to differ from Dr MOSHEIM upon this point, and to look upon the story of the famous phial rather as a *mere fiction*, than as a *pious fraud*, or pretended miracle brought about by artifice; and that circumstance is, that GREGORY of *Tours*, from whom we have a full account of the conversion and baptism of CLOVIS, and who from his proximity to this time, may almost be called a contemporary writer, has not made the least mention of this famous miracle. This omission, in a writer whom the Roman catholics themselves consider as an over-credulous historian, amounts to a proof, that, in his time, this fable was not yet invented.

[p] See GAB. DANIEL et DE CAMPS, *Dissert. de titulo Regis Christianissimi*, *Journal des Scavans*, for the year 1720. p. 243. 336. 404. 448. *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. xx. p. 466.

This first mission [q] was not attended with much C E N T. fruits; nor did the success of PALLADIUS bear P A R T I. any proportion to his laborious and pious endeavours. After his death, the same pontif employed, in this mission, SUCCATHUS, a native of *Scotland*, whose name he changed into that of PATRICK, and who arrived among the Irish in the year 432. The success of his ministry, and the number and importance of his pious exploits, stand upon record as undoubted proofs, not only of his resolution and patience, but also of his dexterity and address. Having attacked, with much more success than his predecessor, the errors and superstitions of that uncivilized people, and brought great numbers of them over to the Christian religion, he founded, in the year 472, the archbishoprick of *Armagh* [r], which has ever since remained the metropolitan see of the Irish nation. Hence this famous missionary, though not the first who brought among that people the light of the gospel, has yet been justly intitled, *The apostle of the Irish*, and the father of the Hibernian church;

[q] From the fragments of the lives of some Irish bishops, who are said to have converted many of their countrymen in the fourth century, archbishop USHER concludes, that PALLADIUS was not the first bishop of Ireland, (see his *Antiquities of the British Church*). But it has been evidently proved, among others by BOLLANDUS, that these fragments are of no earlier date than the twelfth century, and are, besides, the most of them fabulous. Dr MOSHEIM's opinion is further confirmed by the authority of PROSPER, which is decisive in this matter.

[r] See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Martii, p. 517. tom. iii. Februar. p. 131. 179. JAC. WARAEI *Hibernia Sacra*, printed in folio at *Dublin*, 1717. This latter published at *London*, in 1656, in 8vo. *the Works of St PATRICK*. The synods, that were held by this eminent missionary, are to be found in WILKIN's *Concilia Magnæ Brit. et Hiberniæ*, tom. i. p. 2. With respect to the famous cave, which is called, the *Purgatory of St PATRICK*, the reader may consult LE BRUN, *Histoire Critique des pratiques superstitieuses*, tom. iv. p. 34.

C E N T. church ; and is still generally acknowledged and
 V.
 P A R T I. revered in that honourable character.

The causes
 of these
 conversions.

VII. The causes and circumstances by which these different nations were engaged to abandon the superstition of their ancestors, and to embrace the religion of Jesus, may be easily deduced from the facts we have related in the history of their conversion. It would, indeed, be an instance of the blindest and most perverse partiality, not to acknowledge, that the labours and zeal of great and eminent men contributed to this happy purpose, and were the means by which the darkness of many was turned into light. But, on the other hand, they must be very inattentive and superficial observers of things, who do not perceive that the fear of punishment, the prospect of honours and advantages, and the desire of obtaining succour against their enemies from the countenance of the Christians, or the miraculous influences of their religion, were the prevailing motives that induced the greatest part to renounce the service of their impotent gods.

How far these conversions were due to real miracles attending the ministry of these early preachers, is a matter extremely difficult to be determined. For though I am persuaded that those pious men, who, in the midst of many dangers, and in the face of obstacles seemingly invincible, endeavoured to spread the light of Christianity through the barbarous nations, were sometimes accompanied with the more peculiar presence and succours of the Most High [s] ; yet I am equally convinced, that the greatest part of the

[s] There is a remarkable passage, relating, to the miracles of this century, in ÆNEAS GAZEUS's *Dialogue concerning the Immortality of the soul*, &c. intitled, *Theophrastus*, p. 78, 80, 81. edit. Barthii. See the controversy concerning the time when miracles ceased in the church, that was carried on some years ago, on occasion of Dr MIDDLETON's *Free Inquiry*, &c.

the prodigies, recorded in the histories of this age, C E N T. V. P A R T I. are liable to the strongest suspicions of falsehood or imposture. The simplicity and ignorance of the generality in those times furnished the most favourable occasion for the exercise of fraud; and the impudence of impostors, in contriving false miracles, was artfully proportioned to the credulity of the vulgar [t]; while the sagacious and the wise, who perceived these cheats, were obliged to silence by the dangers that threatened their lives and fortunes, if they detected the artifice [u]. Thus does it generally happen in human life, that, when the discovery and profession of the truth is attended with danger, the prudent are *silent*, the multitude *believe*, and impostors *triumph*.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Calamitous Events which happened to the church during this century.

I. **I**T has been already observed, that the Goths, The Christians suffer in the Roman empire. the Heruli, the Franks, the Huns, and the Vandals, with other fierce and warlike nations, for the most part strangers to Christianity, had invaded the Roman empire, and rent it assunder in the most deplorable manner. Amidst these calamities, the Christians were grievous, nay, we may venture to say, the principal sufferers. It is true, these savage nations were much more intent upon the acquisition of wealth and dominion, than

[t] This is ingenuously confessed by the Benedictine monks, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 33. and happily expressed by LIVY, *Hist. lib. xxiv. cap. x. sect. 6. Prodigia multa nuntiata sunt, quæ quo magis credebant simplices et religiosi homines, eo plura nuntiabantur.*

[u] SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Dial. i. p. 438. Ep. i. p. 457. Dial. iii. cap. ii. p. 487.*

C. E. N. T. V. PART I. than upon the propagation or support of the Pagan superstitions; nor did their cruelty and opposition to the Christians arise from any religious principle, or from an enthusiastic desire to ruin the cause of Christianity; it was merely by the instigation of the Pagans, who remained yet in the empire, that they were excited to treat with such severity and violence the followers of CHRIST. The painful consideration of their abrogated rites, and the hopes of recovering their former liberty and privileges by the means of their new masters, induced the worshippers of the gods to seize with avidity every opportunity of inspiring them with the most bitter aversion to the Christians. Their endeavours, however, were without the desired effect, and their expectations were entirely disappointed. The greatest part of these barbarians embraced Christianity; though it be also true, that, in the beginning of their usurpations, the professors of that religion suffered heavily under the rigour of their government.

The attempts of the Pagans to destroy their credit.

II. To destroy the credit of the gospel, and to excite the hatred of the multitude against the Christians, the Pagans took occasion, from the calamities and tumults which distracted the empire, to renew the obsolete complaint of their ancestors against Christianity, as the source of these complicated woes. They alleged, that before the coming of CHRIST, the world was blessed with peace and prosperity; but that, since the progress of his religion every where, the gods, filled with indignation to see their worship neglected and their altars abandoned, had visited the earth with those plagues and desolations, which increased every day. This feeble objection was entirely removed by AUGUSTIN, in his book *Concerning the city of God*; a work extremely rich and ample in point of matter, and filled with the most profound and diversified erudition. It also drew a com-

a complete confutation from the learned pen of C. E. N. T. OROSIUS, who, in a history written expressly for ^{V.} PART I. that purpose, shewed, with the utmost evidence, that not only the same calamities now complained of, but also plagues of a much more dreadful kind, had afflicted mankind before the Christian religion appeared in the world.

The calamities of the times produced still more pernicious effects upon the religious sentiments of the Gauls. They introduced among that people the most desperate notions, and led many of them to reject the belief of a superintending providence, and to exclude the deity from the government of the universe. Against these frenetic infidels, SALVIAN wrote his book *Concerning the divine government*.

III. Hitherto we have given only a general view of the sufferings of the Christians; it is however proper, that we enter into a more distinct and particular account of that matter. The persecutions they suffered.

In *Gaul*, and the neighbouring provinces, the Goths and Vandals, whose cruel and sacrilegious soldiery respected neither the majesty of religion nor the rights of humanity, committed acts of barbarity and violence against a multitude of Christians.

In *Britain*, a long series of tumults and divisions involved the Christians in many troubles. When the affairs of the Romans declined in that country, the Britons were tormented by the Picts and Scots, nations remarkable for their violence and ferocity. Hence, after many sufferings and disasters, they chose in the year 445, VORTIGERN for their king. This prince, finding himself too weak to make head against the enemies of his country, called the Anglo-Saxons from *Germany* to his aid in the year 449. The consequences of this measure were pernicious; and it soon appeared that this people, who came as auxiliaries

C E N T. liaries into *Britain*, oppressed it with calamities
 P A R T. I. ^{IV.} more grievous than those which it had suffered
 from its enemies: For the Saxons aimed at nothing
 less than to subdue the ancient inhabitants of the
 country, and to reduce the whole island under
 their dominion: Hence a most bloody and ob-
 stinate war arose between the Britons and Saxons,
 which, after having been carried on, during the
 space of an hundred and thirty years, with various
 success, ended in the defeat of the Britons, who
 were forced to yield to the Anglo-Saxons, and to
 seek a retreat in *Batavia* and *Cambria*. During
 these commotions, the state of the British church
 was deplorable beyond expression; it was almost
 totally overwhelmed and extinguished by the An-
 glo-Saxons, who adhered to the worship of the
 gods, and put an immense number of Christians
 to the most cruel deaths [w]:

In Persia.

IV. In *Persia*, the Christians suffered grievously
 by the imprudent zeal of ABDAS, bishop of *Suza*,
 who pulled down the *Pyræum*, which was a tem-
 ple dedicated to *fire*. For when this obstinate
 prelate was ordered by the king (ISDEGERDES) to
 rebuild that temple, he refused to comply; for
 which he was put to death in the year 414, and
 the churches of the Christians were levelled to the
 ground. This persecution was not however of
 long duration, but seems to have been extinguish-
 ed soon after its commencement.

VARARENES, the son of the monarch already
 mentioned, treated the Christians in a manner yet
 more barbarous and inhuman in the year 421, to
 which he was led partly by the instigation of the
 Magi, and partly by his keen aversion to the Ro-
 mans, with whom he was at war. For as often

as

[w] See, besides BEDE and GILDA, JAC. USSER. *Antiqui-
 tat. Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*, cap. xii. p. 415. RAPIN THOYRAS,
Histoire d' Angleterre, tom. i. livr. ii. p. 91.

as the Persians and the Romans were at variance, CENT.
 so often did the Christians, who dwelt in *Persia*, V.
PART II.
 feel new and redoubled effects of their monarch's
 wrath; and this from a prevailing notion, not
 perhaps entirely groundless, that they favoured
 the Romans, and rendered real services to their
 republic [x]. In this persecution, a prodigious
 number of Christians perished in the most exquisite
 tortures, and by various kinds of punishments [y].
 But they were, at length, delivered
 from these cruel oppressions by the peace that
 was made in the year 427, between VARARENES
 and the Roman empire [z].

It was not from the Pagans only that the Christians were exposed to suffering and persecution; they were moreover harassed and oppressed in a variety of ways by the Jews, who lived in great opulence, and enjoyed a high degree of favour and credit in several parts of the east [a]. Among these, none treated them with greater rigour and arrogance than GAMALIEL, the patriarch of that nation, a man of the greatest power and influence, whose authority and violence were, on that account, restrained, in the year 415, by an express and particular edict of THEODOSIUS the younger [b].

V. It does not appear, from any records of Christianity
opposed by
secret ene-
mies.
 history now remaining, that any writings against
 CHRIST and his followers were published in this
 century, unless we consider as such the histories
 of OLYMPIODORUS [c] and ZOSIMUS, of whom
 the

[x] THEODORET. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. xxix. p. 245.
 BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article ABDAS. BARBEYRAC, *De la Morale des Peres*, p. 320.

[y] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 182. 248.

[z] SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xx. p. 358.

[a] SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xiii. p. 349. cap. xvi. p. 353. *Codex Theodos.* tom. vi. p. 265.

[b] *Codex Theodos.* tom. vi. p. 262.

[c] PHOTIUS, *Biblioth. Cod.* lxxx. p. 178.

C E N T. the latter loses no opportunity of reviling the
PART I. ^{V.} Christians, and loading them with the most unjust
 and bitter reproaches. But though the number
 of books written against Christianity was so small,
 yet we are not to suppose that its adversaries had
 laid aside the spirit of opposition. The schools
 of the philosophers and rhetoricians were yet open
 in *Greece, Syria, and Egypt*; and there is no
 doubt but that these subtle teachers laboured assi-
 duously to corrupt the minds of the youth, and
 to instil into them, at least, some of the principles
 of the ancient superstition [*d*]. The history of
 these times, and the writings of several Christians
 who lived in this century, exhibit evident proofs
 of these clandestine methods of opposing the pro-
 gress of the gospel.

[*d*] ZACHARIAS MITYLEN, *De opificio Dei*, p. 165. 200.
 edit. Barthii.

PART

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P T E R I.

Concerning the state of learning and philosophy.

I. **T**HOUGH, in this century, the illiterate C E N T. IV. and ignorant were advanced to eminent P A R T II. and important stations, both ecclesiastical and The state of letters among the Christians. civil, yet we must not conclude from thence, that the sciences were held in universal contempt. The value of learning, and the excellence of the *finer arts* were yet generally acknowledged among the thinking part of mankind. Hence public schools were erected in almost all the great cities, such as *Constantinople, Rome, Marseilles, Edessa, Nisibis, Carthage, Lyons, and Treves*; and public instructors of capacity and genius were set apart for the education of the youth, and maintained at the expence of the emperors. Several bishops and monks contributed also to the advancement of knowledge, by imparting to others their small stock of learning and science. But the infelicity of the times, the incursions of the barbarous nations, and the scarcity of great geniuses, rendered the fruits of these excellent establishments much less than their generous founders and promoters expected.

II. In the western provinces, and especially in *Gaul*, there were indeed some men eminently distinguished by their learning and talents, and every way proper to serve as models to the lower orders in the republic of letters. Of this we have abundant proof from the writings of *MACROBIUS*, In the west.
 Vol. II. C SALVIAN,

CENT. V. PART II. SALVIAN, VINCENTIUS, bishop of *Liris*, ENNO-
DIUS, SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, CLAUDIAN, MA-
MERTUS, DRACONTIUS, and others, who, though
in some respects inferior to the more celebrated
authors of antiquity, are yet far from being desti-
tute of elegance, and discover in their produc-
tions a most laborious application to literary re-
searches of various kinds. But the barbarous na-
tions, which either spread desolation, or formed
settlements in the Roman territories, choked the
growth of those genial seeds, which the hand of
science had sowed in more auspicious times.
These savage invaders, possessed of no other am-
bition than that of conquest, and looking upon
military courage as the only source of true vir-
tue and solid glory, beheld, of consequence, the
arts and sciences with the utmost contempt.
Wherever therefore they extended their conquests,
ignorance and darkness followed their steps, and
the culture of the sciences was confined to the
priests and monks alone. And even among these,
learning degenerated from its primitive lustre,
and put on the most unseemly and fantastic
form. Amidst the seduction of corrupt exam-
ples, the alarms of perpetual danger, and the
horrors and devastations of war, the Sacerdotal
and Monastic orders lost gradually all taste for
solid science, in the place of which they substi-
tuted a lifeless spectre, an enormous phantom of
barbarous erudition. They indeed kept public
schools, and instructed the youth in what they
called, the *Seven liberal arts* [d]; but these, as we
learn from AUGUSTIN'S account of them, con-
sisted only of a certain number of dry, subtile,
and useless precepts; and were consequently more
adapted to load and perplex the memory, than to
improve

[d] The *seven liberal arts* were *grammar, rhetoric, lo-
gic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy*, see Cent. VIII.
Part II. Ch. II. in this volume.

improve and strengthen the judgment. So that, ^{C E N T.} towards the conclusion of this century, the sciences ^{V.} were almost totally extinguished; at least, what ^{P A R T II.} remained of them was no more than a shadowy form, without either solidity or consistence.

III. The few that applied themselves to the study of philosophy in this age, had not, as yet, ^{The state of philosophy in the west,} embraced the doctrine or method of ARISTOTLE. They looked upon the system of this eminent philosopher, as a labyrinth beset with thorns and thistles [*e*]; and yet, had they been able to read and understand his works, it is probable, that many of them would have become his followers. The doctrine of PLATO had a more established reputation, which it had enjoyed for several ages, and was considered, not only as less subtile and difficult than that of the Stagirite, but also as more conformable to the genius and spirit of the Christian religion. Besides, the most valuable of PLATO's works were translated into Latin by VICTORINUS, and were thus adapted to general use [*f*]. And SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS [*g*] informs us, that all those, among the Latins, who had any inclination to the study of truth, fell into the Platonic notions, and followed that sage as their philosophical guide.

IV. The fate of learning was less deplorable ^{In the east,} among the Greeks and Orientals, than in the western provinces; and not only the several branches of polite literature, but also the more solid and profound sciences, were cultivated by them with tolerable success. Hence we find among them more writers of genius and learning than in other countries.

C 2

[*e*] The passages of different writers, that prove what is here advanced, are collected by LAUNOIUS, in his book, *De varia Aristotelis fortuna in Academia Parisiensi*.

[*f*] See AUGUSTINI *Confessionum*, lib. i. cap. ii. sect. i. p. 105, 106. tom. i. opp.

[*g*] See his *Epistles*, book iv. ep. iii. xi. book ix. ep. ix.

C E N T. countries. Those, who inclined to the study of
 V.
 P A R T II. law, resorted generally to *Berytus*, famous for its
 learned academy [b], or to *Alexandria* [i], which
 latter city was frequented by the students of phy-
 sic and chemistry. The professors of eloquence,
 poetry, philosophy, and the other liberal arts,
 taught the youth in public schools, which were
 erected in almost every city. Those however of
Alexandria, *Constantinople*, and *Edessa*, were look-
 ed upon as superior to all others, both in point of
 erudition and method [k].

Modern
 Platonics.

V. The doctrine and sect of the modern Pla-
 tonics retained as yet, among the Syrians and
 Alexandrians, a considerable part of their ancient
 splendor. OLYMPIODORUS, HERO [l], and other
 philosophers of the first rank, added a lustre to
 the Alexandrian school. That of *Athens* was
 rendered famous by the talents and erudition
 of THEOPHRASTUS, PLUTARCH, and his successor
 SYRIAN. These were the instructors of the re-
 nowned PROCLUS, who far surpassed the Platonic
 philosophers of this century, and acquired such a
 high degree of the public esteem, as enabled him
 to give new life to the doctrine of PLATO, and
 restore it to its former credit in *Greece* [m]. MA-
 RINUS of *Neapolis*, AMMONIUS the son of HER-
 MIAS, ISIDORUS and DAMASCIUS, the disciples of
 PROCLUS, followed, with an ardent emulation,
 the traces of their master, and formed successors
 that resembled them in all respects. But the im-
 perial laws, and the daily progress of the Chris-
 tian

[b] See HASÆI *Lib. de Academia Jureconsultorum Beryten-
 si*; as also MITYLENÆUS, *De opificio Dei*, p. 164.

[i] ZACH. MITYLENÆUS, *De opificio Dei*, p. 179.

[k] ÆNEAS GAZÆUS in *Theophrasto*, p. 6, 7, 16, &c.

[l] MARINUS, *vita Procli*, cap. ix. p. 19. edit. Fabricii.

[m] The life of PROCLUS, written by MARINUS, was publish-
 ed in 4to at *Hamburg*, in the year 1700, by JOHN ALBERT
 FABRICIUS, and was enriched by this famous editor, with a
 great number of learned observations.

tian religion, gradually diminished the lustre and authority of these philosophers [n]. And as there were many of the Christian doctors who adopted the Platonic system, and were sufficiently qualified to explain it to the youth, this hindered, naturally, the schools of these heathen sages from being so much frequented as they had formerly been.

VI. The credit of the Platonic philosophy, and the preference that was given to it, as more excellent in itself, and less repugnant to the genius of the gospel than other systems, did not prevent the doctrine of ARISTOTLE from coming to light after a long struggle, and forcing his way into the Christian church. The Platonics themselves interpreted, in their schools, some of the writings of ARISTOTLE, particularly his Dialectics, and recommended that work to such of the youth as had a taste for logical discussions, and were fond of disputing. In this, the Christian doctors imitated the manner of the heathen schools; and this was the first step to that universal dominion, which the Stagirite afterward obtained in the republic of letters. A second, and a yet larger stride which the Aristotelian philosophy made towards this universal empire, was, during the controversies which ORIGEN had occasioned, and the Arian, Eutychian, Nestorian, and Pelagian dissensions, which, in this century, were so fruitful of calamities to the Christian church. ORIGEN, as is well known, was zealously attached to the Platonic system: When therefore he was publicly condemned, many, to avoid the imputation of his errors, and to prevent their being counted among the number of his followers, adopted openly the philosophy of ARISTOTLE, which was

The philosophy of Aristotle rises into credit.

C 3

entirely

[n] See ÆNEAS GAZÆUS in *Theophrasto*, p. 6, 7, 8, 13. c. di Barthii.

C E N T. entirely different from that of ORIGEN. The
 P A R T II. ^{V.} Nestorian, Arian, and Eutychian controversies
 were managed, or rather drawn out, on both sides,
 by a perpetual recourse to subtle distinctions, and
 captious sophisms. And no philosophy was so
 proper to furnish such weapons, as that of ARI-
 STOTLE; for that of PLATO was far from being
 adapted to form the mind to the Polemic arts.
 Besides, the Pelagian doctrine bore a striking re-
 semblance of the Platonick opinions concerning
 God and the human soul; and this was an addi-
 tional reason which engaged many to desert the
 Platonists, and to assume, at least, the name of
 Peripatetics.

C H A P. II.

*Concerning the doctors and ministers of the Christian
 church, and its form of government.*

The exter-
 nal form of
 church go-
 vernment
 somewhat
 changed.

I. **S** EVERAL causes contributed to bring about
 a change in the external form of ecclesias-
 tical government. The power of the bishops, par-
 ticularly those of the first order, was sometimes
 augmented, and sometimes diminished, according
 as the times and the occasions offered; and in all
 these changes the intrigues of the court and the
 political state of the empire had much more in-
 fluence, than the rules of equity and wisdom.

These alterations were, indeed, matters of small
 moment. But an affair of much greater conse-
 quence drew now the general attention, and this
 was the vast augmentation of honours and rank
 that was at this time accumulated upon the bi-
 shops of *Constantinople*, in opposition to the most
 vigorous efforts of the Roman pontif. In the
 preceding century, the council of *Constantinople*
 had, on account of the dignity and privileges of
 that

that imperial city, conferred upon its bishops a O E N T.
 place among the first rulers of the Christian church. P A R T II.
 This new dignity adding fuel to their ambition, they extended their views of authority and dominion, and encouraged, no doubt, by the consent of the emperor, reduced the provinces of *Asia*, *Thrace*, and *Pontus* under their ghostly jurisdiction. In this century, they grasped at still further accessions of power; so that not only the whole eastern part of *Illyricum* was added to their former acquisitions, but they were also exalted to the highest summit of ecclesiastical authority. For, by the 28th *Canon* of the council held at *Chalcedon* in the year 451, it was resolved, that the same rights and honours, which had been conferred upon the bishop of *Rome*, were due to the bishop of *Constantinople*, on account of the equal dignity and lustre of the two cities, in which these prelates exercised their authority. The same council confirmed also, by a solemn act, the bishop of *Constantinople* in the spiritual government of those provinces over which he had ambitiously usurped the jurisdiction. LEO the GREAT, bishop of *Rome*, opposed, with vehemence, the passing of these decrees, and his opposition was seconded by that of several other prelates. But their efforts were vain, as the emperors threw in their weight into the balance, and thus supported the decisions of the Grecian bishops [o]. In consequence then of the decrees of this famous council, the bishop of *Constantinople* began to contend obstinately for the supremacy with the Roman pontif, and to crush the bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, so as to make them feel the oppressive effects of his pretended superiority. And none distinguished himself more by his ambition and arrogance in this matter,

[o] LE QUIEN, *Oriens Christ.* tom. i. p. 36.

C E N T. matter, than ACACIUS, one of the bishops of that
 P A R T II. imperial city [p].

The ambi-
 tion of
 Juvenal

II. It was much about this time that JUVENAL, bishop of *Jerusalem*, or rather of *Ælia*, attempted to withdraw himself and his church from the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Cæsarea*, and aspired after a place among the first prelates of the Christian world. The high degree of veneration and esteem, in which the church of *Jerusalem* was held among all other Christian societies (on account of its rank among the apostolical churches, and its title to the appellation of *mother-church*, as having succeeded the first Christian assembly founded by the apostles), was extremely favourable to the ambition of JUVENAL, and rendered his project much more practicable, than it would otherwise have been. Encouraged by this, and animated by the favour and protection of THEODOSIUS the younger, the aspiring prelate not only assumed the dignity of patriarch of all *Palestine* [q], a rank that rendered him supreme and independent of all spiritual authority, but also invaded the rights of the bishop of *Antioch*, and usurped his jurisdiction over the provinces of *Phœnicia* and *Arabia*. Hence there arose a warm contest between JUVENAL and MAXIMUS, bishop of *Antioch*, which

[p] See BAYLE's *Dictionary* in English, at the article ACA-
 CIUS.

[q] By *All Palestine*, the reader is desired to understand three distinct provinces, of which each bore the name of *Palestine*, and accordingly the original is thus expressed, *Trium Palæstinarum Episcopum seu Patriarcham*. After the destruction of *Jerusalem*, the face of *Palestine* was almost totally changed; and it was so parcelled out and wasted by a succession of wars and invasions, that it preserved scarcely any trace of its former condition. Under the Christian emperors there were *Three Palestines* formed out of the ancient country of that name, each of which was an episcopal see. And it was of these three dioceses that JUVENAL usurped and maintained the jurisdiction. See for a further account of the *three Palestines*, SPANHEMII *Geographia Sacra*, opp. tom. i. p. 79.

which the council of *Chalcedon* decided, by restoring to the latter the provinces of *Phœnicia* and *Arabia*, and confirming the former in the spiritual possession of all *Palestine* [r], and in the high rank which he had assumed in the church [s]. By this means, there were created, in this century, five superior rulers of the church, who were distinguished from the rest, by the title of Patriarchs [t]. The oriental historians mention a sixth, viz. The bishop of *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, to whom, according to their account, the bishop of *Antioch* voluntarily ceded a part of his jurisdiction [u]. But this addition to the number of the patriarchs is unworthy of credit, as the only proof of it is drawn from the Arabic *laws* of the council of *Nice*, which are notoriously destitute of all authority.

III. The patriarchs were distinguished by considerable and extensive rights and privileges, that were annexed to their high station. They alone consecrated the bishops, who lived in the provinces that belonged to their jurisdiction. They assembled yearly in council the clergy of their respective districts, in order to regulate the affairs of the church. The cognizance of all important causes, and the determination of the more weighty controversies, were referred to the patriarch of the province where they arose. They also pronounced a decisive judgment in those cases, where accusations were brought against bishops. And, lastly,

The rights
and privileges
of the
patriarchs.

[r] See also, for an account of the *Three Palestines*, CAROLI à S. PAULO *Geographia Sacra*, p. 307.

[s] See MICH. LE QUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 110.

[t] See the authors who have written concerning the Patriarchs, which are mentioned and recommended by the learned FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* cap. xiii. p. 453.

[u] ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 9. 13, &c.

C E N T. lastly, they appointed *vicars* [w], or deputies,
 V.
 PART II. clothed with their authority, for the preserva-
 tion of order and tranquillity in the remoter pro-
 vinces. Such were the great and distinguishing
 privileges of the patriarchs; and they were ac-
 companied with others of less moment, which it is
 needless to mention.

It must, however, be carefully observed, that
 the authority of the patriarchs was not acknow-
 ledged through all the provinces without excep-
 tion. Several districts, both in the eastern and
 western empires, were exempted from their ju-
 risdiction [x]. The emperors, who reserved to
 themselves the *supreme* power in the Christian hie-
 rarchy, and received, with great facility and rea-
 diness, the complaints of those who considered
 themselves as injured by the patriarchs; the coun-
 cils also, in which the majesty and legislative
 power of the church immediately resided; all
 these were so many obstacles to the arbitrary pro-
 ceedings of the patriarchal order.

The incon-
 veniences
 that accom-
 panied the
 patriarchal
 authority
 and govern-
 ment.

IV. This constitution of ecclesiastical govern-
 ment was so far from contributing to the peace
 and prosperity of the Christian church, that it
 proved, on the contrary, a perpetual source of
 dissensions and animosities, and was productive
 of various inconveniencies and grievances. The
 patriarchs, who, by their exalted rank and exten-
 sive authority, were equally able to do much good
 and much mischief, began to encroach upon the
 rights, and to trample upon the prerogatives of
 their bishops, and thus introduced, gradually, a
 sort

[w] DAV. BLONDEL. *De la Primauté de l'Eglise*, chap. xxv.
 p. 332. THEOD. RUINART, *De pallio Archi-Episcopali*, p. 445.
 tom. ii. of the posthumous works of MABILLON.

[x] EDWARD BREREWODIUS, *Dissert. de veteris Ecclesie
 gubernatione Patriarchali*; which is printed at the end of arch-
 bishop USHER's book, intitled, *Opusculum de origine Episcoporum
 et Metropolitan.*

sort of spiritual bondage into the church. And ^{C E N T.} that they might invade, without opposition, the ^{V.} rights of the bishops, they permitted the bishops, ^{P A R T II.} in their turn, to trample, with impunity, upon the ancient rights and privileges of the people. For, in proportion as the bishops multiplied their privileges, and extended their usurpations, the patriarchs gained new accessions of power by the despotism which they exercised over the episcopal order. They fomented also divisions among the bishops, and excited animosities between the bishops and the other ministers of the church ; nay, they went still further, and sowed the seeds of discord between the clergy and the people, that all these combustions might furnish them with perpetual matter for the exercise of their authority, and procure them a multitude of clients and dependants. They left no artifice unemployed to strengthen their own authority, and to raise opposition against the bishops from every quarter. For this purpose it was, that they engaged in their cause by the most alluring promises, and attached to their interests by the most magnificent acts of liberality, whole swarms of monks, who served as intestine enemies to the bishops, and as a dead weight on the side of patriarchal tyranny. These monastic hirelings contributed more than any thing else, to ruin the ancient ecclesiastical discipline, to diminish the authority of the bishops, and raise, to an enormous and excessive height, the power and prerogatives of their insolent and ambitious patrons.

V. To these lamentable evils, were added the ^{The con-} ambitious quarrels, and the bitter animosities, ^{tentions of} that rose among the patriarchs themselves, and ^{the patri-} which produced the most bloody wars, and the most detestable and horrid crimes. The patriarch of *Constantinople* distinguished himself in these odious contests. Elated with the favour and proximity

The Internal History of the Church.

C E N T. imity of the imperial court, he cast a haughty
 V
 P A R T II. eye on all sides, where any objects were to be
 found on which he might exercise his lordly ambition. On the one hand, he reduced, under his jurisdiction, the patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, as prelates only of the second order; and on the other, he invaded the diocese of the Roman pontif, and spoiled him of several provinces. The two former prelates, though they struggled with vehemence, and raised considerable tumults by their opposition, yet they struggled ineffectually, both for want of strength, and likewise on account of a variety of unfavourable circumstances. But the Roman pontif, far superior to them in wealth and power, contended also with more vigour and obstinacy, and, in his turn, gave a deadly wound to the usurped supremacy of the Byzantine patriarch.

The attentive inquirer into the affairs of the church, from this period, will find, in the events now mentioned, the principle source of those most scandalous and deplorable dissensions, which divided first the eastern church into various sects, and afterwards separated it entirely from that of the west. He will find, that these ignominious schisms flowed chiefly from the unchristian contentions for dominion and supremacy, which reigned among those who set themselves up for the fathers and defenders of the church.

The power
 of the bi-
 shop of
 Rome.

VI. None of the contending bishops found the occurrences of the times so favourable to his ambition, as the Roman pontif. Notwithstanding the redoubled efforts of the bishop of *Constantinople*, a variety of circumstances united in augmenting his power and authority, though he had not, as yet, assumed the dignity of supreme lawgiver and judge of the whole Christian church. The bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, unable to make head against the lordly prelate of
Constantinople,

Constantinople, fled often to the Roman pontif for C E N T. succour against his violence; and the inferior V. order of bishops used the same method, when A R T II. their rights were invaded by the prelates of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. So that the bishop of *Rome*, by taking all these prelates alternately under his protection, daily added new degrees of influence and authority to the Roman see, rendered it every where respected, and was thus imperceptibly establishing its supremacy. Such were the means by which the Roman pontif extended his dominion in the east. In the west its increase was owing to other causes. The declining power and the supine indolence of the emperors, left the authority of the bishop who presided in their imperial city almost without controul. The incursions, moreover, and triumphs of the Barbarians were so far from being prejudicial to his rising dominion, that they rather contributed to its advancement. For the kings, who penetrated into the empire, were only solicitous about the methods of giving a sufficient degree of stability to their respective governments. And when they perceived the subjection of the multitude to the bishops, and the dependance of the bishops upon the Roman pontif, they immediately resolved to reconcile this ghostly ruler to their interests, by loading him with benefits and honours of various kinds.

Among all the prelates who ruled the church of *Rome* during this century, there was none who asserted, with such vigour and success, the authority and pretensions of the Roman pontif as LEO, commonly surnamed, the GREAT. It must be, however, observed, that neither he, nor the other promoters of that cause, were able to overcome all the obstacles that were laid in their way, nor the various checks which were given to their ambition. Many examples might be alleged in
proof

C E N T. proof of this point, particularly the case of the
 V. Africans, whom no threats nor promises could en-
 PART II. gage to submit the decision of their controversies,
 and the determination of their causes, to the Ro-
 man tribunal [*y.*]

The vices
 of the cler-
 gy.

VII. The vices of the clergy were now carried to the most enormous lengths ; and all the writers of this century, whose probity and virtue render them worthy of credit, are unanimous in their accounts of the luxury, arrogance, avarice, and voluptuousness of the sacerdotal orders. The *bishops*, and particularly those of the first rank, created various delegates, or ministers who managed for them the affairs of their dioceses, and a sort of courts were gradually formed, where these pompous ecclesiastics gave audience, and received the homage of a cringing multitude. The office of a *presbyter* was looked upon of such a high and eminent nature, that MARTIN, bishop of *Tours*, was so audacious as to maintain, at a public entertainment, that the emperor was inferior, in dignity, to one of that order [*z.*]. As to the *deacons*, their pride and licentiousness occasioned many and grievous complaints, as appears from the decrees of several councils [*a.*].

These opprobrious stains, in the characters of the clergy, would never have been endured, had not the greatest part of mankind been sunk in superstition and ignorance, and all in general formed their ideas of the rights and liberties of Christian ministers from the model exhibited by the sacerdotal orders among the Hebrews, the
 Greeks,

[*y.*] LUD. EL. DU PIN, *De Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, Diss. ii. p. 166. MELCH. LEYDECKERI, *Historia Eccles. Africanæ*, tom. ii. Diss. ii. p. 505.

[*z.*] SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *De vita Martini*, cap. xx. p. 339. compared with *Dialog.* ii. cap. vi. p. 457.

[*a.*] See DAV. BLONDEL. *Apologia pro sententia Hieronymi de episcopis et presbyteris*, p. 140.

Greeks, and Romans, during the law of MOSES, C E N T.
 and the darkness of paganism. The barbarous V.
 nations also, those fierce and warlike Germans, P A R T II.
 who, after the defeat of the Romans, divided
 among them the western empire, bore, with the
 utmost patience and moderation, both the domi-
 nion and vices of the bishops and priests, because,
 upon their conversion to Christianity, they be-
 came naturally subject to their jurisdiction ; and
 still more, because they looked upon the mini-
 sters of CHRIST as invested with the same rights
 and privileges, which distinguished the priests of
 their fictitious deities.

VIII. The corruption of that order, who were The sources
 appointed to promote, by their doctrine and ex- from
 amples, the sacred interests of piety and virtue, whence
 will appear less surprising when we consider, that proceeded
 the vices of
 the clergy,
 multitudes of people of all kinds were every where
 admitted, without examination and without choice,
 into the body of the clergy, the greatest part of
 whom had no other view, than the enjoyment of
 a lazy and inglorious repose. Many of these
 ecclesiastics were confined to no fixed places or
 assemblies, had no employment of any kind, but
 sauntered about wherever they pleased, gaining
 their maintenance by imposing upon the igno-
 rant multitude, and sometimes by mean and dis-
 honest practices.

But if any should ask, how this account is re-
 concileable with the number of saints, who, ac-
 cording to the testimonies of both the eastern and
 western writers, are said to have shone forth in
 this century? The answer is obvious ; these saints
 were canonized by the ignorance of the times.
 For, in an age of darkness and corruption, those
 who distinguished themselves from the multitude,
 either by their genius, their writings, or their
 eloquence, by their prudence and dexterity in
 managing matters of importance, or by their
 meekness

C E N T. meekness and moderation, and the ascendant they
 P A R T II. ^{V.} had gained over their resentments and passions ;
 { all such were esteemed something more than
 men ; they were revered as gods ; or, to speak
 more properly, they appeared to others as men
 divinely inspired, and full of the deity.

The monks. IX. The monks, who had formerly lived only
 for themselves in solitary retreats, and had never
 thought of assuming any rank among the sacer-
 dotal order, were now gradually distinguished
 from the populace, and were endowed with such
 opulence and such honourable privileges, that
 they found themselves in a condition to claim an
 eminent station among the supports and pillars
 of the Christian community [b]. The fame of
 their piety and sanctity was at first so great, that
 bishops and presbyters were often chosen out
 of their order [c], and the passion of erecting edi-
 fices and convents, in which the monks and holy
 virgins might serve God in the most commo-
 dious manner, was at this time carried beyond all
 bounds [d].

The Monastic orders did not all observe the
 same rule of discipline, nor the same manner of
 living. Some followed the rule of AUGUSTINE,
 others that of BASIL, others that of ANTHONY,
 others that of ATHANASIUS, others that of PA-
 CHOMIUS ; but they must all have become ex-
 tremely negligent and remiss in observing the
 laws of their respective orders, since the licen-
 tiousness of the monks, even in this century, was
 become

[b] EPIPHANIUS, *Exposit. fidei*, tom. i. opp. p. 1094. MA-
 BILLON, *Reponse aux Chanoines Regulieres*, tom. ii. of his post-
 humous works, p. 115.

[c] SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *De vita Martini*, cap. x. p. 320.
Dial. i. cap. xxi. p. 426.

[d] SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Dial.* i. p. 419. NORISIUS, *His-
 tor. Pelag.* lib. i. cap. iii. p. 273. tom. i. opp. *Histoire Liter-
 aire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 35.

became a proverb [c], and they are said to have excited the most dreadful tumults and seditions in various places. All the Monastic orders of all sorts were under the protection of the bishops in whose provinces they lived, nor did the patriarchs claim any authority over them, as appears with the utmost evidence from the decrees of the councils held in this century [f].

X. Several writers of considerable merit adorned this century. Among the Greeks and Orientals, the first place is due to CYRIL, bishop of *Alexandria*, so famous for his learned productions, and the various controversies in which he was engaged. It would be unjust to derogate from the praises which are due to this eminent man: but it would betray, on the other hand, a criminal partiality, did we pass uncensured the turbulent spirit, the litigious and contentious temper, and the other defects, which are laid to his charge [g].

After CYRIL, we may place THEODORET, bishop of *Cyrrus*, an eloquent, copious, and learned writer, eminent for his acquaintance with all the branches of sacred erudition, but unfortunate in his attachment to some of the Nestorian errors [h].

Vol. II.

D

ISIDORE

[c] SULP. SEVERUS, *Dial.* i. cap. viii. p. 399.

[f] See JO. LAUNOII *Inquisitio in chartam immunitatis B. Germani*, opp. tom. iii. part II. p. 3. In the ancient records, posterior to this century, the monks are frequently called Clerks. (See MABILLON. *Præf. ad Sæc.* ii. *Actor. Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti*, p. 14.) And this shews, that they now began to be ranked among the clergy, or ministers of the church.

[g] The works of CYRIL, in six volumes folio, were published at *Paris* by AUBERT, in the year 1638.

[h] The Jesuit SIRMOND gave at *Paris*, in the year 1642, a noble edition of the works of this prelate in four volumes in folio; a fifth was added by GARNIER, in 1685. We must observe, in favour of this excellent ecclesiastic, so renowned for the sanctity and simplicity of his manners, that he abandoned the doctrines of NESTORIUS, and thus effaced the stain he had contracted by his personal attachment to that heretic, and to JOHN of *Antioch*.

D

C E N T. ISIDORE of *Pelusium* was a man of uncommon
 PART II. learning and sanctity. A great number [i] of his
 epistles are yet extant, and discover more piety,
 genius, erudition, and wisdom, than are to be
 found in the voluminous productions of many
 other writers [k].

THEOPHILUS, bishop of *Alexandria*, few of
 whose writings are now extant, acquired an im-
 mortal name by his violent opposition to ORIGEN,
 and his followers [l].

PALLADIUS deserves a rank among the better
 sort of authors, by his *Lausiaca history*, and his
Life of CHRYSOSTOM.

THEODORE of *Mopsuestia*, though accused after
 his death of the greatest errors, was one of the
 most learned men of his time. Those who have
 read, with any attention, the fragments of his
 writings, which are to be found in PHOTIUS, will
 lament the want of these excellent compositions,
 which are either entirely lost, or, if any remain
 [m], are only extant among the Nestorians, and
 that in the Syriac language [n].

NILUS,

✠ [i] The number of these epistles amounts to 2012,
 which are divided into five books. They are short, but admi-
 rably written, and are equally recommendable for the solidity
 of the matter, and the purity and elegance of their style.

[k] The best edition of ISIDORE's *Epistles*, is that which was
 published in folio, by the Jesuit SCOTT, at *Paris*, in 1638.

[l] See EUSEB. RENAUDOTUS, *Historia patriarchar. Alex-
 andrinor.* p. 103.

[m] See JOS. SIMON ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Oriental. Clement.
 Vatic.* tom. iii. part ii. p. 227.

✠ [n] It appears by this account of the works of THEO-
 DORE, that Dr MOSHEIM had not seen the *Dissertations* of the
 late DUKE OF ORLEANS, in one of which that learned prince has
 demonstrated that the *Commentary upon the Psalms*, which is to
 be found in the *Cabin*, or *Collection of Corderius*, and which
 bears the name of THEODORE, is the production of THEODORE
 of *Mopsuestia*. There exists, also, besides the fragments that
 are to be found in PHOTIUS, a manuscript commentary of this
 illustrious author upon the twelve minor prophets.

NILUS, disciple of CHRYSOSTOM, composed several treatises of a practical and pious kind ; but these performances derive more merit from the worthy and laudable intention of their author than from any other circumstance.

We pass over in silence BASILIUS of *Seleucia* ; THEODOTUS of *Ancyra* ; and GELASIUS of *Cyzicum*, for the sake of brevity.

XI. A Roman pontif, LEO I. surnamed the GREAT, shines forth at the head of the Latin writers of this century. He was a man of uncommon genius and eloquence, which he employed however too much in extending his authority ; a point in which his ambition was both indefatigable and excessive [o].

OROSIUS acquired a considerable degree of reputation by the *History* he wrote to refute the cavils of the Pagans against Christianity, and by his books against the Pelagians and Priscillianists [p].

CASSIAN, an illiterate and superstitious man, inculcated in *Gaul*, both by his discourse and his writings, the discipline and manner of living which prevailed among the Syrian and Egyptian monks, and was a sort of teacher to those who were called Semi-pelagians [q].

MAXIMUS of *Turin* published several *Homilies*, which are yet extant ; and, though short, are

D 2

for

[o] All the works of LEO were published at *Lyons*, in two volumes folio, in the year 1700, by the care of the celebrated QUENEL of the oratory.

[p] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article OROSIUS. A valuable edition of this author, enriched with ancient coins and medals, was published in 4to, at *Leydon*, in the year 1738, by the learned HAVERCAMP.

[q] *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 215. SIMON, *Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclesiastique* par DU PIN, tom. i. p. 156. The works of CASSIAN were published in folio at *Frankfort*, in the year 1722, with a large Commentary by ALARDUS GAZÆUS.

C E N T. for the most part, commendable both for their elegance and piety.

V.
PART II.

EUCHERIUS of *Lyons*, and bishop of that city, was one of the most considerable moral writers that flourished among the Latins in this century [r].

PONTIUS of *Nola* [s], distinguished by his eminent and fervent piety, is also esteemed for his poems and other good performances.

PETER, bishop of *Revenna*, obtained, by his eloquence, the title of *Chrysologus*; nor are his discourses entirely destitute of genius [t].

SALVIAN was an eloquent, but, at the same time, a melancholy and sour writer, who, in his vehement declamations against the vices of his times, unwarily discovers the defects of his own character [u].

PROSPER

[r] See a large account of this prelate, in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 275.

[s] This pious and ingenious ecclesiastic is more generally known by the name of PAULIN. See *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 179. The best edition of his works is that published by LE BRUN, at *Paris*, in the year 1685, in two volumes 4to.

[t] AGNELLI *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiæ Ravennatensis*, tom. i. p. 321.

[u] *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. ii. p. 517. The authors of the history here referred to, give a different account of SALVIAN's character. They acknowledge, that his declamations against the vices of the age, in his *Treatise against avarice*, and his *Discourses concerning Providence*, are warm and vehement; but they represent him notwithstanding as one of the most humane and benevolent men of his time. It is, however, beyond all doubt, that he was extravagantly austere in the rules he prescribed for the conduct of life. For what is more unnatural than to recommend to Christians, as a necessary condition of salvation, their leaving their whole substance to the poor, to the utter ruin of their children and relations? It must, however, be confessed, that his austerity in point of discipline was accompanied with the most amiable moderation towards those who differed from him in articles of faith. There is a most remarkable passage to this purpose, in his *Treatise concerning Providence*, book v. p. 100.

PROSPER of *Aquitain*, and MARIUS MERCATOR are C E N T. abundantly known to such as have employed any ^{V.} P A R T I E part of their time and attention in the study of the Pelagian disputes, and the other controversies that were managed in this century.

VINCENT of *Lerins* gained a lasting reputation by his short, but excellent treatise against the sects, intitled *Commonitorium* [w].

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, a tumid writer, though not entirely destitute of eloquence; VIGILIUS of *Tapsus*; ARNOBIUS the younger, who wrote a commentary on the book of Psalms; DRACONTIUS, and others of that class, are of too little consequence to deserve a more particular notice.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the church during this century.

MANY points of religion were more ^{Many points of religion determined.} largely explained, and many of its doctrines determined with more accuracy and precision, than they had been in the preceding ages. This was owing to the controversies that were multiplied, at this time, throughout the Christian world, concerning the *person and nature of CHRIST*; the *innate corruption and depravity of man*; the *natural ability of men to live according to*
D 3 *the*

[w] This work of VINCENT, which is commended by our author, seems scarcely worthy of such applause. I see nothing in it, but that blind veneration for ancient opinions, which is so fatal to the discovery and progress of truth, and an attempt to prove that nothing but the voice of tradition is to be consulted in fixing the sense of the Holy Scriptures. An ample account of VINCENT PROSPER, and ARNOBIUS, is to be found in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 305. 342. 369.

C E N T. *the dictates of the divine law; the necessity of the*
 V.
 P A R T II. *divine grace in order to salvation; the nature and*
 { *existence of human liberty; and other such intricate*
and perplexing questions. The sacred and vene-
rable simplicity of the primitive times, which re-
quired no more than a true faith in the word of
God, and a sincere obedience to his holy laws,
appeared little better than rusticity and igno-
rance to the subtle doctors of this quibbling age.
Yet so it happened, that many of the over-curious
divines, who attempted to explain the nature and
remove the difficulties of these intricate doctrines,
succeeded very ill in this matter. Instead of lead-
ing men into the paths of humble faith and ge-
nuine piety, they bewildered them in the laby-
riths of controversy and contention, and rather
darkened than illustrated the sacred mysteries of
religion by a thick cloud of unintelligible subtil-
ties, ambiguous terms, and obscure distinctions.
Hence arose new matter of animosity and dis-
pute, of bigotry and uncharitableness, which flow-
ed like a torrent through succeeding ages, and
which all human efforts seem unable to vanquish.
In these disputes, the heat of passion, and the ex-
cessive force of religious antipathy and contradic-
tion, hurried frequently the contending parties
into the most dangerous extremes.

Superstition
grows
apace.

II. If, before this time, the lustre of religion was clouded with superstition, and its divine precepts adulterated with a mixture of human inventions, this evil, instead of diminishing, increased daily. The happy souls of departed Christians were invoked by numbers, and their aid implored by assiduous and fervent prayers; while none stood up to censure or oppose this preposterous worship. The question, how the prayers of mortals ascended to the celestial spirits (a question which afterwards produced much wrangling and many idle fancies), did not as yet occasion

occasion any difficulty. For the Christians of this CENT.
century did not imagine that the souls of the V.
PART II.
saints were so entirely confined to the celestial
mansions, as to be deprived of the privilege of
visiting mortals, and travelling, when they
pleased, through various countries. They were
further of opinion, that the places most fre-
quented by departed spirits were those where the
bodies they had formerly animated were interred;
and this opinion, which the Christians borrowed
from the Greeks and Romans, rendered the se-
pulchres of the saints the general rendezvous of
suppliant multitudes [x]. The images of those,
who, during their lives, had acquired the repu-
tation of uncommon sanctity, were now honoured
with a particular worship in several places; and
many imagined, that this worship drew down into
the images the propitious presence of the saints or
celestial beings they represented; deluded, per-
haps, into this idle fancy by the crafty fictions of
the heathen priests, who had published the same
thing concerning the statues of JUPITER and MER-
CURY [y]. A singular and irresistible efficacy
was also attributed to the bones of martyrs, and
to the figure of the cross, in defeating the at-
tempts of Satan, removing all sorts of calamities,
and in healing, not only the diseases of the body,
but also those of the mind [z]. We shall not

D 4

enter

[x] LACTANTIUS, *Divinar. Institutionum*, lib. i. p. 164. HE-
SIODUS, *Opp. et Dier.* ver. 122. Compare with these, SULPI-
TIUS SEVERUS, *Epist.* ii. p. 371. *Dial.* ii. cap. xiii. p. 474.
Dial. iii. p. 512. ÆNEAS GAZÆUS, in *Theophrasto*, p. 65.
MACARIUS in JAC. TOLLII *Insignibus Itineris Italici*, p. 197.
and other writers of this age.

[y] CLEMENTINA, *Homil.* x. p. 697. tom. i. *PP. Apostolic.*
ARNOBIUS, *adv. Gentes.* lib. vi. p. 254. CASP. BARTHIUS, *ad*
Rutilium Numantian. p. 250.

[z] PRUDENTIUS, *Hymn* xi. *de Coranis*, p. 150, 151, SULPI-
TIUS SEVERUS, *Ep.* i. p. 364. ÆNEAS GAZÆUS, in *Theopbras-*
to, p. 173.

C E N T. enter here into a particular account of the public
 V.
 P A R T II. supplications, the holy pilgrimages, the supersti-
 tious services paid to departed souls, the multi-
 plication of temples, altars, penitential garments,
 and a multitude of other circumstances, that
 shewed the decline of genuine piety, and the cor-
 rupt darkness that was eclipsing the lustre of
 primitive Christianity. As there were none in
 these times to hinder the Christians from retain-
 ing the opinions of their Pagan ancestors con-
 cerning departed souls, heroes, demons, temples,
 and such like matters, and even transferring them
 into their religious services; and as, instead of
 entirely abolishing the rites and institutions of
 ancient times, these institutions were still ob-
 served with only some slight alterations; all this
 swelled, of necessity the torrent of superstition,
 and deformed the beauty of the Christian religion
 and worship with those corrupt remains of pa-
 ganism, which still subsist in a certain church.

It will not be improper to observe here, that
 the famous Pagan doctrine, concerning the *puri-
 fication of departed souls*, by means of a certain
 kind of *fire*, was more amply explained and con-
 firmed now than it had formerly been [a]. Every
 body knows, that this doctrine proved an inex-
 haustible source of riches to the clergy through
 the succeeding ages, and that it still enriches the
 Romish church with its nutritious streams.

III. The interpretation of the Holy Scriptures
 employed fewer pens in this century than in the
 preceding age, in which the Christian doctors
 were less involved in the labyrinths of controversy.
 Yet, notwithstanding the multiplication of reli-
 gious

[a] See, particularly concerning this matter, AUGUSTIN,
 his book *de viii. Questionibus ad dulcitium N. xiii. tom. vi.*
opp. p. 128. De fide et operibus, cap. xvi. p. 182. De fide
spe, et charitate, sect. 118. p. 222. Enarratione Psal. xxxv.
sect. 3, &c.

gious disputes, a considerable number of learned C E N T.
 men undertook this useful and important task. P A R T II.
 We shall not mention those who confined their
 illustrations to some one, or a few books of the
 divine word, such as VICTOR of *Antioch*, POLY-
 CHRONIUS, PHILO, CARPATHIUS, ISIDORE of *Cor-*
dona, SALONIUS, and ANDREW of *Casarea*. We
 must not, however, pass over in silence THEO-
 DORET and THEODORE, bishops of *Cyrus* and *Mop-*
suestia, the two most famous expositors of this age,
 who illustrated a great part of the Holy Scrip-
 tures by their pious labours. They were truly
 eminent, both in point of learning and genius;
 and, free and unprejudiced in their search after
 truth, they followed the explications of scripture
 given by their predecessors, only as far as they
 found them agreeable to reason. The commen-
 taries of THEODORET are yet extant, and in the
 hands of the learned [b]; those of THEODORE are
 concealed in the east among the Nestorians,
 though on many accounts worthy to see the light
 [c]. CYRIL, of *Alexandria*, deserves also a place
 among the commentators of this century; but
 a still higher rank, among that useful and
 learned body, is due to ISIDORE of *Pelusium*,
 whose

[b] See SIMON, *Histoire critique des principaux Commenta-
 teurs de N. Test.* ch. xxii. p. 314; as also his *Critique de la
 Biblioth. Ecclesiast. de DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 180. THEODO-
 RET wrote Commentaries upon the five books of MOSES, *Jo-*
shua, *Judges*, *Ruth*, *Samuel*, *Kings*, *Chronicles*, the *Psalms*,
 the *Canticles*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiab*, *Baruch*, *Lamentations Ezekiel*,
Daniel, the 12 lesser prophets, and St PAUL's 14 *Epistles*.

[c] JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN, *Biblioth. Orient. Clem. Vatic.* tom.
 iii. sect. 2. p. 227. SIMON, *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de
 DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 108. 677. We are assured by FABRI-
 CIUS, upon the testimony of LAMBECIUS, that THEODORE's
 Commentary upon the twelve Prophets is still in being, in MS.
 in the emperor's library at *Vienna*. See FABR. *Bibl. Græc.*
 tom. ix. p. 162. See also for an ample and learned account
 of the writings of this author, LARDNER's *Credibility*, &c. vol.
 ix. p. 389.

C E N T. whose epistles contain many observations, which
 V.
 P A R T II. cast a considerable degree of light upon several
 { parts of scripture [d].

Many chimerical and weak commentators.

IV. It is, however, to be lamented, that the greatest part of the commentators, both Greek and Latin, following the idle fancies of ORIGEN, overlooked the true and natural sense of the words, and hunted after subtle and hidden significations, for *mysteries* (as the Latins then termed them) in the plainest precepts of the Holy Scriptures. Several of the Greeks, and particularly THEODORET, laboured, with success and precision, in illustrating the books of the New Testament; and their success here is to be principally attributed to their perfect knowledge of the Greek language, which they had learned from their infancy. But neither the Greeks nor Latins cast much light upon the Old Testament, which was cruelly tortured by the allegorical pens of almost all who attempted to illustrate and explain it. For nothing is more common, than to see the interpreters of the fifth century straining all the passages of that sacred book either to typify CHRIST, and the blessings of his kingdom, or Anti-christ, and the wars and desolations which he was to bring upon the earth, and that, without the least spark of judgment, or the smallest air of probability.

Some of more wisdom and judgment.

V. A few chosen spirits, superior to the others in sagacity and wisdom, were bold enough to stand up against these critical delusions, and to point out a safer and plainer way to divine truth. This we learn from the epistles of ISIDORE of *Pe-lusium*, who, though he was not himself entirely free from this allegorical contagion, yet censures judiciously,

[d] See for an account of these two authors, SIMON, *Histoire des principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, ch. xxi. p. 300.

judiciously, in many places, those that abandoned the historical sense of the Old Testament, and applied, universally, all its narrations and predictions to CHRIST alone. But none went greater lengths in censuring the fanciful followers of ORIGEN, than THEODORE of *Mopsuestia*, who not only wrote *a book concerning allegory and history, against ORIGEN* [e], but also, in his *commentary on the prophets*, did not hesitate to apply the most of their predictions to various events in ancient history [f]. This manner of interpreting scripture was very ill received, and contributed, perhaps, more to raise the general cry against him, than all the erroneous doctrines with which he was charged [g]. The Nestorians followed the example of this remarkable and eminent man [h]; and still continue to consider him as a saint of the first order, and to preserve his writings with the utmost care, as precious monuments of his piety and learning.

VI. The doctrines of religion were, at this time, understood and represented in a manner that savoured little of their native purity and simplicity.

[e] FACUNDAS HERMIANENSIS *De trebus, Capitulus*, lib. iii. cap. vi. LIBERATUS in *Breviario*, cap. xxiv.

[f] *Acta Concilii Constantinopol. II. seu Oecumenici* V. tom. iii. *Conciliorum*. p. 58. edit. Harduini.

[g] THEODORE, after his death, was considered as the parent of the Pelagian and Nestorian heresies; though during his life he was held in the highest esteem, and died in the communion of the church.

[h] This appears by the testimony of COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, a writer of the sixth century, who was undoubtedly a Nestorian. For this author, in the fifth book of his *Christian Topography*, which MONTFAUCON published in his new collection of the Greek fathers, maintains, that of all the Psalms of DAVID, four only are applicable to CHRIST. And to confirm this his opinion, he affirms boldly, that the writers of the New Testament, when they apply to JESUS the prophecies of the Old, do this rather by a mere accommodation of the words, without any regard to their true and genuine sense.

C E N T. plicity. They were drawn out by laboured com-
 V.
 P A R T II. mentaries beyond the terms in which the divine
 wisdom had thought fit to reveal them ; and were
 examined with that minuteness and subtilty that
 were only proper to cover them with obscurity.
 And, what was still worse, the theological no-
 tions that generally prevailed, were proved rather
 by the authorities and logical discussions of the
 ancient doctors, than by the unerring dictates of
 the divine word. It does not appear that in this
 century any attempted to form a complete system
 of theology, unless we give that title to *six books*
of instruction, which NICAËAS is said to have com-
 posed for the use of the Neophytes [i]. But as
 we have already observed, the principal branches
 of religion were laboriously explained in the va-
 rious books that were written against the Nesto-
 rians, Eutychians, Pelagians, and Arians.

The man-
 agers of the
 controversy
 against the
 Jews, Pa-
 gans, and
 Sectaries.

VII. The number of those who disputed in
 this century against paganism and infidelity, was
 very considerable, yet not greater than the exi-
 gency of the times and the frequent attacks made
 upon Christianity rendered necessary. THEODO-
 RET, in his ingenious and learned treatise, *De*
curandis Græcorum affectionibus, ORIENTIUS, in his
Commonitorium, and EVAGRIUS, in his *Dispute be-*
tween ZACHÆUS and APOLLONIUS, opposed, with
 fortitude and vigour, those that worshipped i-
 mages, and offered their religious services to the
 Pagan deities [k]. To these we may add PHI-
 LIP SEDETES and PHILOSTORGIUS, of whom the
 latter attacked PORPHYRY, and the former JU-
 LIAN. BASILIUS of *Seleucia* ; GREGENTIUS, in his
Controversy with HERBANUS ; and EVAGRIUS, in
 his *Dialogue between* THEOPHILUS and JUDÆUS,
 exposed

[i] GENNADIUS MASSILIENSIS, *De scriptor. Ecclesiast.* cap.
 xxii. p. 28. edit. Fabric.

[k] See for an account of ORIENTIUS and EVAGRIUS, *Histo-*
e Littéraire de la France, tom. ii. p. 121. and 252.

exposed and refuted the errors and cavils of the O E N T. Jews. Voconius the African; Syagrius, in his V. PART I. *Book concerning Faith*; Gennadius of Marseille, who deserves to be placed in the first rank; and Theodore, in his *Treatise concerning the Fables of the Heretics*, opposed all the different sects; not to mention those who wrote only against the errors of one or other particular party.

VIII. Those who disputed against the Chri- The defects of these disputants. stian sects, observed a most absurd and vicious method of controversy. They proceeded rather according to the rules of the ancient sophists, and, what is still more surprising, according to the spirit of the *Roman law*, than by the examples and instructions of Christ and his apostles. In the Roman courts, matters of a difficult and doubtful nature were decided by the authority of certain aged lawyers, who were distinguished by their abilities and experience. And when they happened to differ in opinion, the point was determined either by a plurality of voices, or by the sentiments of the more learned and illustrious members of the venerable body [1]. This procedure of the Roman tribunals was, in this century, admitted as a standing law, both in the deliberations and councils, and in the management of religious controversy, to the great and unspeakable detriment of truth. For by this, reason, and even common sense, were, in some measure, excluded from every question; and that was determined as *right* and *true*, which appeared such to the greatest number, or had been approved by doctors of the greatest note in preceding times. The *acts* of the various *councils*, which are yet extant, manifestly shew that this was the case. And this circumstance, combined with what we have

[1] See the *Codex Theodos.* lib. i. tit. iv. *De responsis prudentum*, p. 32. edit. Ritterian.

C E N T. have already observed with respect to the disputa-
 V.
 P A R T II. tants of the age now under consideration, make
 it easy for us to imagine the various defects that
 must have prevailed in the methods of defending
 truth, and opposing error.

Spurious
 writings.

IX. This absurd imitation of the Roman law
 in the management of religious controversy, this
 preposterous method of deciding truth by human
 authorities, were fruitful sources of spurious and
 supposititious productions. For many audacious
 impostors were hence encouraged to publish their
 own writings under the names of ancient Christian
 worthies, nay, under the sacred names of, even,
 CHRIST himself and his holy apostles; that thus,
 in the deliberations of councils, and in the course
 of controversy, they might have authorities to
 oppose to authorities in defence of their respec-
 tive opinions. The whole Christian church was,
 in this century, overwhelmed with these infa-
 mous cheats, these spurious productions. This
 is said to have engaged GELASIUS, the Roman
 pontif, to call together a council, composed of
 the bishops of the Latin church; in which assem-
 bly, after a strict examination of those writings
 which appeared under great and venerable names,
 the famous decree passed, that deprived so many
apocryphal books of their borrowed authority.
 That something of this kind really happened, it
 would be, perhaps, an instance of temerity to
 deny: but many learned men assert, that the
 decree attributed to GELASIUS, labours under the
 same inconveniency with the books which it con-
 demns, and was, by no means, the production of
 that pontif, but of some deceiver, who usurped
 clandestinely his name and authority [m].

X. EUCHERIUS,

[m] PEARSONUS, *Vindiciar. Ignatianar.* part I. cap. iv. p.
 189. CAVE, *Hist. Litter. Scriptor. Ecclesias.* p. 260. URB.
 GODOFR. SIBERUS, *Praefat. ad Enchiridion Sexti*, p. 79.

X. EUCHERIUS, SALVIAN, and NILUS, shine C E N T. with a superior lustre among the moral writers of V. this century. The epistle of EUCHERIUS, P A R T II. *con-* Moral writers. *cerning the Contempt of the World, and the secular Philosophy*, is an excellent performance both in point of matter and style. The works of MARK the hermit breathe a spirit of fervent piety, but are highly defective in many respects. The matter is ill chosen, and it is treated without order, perspicuity, or force of reasoning. FASTIDIUS composed several discourses concerning moral duties, but they have not survived the ruins of time. The works, that are yet extant of DIADOCHUS, PROSPER, and SEVERIAN, are extremely pleasing on account of the solidity and elegance which are to be found, for the most part, in their moral sentences, though they afford but indifferent entertainment to such as are desirous of precision, method, and sound argumentation. And indeed this want of method in the distribution and arrangement of their matter, and a constant neglect of tracing their subject to its first principles, are defects common to almost all the moral writers of this century.

XI. Had this, indeed, been their only defect, the candid and impartial would have supported it with patience, and attributed it charitably to the infelicity of the times. . But many of the writers and teachers of this age did unspeakable injury to the cause of true piety by their crude and enthusiastic inventions. The Mystics, who pretended to higher degrees of perfection than other Christians, drew every where to their party, particularly in the eastern provinces, a vast number of the ignorant and inconsiderate multitude, by the striking appearance of their austere and singular piety. It is impossible to describe the rigour and severity of the laws which these senseless fanatics imposed upon themselves, in order, as they alleged,

C E N T. leged, to appease the deity, and to deliver the *ce-*
 V. *lestial spirit* from the bondage of this *mortal body*.
 P A R T II. They not only lived among the wild beasts, but
 also lived after the manner of these savage ani-
 mals ; they ran naked through the lonely deserts
 with a furious aspect, and with all the agitations
 of madness and frenzy ; they prolonged the life of
 their emaciated bodies by the wretched nourish-
 ment of grass and wild herbs, avoided the sight
 and conversation of men, remained motionless in
 certain places for several years, exposed to the ri-
 gour and inclemency of the seasons, and towards
 the conclusion of their lives, shut themselves up
 in narrow and miserable huts ; and all this was
 considered as true piety, the only acceptable me-
 thod of worshipping the deity, and rendering
 him propitious [n]. The greatest part of the
 Mystics were led into the absurdities of this ex-
 travagant discipline, not so much by the pretend-
 ed force of reason and argument, as by a natural
 propensity to solitude, a gloomy and melancholy
 cast of mind, and an implicit and blind submis-
 sion to the authority and examples of others. For
 the diseases of the mind, as well as those of the
 body, are generally contagious, and no pestilence
 spreads its infection with a more dreadful rapidity
 than superstition and enthusiasm. Several persons
 have committed to writing the precepts of this
 severe discipline, and reduced its absurdities into
 a sort of system, such as JULIANUS POMERIUS
 among the Latins [o], and many, among the Sy-
 rians, whose names it is needless to mention.

The super-
 stition of
 the Stilites

XII. Of all the instances of superstitious frenzy
 that disgraced this age, none was held in higher
 vene-

[n] See the *Pratum Spirituale* of MOSCHUS ; the *Lausiaca*
 History of PALLADIUS ; as also SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Dial. i.*

[o] POMERIUS wrote a treatise, *De vita Contemplativa*, in
 which the doctrines and precepts of the Mystics were carefully
 collected.

veneration, or excited more the wonder of the C E N T.
 multitude, than that of a certain order of men, P A R T II.
 who were called Stilites by the Greeks, and Sancti
 Columnares, or Pillar Saints, by the Latins.
 These were persons of a most singular and extra-
 vagant turn of mind, who stood motionless upon
 the tops of *pillars*, expressly raised for this
 exercise of their patience, and remained there
 for several years, amidst the admiration, and
 applause of the stupid populace. The inventor
 of this strange and ridiculous discipline was SI-
 MEON, a Syrian, who began his follies by chang-
 ing the agreeable employment of a shepherd,
 for the senseless austerities of the monkish life.
 But his enthusiasm carried him still greater
 lengths; for, in order to climb as near heaven as
 he could, he passed thirty-seven years of his
 wretched life upon five pillars, of six, twelve,
 twenty-two, thirty-six, and forty cubits high,
 and thus acquired a most shining reputation, and
 attracted the veneration of all about him [p].
 Many of the inhabitants of *Syria* and *Palestine*,
 seduced by a false ambition, and an utter igno-
 rance of true religion, followed the example of
 this fanatic, though not with the same degree of
 austerity [q]. And what is almost incredible,
 E this

[p] See the *Acta Sanctorum Mensis Januarii*, tom. i. p. 261,
 —277. where the reader will find the account we have given
 of this whimsical discipline. THEODORET, indeed, had before
 given several hints of it, alleging, among other things, that SI-
 MEON had gradually added to the height of his pillar, with a
 design to approach, by this means nearer to heaven. See TILLE-
 MONT, *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. xv.
 p. 347. edit. Paris. See also the *Acts of SIMEON the Stylite*,
 in STEPH. EUODII ASSEMANI *Actis Martyrum, Orient. et Oc-*
cident. vol. ii. p. 227. published at Rome, in folio, in the year
 1748.

[q] The learned FREDRIC SPANHEIM, in his *Ecclesi-*
astical History (p. 1154.) speaks of a second SIMEON the Sty-
 lite (mentioned by EVAGRIUS, *Hist.* lib. vi. cap. xxiii.) who
 Vol. II E lived

C E N T. this superstitious practice continued in vogue
 V.
 P A R T II. until the twelfth century, when however it was,
 at length totally suppressed [r].

The Latins had too much wisdom and prudence to imitate the Syrians and Orientals in this whimsical superstition. And when a certain fanatic or impostor, named WULFILAICUS, erected one of these pillars in the country of *Treves*, and proposed living upon it after the manner of SIMEON; the neighbouring bishops ordered it to be pulled down, and thus nipped this species of superstition in the bud [s].

Further defects of the public instructors, and practical writers.

XIII. The Mystic rules of discipline and manners had a bad effect upon the moral writers, and those who were set apart for the instruction of Christians. Thus, in instructing the catechumens and others, they were more diligent and zealous in inculcating a regard for the external parts of religion, and an attachment to bodily exercise, than in forming the heart and the affections to inward piety and solid virtue. Nay, they went so far, as to prescribe rules of sanctity and virtue little different from the unnatural rigour and fanatical piety of the Mystics. SALVIAN, and other celebrated writers, give it as their opinion, that none were truly and perfectly holy, but those who abandoned all riches and honours, abstained from matrimony, banished all joy and chearfulness

lived in the sixth century. This second fanatic seems to have carried his austerities still further than the chief of the sect; for he remained upon his pillar sixty-eight years, and from thence, like the first SIMEON, he taught, or rather deluded the gazing multitude, declaimed against heresy, pretended to cast out devils, to heal diseases, and to foretel future events.

[r] See URB. GODOFR. SIBERI *Diss. de Sanctis Columnariis*. CAROLI MAJELLI *Diss. de Stylitis*, published in ASSEMANNI *Acta Martyr. Orient. & Occident.* tom. ii. p. 246, where may be seen a copper-plate print of SIMEON's pillar.

[s] GREGOR. TURONENS, *Histor. Francor.* lib. viii. cap. xv. p. 387.

ness from their hearts, and macerated their bodies C E N T. V. PART II. with various sorts of torments and mortifications. And as all could not support such excessive degrees of severity, those madmen, or fanatics, whose robust constitutions and savage tempers were the best adapted to this kind of life, were distinguished by the public applause, and saw their influence and authority increase daily. And thus saints started up like mushrooms in almost every place.

XIV. A small number of ecclesiastics, animated by the laudable spirit of reformation, boldly attempted to pluck up the roots of this growing superstition, and to bring back the deluded multitude from this vain and chimerical discipline to the practice of solid and genuine piety. But the votaries of superstition, who were superior in number, reputation, and authority, reduced them soon to silence, and rendered their noble and pious efforts utterly ineffectual [1]. We have an example of this in the case of VIGILANTINUS, a man remarkable for his learning and eloquence, who was born in *Gaul*, and went from thence to *Spain*, where he performed the functions of a presbyter. This ecclesiastic, on his return from a voyage he had made into *Palestine* and *Egypt*, began, about the beginning of this century, to propagate several doctrines, and to publish repeated exhortations quite opposite to the opinions and manners of the times. Among other things he denied that the tombs and the bones of the martyrs were to be honoured with any sort of homage or worship; and therefore censured the pilgrimages that were made to places that were reputed holy. He turned into derision the prodigies which were said to be wrought in the temples consecrated to martyrs, and condemned the

The controversy between Jerome and Vigilantius.

[1] AUGUSTIN complains of this, in his famous epistle to JAVARIUS, No. 119.

C E N T. the custom of performing vigils in them. He
 V.
 P A R T II. asserted, and indeed with reason, that the custom
 of burning tapers at the tombs of the martyrs in
 broad day, was imprudently borrowed from the
 ancient superstition of the Pagans. He maintain-
 ed, moreover, that prayers addressed to departed
 saints were void of all efficacy ; and treated with
 contempt fasting and mortifications, the celibacy
 of the clergy, and the various austerities of the
 monastic life. And, finally, he affirmed, that the
 conduct of those who, distributing their substance
 among the indigent, submitted to the hardships
 of a voluntary poverty, or sent a part of their
 treasures to *Jerusalem* for devout purposes, had
 nothing in it acceptable to the Deity.

There were among the Gallic and Spanish bi-
 shops several that relished the opinions of VIGI-
 LANTIUS. But JEROME, the great monk of the
 age, assailed this bold reformer of religion with
 such bitterness and fury, that the honest presby-
 ter soon found that nothing but his silence could
 preserve his life from the intemperate rage of bi-
 gotry and superstition. This project then of refor-
 ming the corruptions, which a fanatical and su-
 perstitious zeal had introduced into the church,
 was choked in its birth [u]. And the name of
 good VIGILANTIUS remains still in the *list of here-
 tics*, which is acknowledged as authentic by those
 who, without any regard to their own judgment,
 or the declarations of scripture, followed blindly
 the decisions of antiquity.

Disputes a-
 bout Ori-
 genism.

XV. The controversies, which had been raised
 in *Egypt*, concerning ORIGEN and his doctrine,
 towards the conclusion of the preceding century,
 were now renewed at *Constantinople*, and carried on
 without either decency or prudence. The Nitrian
 monks,

[u] BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article VIGILANTIUS. BAR-
 BEYRAC, *De la Morale des Peres*, p. 252. GERHAR. JO. VOS-
 SIUS, *Thesibus Historico-Theologicis*, p. 170. *Histoire Litter-
 aire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 57.

monks, banished from *Egypt*, on account of their attachment to ORIGEN, took refuge at *Constantinople*,^{C E N T. V. P A R T II.} and were treated, by JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, the bishop of that city, with clemency and benignity. This no sooner came to the knowledge of THEOPHILUS, patriarch of *Alexandria*, than he formed a perfidious project against the eloquent prelate; and sent the famous EPIPHANIUS, with several other bishops, to *Constantinople*, to compass his fall, and deprive him of his episcopal dignity. No time could be more favourable for the execution of this project than that in which it was formed; for CHRYSOSTOM, by his austerity, and his vehement declamations against the vices of the people, and the corrupt manners of the ladies of the court, had incurred the displeasure of many, and had also excited in a more particular manner, the resentment and indignation of the empress EUDOXIA, wife of ARCADIVS. This violent princess sent for THEOPHILUS and the Egyptian bishops, who, pursuant to her orders, repaired to *Constantinople*; and having called a council, inquired into the religious sentiments of CHRYSOSTOM, and examined his morals, and the whole course of his conduct and conversation, with the utmost severity. This council, which was held in the suburbs of *Chalcedon*, in the year 403, with THEOPHILUS at its head, declared CHRYSOSTOM unworthy of his high rank in the church, on account of the favourable manner in which he stood disposed towards ORIGEN and his followers; and, in consequence of this decree, condemned him to banishment. The people of *Constantinople*, who were tenderly attached to their pious and worthy bishop, rose in a tumultuous manner, and prevented the execution of this unrighteous sentence [w]. When this tumult was entirely hushed,

⌘ [w] This is not quite exact: For it appears, by the accounts of the best Historians, that this sentence was really executed,

C E N T. ed, the same unrelenting judges, in order to sa-
 V. tisfy their vindictive rage and that of EUDOXIA,
 P A R T II. renewed their sentence, the year following, under
 another pretext [x], and with more success; for
 the pious CHRYSOSTOM, yielding to the redoubled
 efforts of his enemies, was banished to *Cucusus*, a
 city of *Cilicia*, where he died about three years
 after [y].

The exile of this illustrious man was followed
 by a terrible sedition of the Johannists (so his vo-
 taries were called), which was calmed, tho' with
 much difficulty, by the edicts of ARCADIVS [z]. It
 is beyond all doubt, that the proceedings against
 CHRYSOSTOM were cruel and unjust; in this how-
 ever he was to blame, that he assumed the autho-
 rity and rank which had been granted, by the
 council of *Constantinople*, to the bishops of that
 imperial city, and set himself up as a judge of the
 controversy between THEOPHILUS and the Egyptian
 monks, which the Alexandrian prelate could not
 behold without the utmost impatience and re-
 sentment. These monks, when they lost their
 protector, were restored to the favour of THEO-
 PHILUS; but the faction of the Origenists conti-
 nued

executed, and that the emperor confirmed the decree of this
 first synod, by banishing CHRYSOSTOM into *Bitynia*; or, as
 others allege, by ordering him to retire to the country. A
 violent earthquake and a terrible shower of hail, which were
 looked upon by the multitude as judgments occasioned by the
 unrighteous persecution of their pious bishop, alarmed the
 court, and engaged them to recal CHRYSOSTOM to his office.

[x] This new pretext was the indecent manner, in
 which CHRYSOSTOM is said to have declaimed against EUDOXIA,
 on account of her having erected her statue in silver near the
 church.

[y] See TILLEMONT and HERMANT, who have both written
 the life of CHRYSOSTOM; as also BAYLE's *Dictionary*, in En-
 glish, at the article ACACIVS.

[z] See CYRILLI *vita Sabæ* in COTELERII *Monument.*
Eccles. Græc. tom. ii. p. 274. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth.*
Oriental. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 31.

nued, notwithstanding all this, to flourish in C E N T.
Egypt, Syria, and the adjacent countries, and held P A R T I L
 their chief residence at *Jerusalem*.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

I. **T**O enumerate the rites and institutions that Ceremonies greatly multiplied,
 were added, in this century, to the Christian worship, would require a volume of a considerable size. The *acts of councils*, and the records left us by the most celebrated ancient writers, are the sources from whence the curious may draw a satisfactory and particular account of this matter; and to these we refer such as are desirous of something more than a general view of the subject under consideration. Several of these ancient writers, uncorrupted by the contagious examples of the times in which they lived, have ingenuously acknowledged, that true piety and virtue were smothered, as it were, under that enormous burthen of ceremonies under which they lay groaning in this century. This evil was owing, partly to the ignorance and dishonesty of the clergy, partly to the calamities of the times, which were extremely unfavourable to the pursuit of knowledge, and to the culture of the mind; and partly, indeed, to the natural depravity of imperfect mortals, who are much more disposed to worship with the eye than with the heart, and are more ready to offer to the deity the laborious pomp of an outward service, than the nobler, yet simple oblation of pious dispositions and holy affections.

II. Divine worship was now daily rising from one degree of pomp to another, and degenerating A general view of the new rites introduced at this time.
 more

C'E N T. more and more into a gaudy spectacle, only pro-
 P A R T II. ^{V.}per to attract the stupid admiration of a gazing
 populace. The sacerdotal garments were em-
 bellished with a variety of ornaments, with a view
 to excite in the minds of the multitude a greater
 veneration for the sacred order. New acts of de-
 votion were also celebrated. In *Gaul*, particu-
 larly, the solemn *prayers* and *supplications*, which
 usually precede the anniversary of CHRIST's as-
 cension, were now instituted for the first time [a].
 In other places, perpetual acclamations of praise
 to God were performed both night and day by
 singers, who succeeded each other, so as that the
 service suffered no interruption [b]; as if the Su-
 preme Being took pleasure in such noisy and tur-
 bulent shouting, or received any gratification
 from the blandishments of men. The riches
 and magnificence of the churches exceeded all
 bounds [c]. They were also adorned with costly
 images, among which, in consequence of the
 Nestorian controversy, that of the Virgin MARY,
 holding the child JESUS in her arms, obtained the
 first and principal place. The altars, and the
 chests in which the relics were preserved, were
 in most places made of solid silver. And from
 this we may easily imagine the splendor and ex-
 pences that were lavished upon the other utensils
 which were employed in the service of the church.

The feasts
 of charity.

III. On the other hand, the *agapæ*, or *feasts
 of charity*, were now suppressed, on account of
 the abuses to which they gave occasion, amidst
 the daily decline of that piety and virtue, which
 rendered

[a] See SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, *Epist.* lib. v. *epist.* xvi. lib
 vi. *epist.* i.; as also MARTENE, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, tom.
 v. p. 47.

[b] GERVAIS, *Histoire de Suger*, tom. i. p. 23.

[c] See ZACHARIAS of *Mitylene*, *De opificio Mundi*, p. 165,
 166.

rendered these meetings useful and edifying in the C E N T
primitive ages.

A new method also of proceeding with *peni-*^{V. PART II.}
tents was introduced into the Latin church.^{Penitents.} For
grievous offenders, who had formerly been obliged
to confess their guilt in the face of the con-
gregation, were now delivered from this mortify-
ing penalty, and obtained, from LEO the GREAT,
a permission to *confess* their crimes *privately* to a
priest appointed for that purpose. By this change
of the ancient discipline, one of the greatest re-
straints upon licentiousness, and the only remain-
ing barrier of chastity, was entirely removed,
and the actions of Christians were subject to no
other scrutiny than that of the clergy ; a change,
which was frequently convenient for the sinner,
and also advantageous in many respects to the sa-
cred order.

C H A P. V.

*Concerning the dissensions and heresies that troubled
the church during this century*

L SEVERAL of those sects, which had divided <sup>Ancient he-
resies revi-
ved.</sup> the church in the preceding ages, renewed
their efforts at this time, to propagate their re-
spective opinions, and introduced new tumults
and animosities among the Christians. We shall
say nothing of the Novatians, Marchionites and
Manicheans, those inauspicious and fatal names
that disgrace the earlier annals of the church,
though it is evident, that as yet their sects sub-
sisted, and were even numerous in many places.
We shall confine ourselves to an account of the
Donatists and Arians, who were the pests of the
preceding century.

The

C E N T. ^{V.}
P A R T II. ^{The Donatists.} The Donatists had hitherto maintained themselves with a successful obstinacy, and their affairs were in a good state. But, about the beginning of this century, the face of things changed much to their disadvantage, by the means of St AUGUSTINE, bishop of *Hippo*. The Catholic bishops of *Africa*, animated by the exhortations, and conducted by the counsels of this zealous prelate, exerted themselves with the utmost vigour in the destruction of this seditious sect, whom they justly looked upon, not only as troublesome to the church by their obstinacy, but also as a nuisance to the state by the brutal soldiery [*d*] which they employed in their cause. Accordingly deputies were sent, in the year 404, from the council of *Carthage*, to the emperor HONORIUS, to request, that the laws enacted against heretics, by the preceding emperors, might have force against the Donatists, who denied that they belonged to the heretical tribe ; and also to desire, that bounds might be set to the barbarous fury of the Circumcelliones. The first step that the emperor took, in consequence of this request, was to impose a fine upon all the Donatists, who refused to return into the bosom of the church, and to send their bishops and doctors into banishment. The year following, new laws, much severer than the former, were enacted against this rebellious sect, under the title of *Acts of uniformity*. And as the magistrates were remiss in the execution of them, the council of *Carthage*, in the year 407, sent a second time deputies to the emperor, to desire that certain persons might be appointed to execute these *edicts* with vigour and impartiality ; and their request was granted.

II. The faction of the Donatists, though much broke by these repeated shocks, was yet far from being

[*d*] The *Circumcelliones* already mentioned.

being totally extinguished. It recovered a part C E N T.
of its strength in the year 408, after STILICHÓ PART II.
had been put to death by the order of HONORIUS,
and gained a still further accession of vigour the
year following, in which the emperor published a
law in favour of liberty of conscience, and pro-
hibited all compulsion in matters of religion.
This law, however, was not of long duration.
It was abrogated at the earnest and repeated so-
licitations of the council, which was held at *Car-*
thage in the year 410; and MARCELLINUS the tri-
bune was sent by HONORIUS into *Africa*, with full
power to bring to a conclusion this tedious and
unhappy contest. MARCELLINUS therefore held
at *Cartbage*, in the year 411, a solemn conference
in which he examined the cause with much atten-
tion, heard the contending parties during the
space of three days, and, at length, pronounced
sentence in favour of the Catholics [e]. The Ca-
tholic bishops, who were present at this confer-
ence, were 286 in number; and those of the
Donatists 279. The latter, upon their defeat,
appealed to the emperor, but without effect. The
glory of their defeat was due to AUGUSTIN, who
bore the principal part in this controversy, and
who,

[e] See FRANC. BALDUIN, *Hist. Collationis Cartbag.* in *OP-
TAT. Milev. Pinian.* p. 337. It is proper to observe here,
that this meeting, held by MARCELLINUS, is very improperly
termed a conference (*collatio*). For there was no dispute car-
ried on at this meeting between the catholics and the Dona-
tists; nor did any of the parties endeavour to gain or defeat
the other by superiority of argument. This conference, then,
was properly a *judicial trial*, in which MARCELLINUS was, by
the Emperor, appointed judge, or arbiter of this religious con-
troversy, and accordingly pronounced sentence after a proper
hearing of the cause. It appears, therefore, from this event,
that the notion of a supreme spiritual judge of controversy,
and ruler of the church appointed by CHRIST, had not as yet
entered into any one's head; since we see the African bishops
themselves appealing to the emperor in the present religious
question.

C E N T. who, indeed, by his writings, councils, and ad-
 V.
 P A R T II. monitions, governed almost the whole *African*
 church, and also the principal and most illustrious
 heads of that extensive province.

III. By this conference, the party of the Donatists was greatly weakened ; nor could they ever get the better of this terrible shock, though the face of affairs changed afterwards in a manner that was proper to revive their hopes. The greatest part of them, through the fear of punishment, submitted to the emperor's decree, and returned into the bosom of the church ; while the severest penalties were inflicted upon those who remained obstinate, and persisted in their rebellion. Fines, banishment, confiscation of goods, were the ordinary punishments of the obstinate Donatists ; and even the pain of death was inflicted upon such as surpassed the rest in perverseness, and were the seditious ringleaders of that stubborn faction. Some avoided these penalties by flight, others by concealing themselves, and some were so desperate as to seek deliverance by self-murder, to which the Donatists had a shocking propensity. In the mean time, the Circumcelliones used more violent methods of warding off the execution of the sentence that was pronounced against their sect ; for they ran up and down through the province of *Africa* in the most outrageous manner, committing acts of cruelty every where, and defending themselves by force of arms.

The Donatists, indeed, recovered afterwards their former liberty and tranquillity by the succour and protection they received from the Vandals, who invaded *Africa*, with GENSERIC at their head, in the year 427, and took this province out of the hands of the Romans. The wound, however, that this sect had received from the vigorous execution of the imperial laws, was so deep, that though they began to revive and multiply by
 the,

the assistance of the Vandals, yet they could never arrive at their former strength and lustre.

IV. The Arians, oppressed and persecuted by the imperial edicts, took refuge among those fierce and savage nations, who were gradually overturning the western empire, and found among the Goths, Suevi, Heruli, Vandals, and Burgundians, a fixed residence and a peaceful retreat. And as their security animated their courage, they treated the Catholics with the same violence which the latter had employed against them and other heretics; and they persecuted and vexed in various ways such as professed their adherence to the Nicene doctrines. The Vandals, who reigned in *Africa*, surpassed all the other savage nations in barbarity and injustice towards the Catholics. The kings of this fierce people, particularly GENSERIC and HUNERIC his son pulled down the churches of those Christians who acknowledged the divinity of CHRIST, sent their bishops into exile, and maimed and tormented in various ways such as were nobly firm and inflexible in the profession of their faith [*f*]. They however declared that, in using these severe and violent methods, they were authorized, by the example of the emperors, who had enacted laws of the same rigorous nature against the Donatists, the Arians, and other sects who differed in opinion from the Christians of *Constantinople* [*g*].

We must not here omit mentioning the stupendous miracle, which is said to have been wrought during these persecutions in *Africa*, and by which the Supreme Being is supposed to have declared his displeasure against the Arians, and his

[*f*] See VICTOR VITENS. lib. iii. *De persecutione Vandali.* ca, which THEOD. RUINART published at Paris in the year 1694, in 8vo. with his *History* of the same persecution.

[*g*] See the edict of HUNERIC, in the history of VICTOR, mentioned in the preceding note, lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 64.

CENT. V. PART II. his favour towards their adversaries. This miracle consisted in enabling those Catholics, whose tongues had been cut out by the Arian tyrant HUNERIC, to speak distinctly, and to proclaim aloud the divine majesty of the Saviour of the world. This remarkable fact can scarcely be denied, since it is supported by the testimony of the most credible and respectable witnesses [b]; but

[b] These witnesses, who had themselves ocular demonstration of the fact, were VICTOR of Utica, ÆNEAS of Gaza, (who examined the mouths of the persons in question, and found that their tongues were entirely rooted out) PROCOPIUS, MARCELLINUS the count, and the Emperor JUSTINIAN. Upon the authority of such respectable testimonies, the learned ABBADIE formed a laboured and dexterous defence of the miraculous nature of this extraordinary fact, in his work intitled, *La Triomphe de la providence*; &c. vol. iii. p. 255, &c. where all the fire of his zeal, and all the subtilty of his logic, seem to have been exhausted. Dr BERRYMAN, in his *Historical Account of the Trinitarian Controversy*; as also in his sermons preached at Lady MOYER's Lectures, in the year 1725, and Dr CHAPMAN, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, have maintained the same hypothesis. To the former, an answer was published by an anonymous writer, under the following title: "An Enquiry into the Miracle said to have been wrought in the fifth century, upon some orthodox Christians, in favour of the Doctrine of the Trinity, &c. in a Letter to a Friend." We may venture to say, that this answer is utterly unsatisfactory. The author of it, after having laboured to invalidate the testimony alleged in favour of the fact, seems himself scarcely convinced by his own arguments; for he acknowledges at last the possibility of the event, but persists in denying the miracle, and supposes, that the cruel operation was so imperfectly performed upon these confessors, as to leave in some of them such a share of that organ, as was sufficient for the use of speech. Dr MIDDLETON (to whom some have attributed the forementioned *Answer*) maintains the same hypothesis, in his *Free Inquiry into the miraculous Powers*, &c. supposing, that the tongues of the persons in question were not entirely rooted out, which he corroborates by the following consideration, that two of the sufferers are said to have utterly lost the faculty of speaking. For though this be ascribed to a peculiar judgment of God punishing the immoralities, of which they were afterwards guilty, yet this appears to the doctor, to be a forced and improbable solution of the matter, who imagines

he

but whether it is to be attributed to a super-^{C E N T.}
 natural and miraculous power, is a matter not ^{V.}
 SO ^{P A R T II.}

he solves it better by supposing, *that they had not been deprived of their intire tongues.* He goes yet further, and produces two cases from the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, which prove, in his opinion, "That this pretended miracle owed its whole credit to our ignorance of the powers of nature." The first is, that of "a girl born without a tongue, who yet talked as easily and distinctly, as if she had enjoyed the full benefit of that organ;" and the second, that of "a boy, who, at the age of eight or nine years, lost his tongue by a gangrene or ulcer, and yet retained the faculty of speaking." See MIDDLETON's *Free Inquiry*, &c. p. 183, 184.

This reasoning of the sceptical doctor of divinity appeared superficial and unsatisfactory to the judicious Mr DODWELL, who (saying nothing about the case of the two Trinitarians who remained dumb, after their tongues were cut out, and whose dumbness is but indifferently accounted for by their immorality, since *gifts* have been often possessed without *graces*) confines himself to the consideration of the two parallel facts drawn from the *Academical Memoirs* already mentioned. To shew that these facts prove little or nothing against the miracle in question, he justly observes, that though, in one or two particular cases, a mouth may be so singularly formed as to utter articulate sounds, without the usual instrument of speech (some excrescence probably supplying the defect), yet it cannot be any thing less than miraculous, that this should happen to a considerable number of persons, whose tongues were cut out to prevent their preaching a discountenanced doctrine. To deny the miracle in question, we must maintain, that it is as easy to speak without a tongue, as with it. See Mr DODWELL's *Free Answer to Dr MIDDLETON's Free Inquiry*, &c. p. 96, 97, &c.

Mr TOLL, who defended MIDDLETON's hypothesis, has proposed an objection, *a priori*, as it may be justly called, against the truth of this miracle. He observes, that the occasion on which it was wrought was not of sufficient *consequence* or *necessity* to require a divine interposition; for it was not wrought to convert infidels to Christianity, but to bring over the followers of ARIUS to the Athanasian faith; it was wrought, in a word, for the explication of a doctrine, which both sides allowed to be founded in the New Testament. Now, as the Holy Scriptures are a revelation of the will of God, "it seems (says Mr TOLL) to cast a reflexion on his wisdom, as if he did things by halves, to suppose it necessary for him to work miracles, in order to ascertain the sense of those scriptures. This (continues he) would be multiplying

C E N T. so easily decided, and which admits of much dispute [i].

V. A

V.
PART II.

“ multiplying miracles to an infinite degree ;—besides, it
 “ would destroy the universal truth of that proposition from
 “ which we cannot depart, namely, *That the scriptures are*
 “ *sufficiently plain in all things necessary to salvation.*” See
 Mr TOLL’s *Defence of Dr MIDDLETON’s Free Inquiry, against*
Mr DODWELL’s Free Answer, p. 81, 82. To this specious
 objection Mr DODWELL replies, that on the doctrine in dis-
 pute between the Arians and the Orthodox, depend the true
 notion, as well as the importance and reality of our salvation ;
 that the doctrines, duties, and motives of Christianity are *ex-*
alted or debased, as we embrace the one or the other of those
 systems ; that on the *divinity* of CHRIST, the *meritoriousness*
 of the propitiation offered by him must entirely rest ; and
 that, therefore, no occasion of greater consequence can be
 assigned on which a miracle might be expected. He adds,
 that the disputes which men have raised about certain doc-
 trines, are no proof that these doctrines are not plainly re-
 vealed in scripture, seeing this would prove that no truth is
 there sufficiently revealed, because, at one time or other,
 they have been all disputed : and he observes judiciously, that
 the expediency of interposing by miracles, is what we always
 are not competent judges of, since God only knows the times,
 seasons, and occasions, in which it is proper to alter the usual
 course of nature, in order to maintain the truth, to support the
 oppressed, and to carry on the great purposes of his gospel
 kingdom. It is enough, that the present interposition be not
incredible, to remove Mr TOLL’s objection, without consider-
 ing its particular use, and the unexceptionable manner in
 which it is attested. See Mr DODWELL’s *Full and final Re-*
sponse to Mr TOLL’s Defence, &c. p. 270, 271.

We must observe here that this latter objection and answer
 are merely hypothetical, *i. e.* they draw their force only from
 the different opinions, which the ingenious Mr TOLL and his
 learned antagonist entertain concerning the importance of the
 doctrine, in favour of which this pretended miracle is said to
 have been wrought. The grand question, whose decision al-
 one can finish this controversy, is, whether the tongues of
 these African confessors were entirely rooted out, or no ? The
 cases of the two who *remained dumb* furnishes a shrewd pre-
 sumption, that the cruel operation was not equally performed
 upon all. The immorality of these two, and the judgment
 of God, suspending with respect to them the influence of the
 miracle, do not solve this difficulty entirely, since (as we ob-
 served above) many have been possessed of *supernatural gifts*
 without *graces* ; and CHRIST tells us, that many have *cast out*
devils in his name, whom at the last day he will not acknow-
 ledge as his faithful servants.

V. A new sect, which was the source of most fatal and deplorable divisions in the Christian church, was formed by NESTORIUS, a Syrian bishop of *Constantinople*, a disciple of the celebrated THEODORE of *Mopsuestia*, and a man remarkable for his learning and eloquence, which were, however, accompanied with much levity, and with intolerable arrogance. Before we enter into a particular account of the doctrine of this sectary, it is proper to observe, that though, by the decrees of former councils, it had been clearly and peremptorily determined, that CHRIST was, at the same time, true God and true man; yet no council had hitherto decreed any thing concerning the manner and effect of this union of the two natures in the divine Saviour; nor was this matter, as yet, become a subject either of inquiry or dispute among Christians. The consequence of this was, that the Christian doctors expressed themselves differently concerning this mystery. Some used such forms of expression as seemed to widen the difference between the Son of God and the son of man, and thus to divide the nature of CHRIST into two distinct persons. Others, on the contrary, seemed to confound too much the Son of God with the son of man; and to suppose the nature of CHRIST composed of his divinity and humanity blended together into one.

The heresy of APOLLINARIS had given occasion to these different ways of speaking. For he maintained that the man CHRIST was not endowed with a human soul, but with the divine nature, which was substituted in its place, and performed its functions; and this doctrine manifestly supposed a confusion of the two natures in the MESSIAH. The Syrian doctors therefore, that they

Vol. II.

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might

[1] See ROMARTI *Histor. Persequut. Vandal.* part II. cap. vii. p. 482. See *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom. iii. part II. p. 339. tom. v. part I. p. 171.

CENT.
V.
PART II.
The rise of
Nestorianism.

C E N T. might avoid the errors of APOLLINARIS, and ex-
 V.
 P A R T II. clude his followers from the communion of the
 church, were careful in establishing an accurate
 distinction between the divine and the human na-
 ture in the Son of God ; and for this purpose they
 used such forms of expression as seemed to favour
 the notion of CHRIST's being composed of two
distinct persons. The manner of speaking, adopted
 by the Alexandrians and Egyptians, had a dif-
 ferent tendency, and seemed to countenance the
 doctrine of APOLLINARIS, and by a confusion of
 the two natures, to blend them into one. NESTO-
 RIUS, who was a Syrian, and had adopted the
 sentiments of the doctors of his nation, was a vio-
 lent enemy to all the sects ; but to none so much
 as to the Apollinarian faction, after whose ruin
 he breathed with an ardent and inextinguishable
 zeal. He therefore discoursed concerning the
 two natures in CHRIST after the Syrian manner,
 and commanded his disciples to distinguish care-
 fully between the *actions* and *perceptions* [*k*], of
 the Son of God, and those of the son of man [*l*].

The occa-
 sion of the
 Nestorian
 controver-
 sy.

VI. The occasion of this disagreeable contro-
 versy was furnished by the Presbyter ANASTASIUS,
 a friend of NESTORIUS. This presbyter, in a
 public discourse, delivered A. D. 424, declaimed
 warmly

[*k*] The original word *perpassio*, which signifies properly
suffering, or *passion*, we have here translated, by the general
 term, *perception*, because suffering, or passion, cannot be, in any
 sense, attributed to the *divine nature*.

[*l*] The Jesuit DOUCIN published at Paris, A. D. 1716, *A
 History of Nestorianism*: but it is such a history as might be
 expected from a writer, who was obliged, by his profession, to
 place the arrogant CYRIL among the saints, and NESTORIUS among
 the heretics. The ancient writers, on both sides of this
 controversy, are mentioned by JO. FRANC. BUDDÆUS, in his
Isagoge in Theologiam, tom. ii. p. 1084. The accounts given
 of this dispute by the Oriental writers, are collected by EUSEB.
 RENAUDOT. in his *Historia Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 108.
 and by JOS. SIM. ASSEMANUS, in his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.*
 tom. iii. part II. p. 67.

warmly against the title of *θεοτοκος*, or *mother of God*, which was now more frequently attributed to the Virgin MARY in the controversy against the Arians, than it had formerly been, and was a favourite term with the followers of APOLLINARIS. He, at the same time, gave it as his opinion, that the Holy Virgin was rather to be called *Χριστοκος*, i. e. *mother of Christ*, since the deity can neither be born nor die, and of consequence the son of man alone could derive his birth from an earthly parent. NESTORIUS applauded these sentiments, and explained and defended them in several discourses [m]. But both he and his friend ANASTASIUS were keenly opposed by certain monks at *Constantinople*, who maintained that the son of MARY was *God incarnate*, and excited the zeal and fury of the populace to maintain this doctrine against NESTORIUS. Notwithstanding all this, the discourses of the latter were extremely well received in many places, and had the majority on their side. The Egyptian monks had no sooner perused them, than they were persuaded, by the weight of the arguments they contained, to embrace the opinions of NESTORIUS, and accordingly ceased to call the Blessed Virgin the *mother of God*.

VII. The Prelate, who ruled the see of *Alexandria* at this time, was CYRIL, a man of a haughty, turbulent, and imperious temper, and painfully jealous of the rising power and authority of the bishop of *Constantinople*. As soon as this controversy came to his knowledge, he censured the Egyptian monks and NESTORIUS; and, finding the latter little disposed to submit to his censure, he proceeded to violent measures, took counsel with CELESTINE, bishop of *Rome*, whom he

C E N T.
V.
P A R T II.

Nestorius
and Cyril
reciprocally
anathema-
tized by
each other.

[m] See HARDUINI *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 2109. See also JOE. SIM. ASSEMANUS, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part II. p. 199.

C E N T. he had engaged on his side, assembled a council
 V.
 P A R T II. at *Alexandria*, A. D. 430, and hurled no less than
 twelve anathemas at the head of NESTORIUS. The
 thunderstruck prelate did not sink under this vio-
 lent shock; but, seeing himself unjustly accused
 of derogating from the majesty of CHRIST, he re-
 torted the same accusation upon his adversary,
 charged him with the Apollinarian heresy, with
 confounding the two natures in CHRIST, and
 loaded CYRIL with as many anathemas as he had
 received from him. This unhappy contest be-
 tween two bishops of the first order proceeded ra-
 ther from corrupt motives of jealousy and ambi-
 tion, than from a sincere and disinterested zeal
 for the truth, and was the source of evils and ca-
 lamities without number.

The council
 of Ephesus.

VIII. When the spirits were so exasperated on
 both sides, by reciprocal excommunications and
 polemic writings, that there was no prospect of
 an amicable issue to this unintelligible contro-
 versy, THEODOSIUS the younger called a council
 at *Ephesus*, A. D. 431, which was the *third general*
council in the annals of the church. In this coun-
 cil CYRIL presided, though he was the party con-
 cerned, and the avowed enemy of NESTORIUS;
 and he proposed examining and determining the
 matter in debate before JOHN of *Antioch* and the
 other eastern bishops arrived. NESTORIUS ob-
 jected against this proceeding, as irregular and
 unjust; but, his remonstrances being without
 effect, he refused to comply with the summons
 which called him to appear before the council.
 CYRIL, on the other hand, pushing on matters
 with a lawless violence. NESTORIUS was judged
 without being heard; and, during the absence of
 a great number of those bishops who belonged to
 the council, he was compared with the traitor
 JUDAS, charged with blasphemy against the di-
 vine majesty, deprived of his episcopal dignity,
 and

and sent into exile, where he finished his days [n]. C E N T.
V.
P A R T II.
 The transactions of this council will appear to the candid and equitable reader in the most unfavourable light, as full of low artifice, contrary to all the rules of justice, and even destitute of the least air of common decency. The doctrine, however, that was established in it concerning CHRIST, was that which has been always acknowledged and adopted by the majority of Christians, viz. "That CHRIST was *one divine person*, in whom *two natures* were most closely and intimately united, but without being mixed or confounded together."

IX. NESTORIUS, among other accusations of less moment, was charged with dividing the nature of CHRIST into *two distinct persons*, and with having maintained, that the *divine nature* was superadded to the *human nature* of JESUS, after it was formed, and was no more than an auxiliary support to the *man* CHRIST, through the whole of his life. NESTORIUS denied this charge even to the last, and solemnly professed his entire disapprobation of this doctrine [o]. Nor indeed was

[n] Those that desire a more ample account of this council, may consult the *Variarum Patrum Epistolæ ad Concilium Ephesinum pertinentes*, published at *Louvain* in the year 1682, from some Vatican and other manuscripts, by CHRISTIAN LURUS. NESTORIUS, in consequence of the sentence pronounced against him in this council, was first banished to *Petra* in *Arabia*, and afterwards to *Oasis*, a solitary place in the deserts of *Egypt*, where he died in the year 435. The accounts given of his tragical death by EVAGRIUS, in his *Eccl. Hist.* lib. i. cap. vii. and by THEODORUS the reader, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii. p. 565, are entirely fabulous. Dr MOSHEIM's account of the time of NESTORIUS's death is perhaps unexact; for it appears, that NESTORIUS was at *Oasis*, when SOCRATES wrote, that is, A. D. 439. See *Socrat.* lib. vii. cap. xxxiv.

[o] See GARNIER's edition of the works of MARIUS MERCATOR, tom. ii. p. 286. See also the fragments of those letters which NESTORIUS wrote some time before his death,

C E N T. was this opinion ever proposed by him in any of
 V.
 P A R T II his writings, but was only charged upon him by
 his iniquitous adversaries, as a consequence drawn
 from some incautious and ambiguous terms he
 used, and particularly from his refusing to call
 the Virgin MARY the *mother of God* [p]. Hence
 many, nay, the greatest part of writers both an-
 cient and modern, after a thorough examination
 of this matter, have positively concluded, that the
 opinions of NESTORIUS, and of the council which
 condemned them, were the same in effect; that
 their difference was in words only, and that the
 whole blame of this unhappy controversy was to
 be charged upon the turbulent spirit of CYRIL,
 and his aversion to NESTORIUS [q].

This judgment may be just upon the whole;
 but it is however true, that NESTORIUS committed
 two faults in the course of this controversy. The
 first was his giving offence to many Christians by
 abrogating

which are to be found in JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 40, 41.

[p] It is remarkable, that CYRIL would not hear the ex-
 planations which NESTORIUS offered to give of his doctrine.
 Nay, the later offered to grant the title of *Mother of God* to
 the Virgin MARY, provided that nothing else was thereby
 meant, but that *the man born of her was united to the divinity*.
 See *Socrat.* lib. vii. cap. xxxiv.

[q] LUTHER was the first of the modern writers who thought
 thus. And he inveighed against CYRIL, with the greatest bit-
 terness, in his book *De conciliis*, tom. viii. opp. Altenb. p. 265,
 266, 273. See also BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the articles NES-
 TORIUS and RODON. CHRIST. AUGUST. SALIG, *De Euty-
 chianismo ante Eutychen*, p. 200. OTTO FRID. SCHUTZIUS, *De
 vita Chytræi*, lib. ii. cap. xxix. p. 190, 191. JO. VOIGT. *Bib-
 lioth. Historiæ Hæresiologicæ*, tom. i. part III. p. 457. PAUL.
 ERNEST. JABLONSKY, *Exerc. de Nestorianismo*, published at
 Berlin, A. D. 1720. *Thesaur. Epistolic. Crozianus.* tom. i.
 p. 184. tom. iii. p. 195. *La Vie de la Croix*, par JORDAN, p.
 231, and many others. As to the faults that have been
 laid to the charge of NESTORIUS, they are collected by AS-
 SEMAN, in his *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. iii. part II. p.
 210.

abrogating a trite and innocent term [r] ; and the second, his presumptuously attempting to explain, by uncouth comparisons and improper expressions, a mystery which infinitely surpasses the extent of our imperfect reason. If to these defects we add the despotic spirit and the excessive warmth of this persecuted prelate, it will be difficult to decide who is most to be blamed, as the principal fomentor of this violent contest, CYRIL or NESTORIUS [s].

X. The council of *Ephesus*, instead of healing these divisions, did but inflame them more and more, and almost destroyed all hope of restoring concord and tranquillity in the church. JOHN of *Antioch*, and the other eastern bishops, for whose arrival CYRIL had refused to wait, met at *Ephesus*, and pronounced against him and MEMNON, the bishop of that city, who was his creature, as severe a sentence as they had thundered against NESTORIUS. Hence arose a new and obstinate dissension between CYRIL and the Orientals, with JOHN the bishop of *Antioch* at their head. This flame was indeed somewhat abated, A. D. 433, after CYRIL had received the *Articles of faith* drawn up by JOHN, and abandoned certain phrases and

The progress of Nestorianism after the council of *Ephesus*.

F 4

expressions,

[r] The title of *Mother of God*, applied to the Virgin MARY, is not perhaps so innocent as Dr MOSHEIM takes it to be. To the judicious and learned it can present no idea at all, and to the ignorant and unwary it may present the most absurd and monstrous notions. The invention and use of such mysterious terms, as have no place in scripture, are undoubtedly pernicious to true religion.

[s] There is no difficulty at all in deciding this question. NESTORIUS, though possessed of an arrogant and persecuting spirit in general, yet does not seem to deserve, in this particular case, the reproaches that are due to CYRIL. ANASTASIUS, and not NESTORIUS, was the first who kindled the flame ; and NESTORIUS was the suffering and persecuted party from the beginning of the controversy to his death. His offers of accommodation were refused, his explanations were not read, his submission was rejected, and he was condemned unheard.

C E N T. expressions, of which the litigious might make a
 V.
 P A R T II. pernicious use. But the commotions, which
 { } arose from this fatal controversy, were more du-
 rable in the east [t]. Nothing could oppose the
 progress of Nestorianism in those parts. The
 discipline and friends of the persecuted prelate
 carried his doctrine through all the Oriental pro-
 vinces, and erected every where congregations
 which professed an invincible opposition to the
 decrees of the council of *Ephesus*. The Persians;
 among others, opposed CYRIL in the most vi-
 gorous manner, maintained that NESTORIUS had
 been unjustly condemned at *Ephesus*, and charged
 CYRIL with removing that distinction which sub-
 sists between the *two natures* in CHRIST. But no-
 thing tended so much to propagate with rapidity
 the doctrine of NESTORIUS, as its being received
 in the famous school which had for a long time
 flourished at *Edessa*. For the doctors of this re-
 nowned academy not only instructed the youth in
 the Nestorian tenets, but translated from the Greek
 into the Syriac language the books of NESTORIUS,
 of his master THEODORUS of *Mopsuestia*, and the
 writings also of DIODORUS of *Tarsus*, and spread
 them abroad throughout *Assyria* and *Persia* [u].

Barsumas,
 a zealous
 promoter of
 Nestorian-
 ism.

XI. Of all the promoters of the NESTORIAN
 cause, there was none to whom it has such weighty
 obligations as to the famous BARSUMAS, who was
 ejected out of his place, in the school of *Edessa*,
 and created bishop of *Nisibis*, A. D. 435. This
 zealous prelate laboured with incredible assiduity
 and

[t] See CHRIST. AUG. SALIG, *De Eutychianismo ante Eu-tychen*, p. 243.

[u] See JOS. SIMON. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 351. tom. iii. part II. p. 69. This learned author may be advantageously used to correct what EUSEBIUS RENAUD. has said (in the second tome of his *Liturgiae Orientales*, p. 99) concerning the first rise of the Nestorian doctrine in the eastern provinces. See also the *Ecclesiastical History of THEODORUS the reader*, book ii. p. 558.

and dexterity, from the year 440, to procure, for the Nestorians, a solid and permanent settlement in *Persia*; and he was vigorously seconded in this undertaking by MANNES bishop of *Ardascira*. So remarkable was the success which crowned the labours of BARSUMAS, that his fame extended throughout the east; and the Nestorians, which still remain in *Chaldæa*, *Persia*, *Assyria*, and the adjacent countries, consider him alone, and not without reason, as their parent and founder. This indefatigable ecclesiastic not only persuaded PHEROZES, the *Persian* monarch to expel out of his dominions such Christians as had adopted the opinions of the Greeks, and to admit the Nestorians in their place, but he even engaged him to put the latter in possession of the principal seat of ecclesiastical authority in *Persia*, the see of *Seleucia*, which the Patriarch, or Catholic of the Nestorians, has always filled even down to our time [w]. The zeal and activity of BARSUMAS did not end here: he erected a famous school at *Nisibis*, from whence issued those Nestorian doctors, who, in this and the following century, spread abroad their tenets through *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, *India*, *Tartary* and *China* [x].

XII. The Nestorians, before their affairs were thus happily settled, had been divided among themselves with respect to the method of explaining

The divisions of the Nestorians cease.

ing

[w] The bishop of *Seleucia* was, by the twenty-third canon of the council of *Nice*, honoured with peculiar marks of distinction, and among others with the title of Catholic. He was invested with the power of ordaining archbishops (a privilege which belonged to the patriarchs alone), exalted above all the Grecian bishops, honoured as a patriarch, and in the œcumenical councils was the sixth in rank after the bishop of *Jerusalem*. See *Acta Concilii Nicæni Arab. ALPHONS. PISAN. lib. iii. can. xxiii. xxxiv.*

[x] See, for an ample account of this matter, Jos. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vatican. tom. iii. part II. p. 77.*

C E N T. ing their doctrine. Some maintained, that the
 V.
 P A R T II. manner in which the two natures were united in
 CHRIST, was absolutely unknown: others, that
 the union of the divine nature with the man
 JESUS was only an union of *will, operation, and*
dignity [*y*]. This dissension, however, entirely
 ceased, when the Nestorians were gathered toge-
 ther into one religious community, and lived in
 tranquillity under their own ecclesiastical govern-
 ment and laws. Their doctrine, as it was then
 determined in several councils assembled at *Se-*
leucia, amounts to what follows: “ That in the
 “ Saviour of the world, there were *two persons*, or
 “ *persons*; of which the one was *divine*, even
 “ the eternal WORD; and the other, which was
 “ *human*, was the man JESUS; that these two
 “ persons had only one *aspect* [*z*]; that the
 “ union between the Son of God, and the son of
 “ man was formed in the moment of the Virgin’s
 “ conception, and was never to be dissolved; that
 “ it was not, however, an union of nature or of
 “ person, but only of will and affection; that
 “ CHRIST was, therefore, to be carefully distin-
 “ guished from God, who dwelt in him as in his
 “ temple; and that MARY was to be called the
 “ *mother of CHRIST*, and not the *mother of God*.”

The abettors of this doctrine hold NESTORIUS
 in the highest veneration, as a man of singular and
 eminent sanctity, and worthy to be held in per-
 petual remembrance: but they maintain, at the
 same time, that the doctrine he taught was much
 older

[*y*] LEONTIUS BYZANT. *adversus Nestorian. et Eutychian.*
 p. 537. tom. i. *Lectign. Antiquar.* HENR. CANISI. JAC. BAS-
 NAG. *Prolegomen. ad Canisium*, tom. i. cap. ii. p. 19.

[*z*] This is the only way I know of translating the word
barsopa, which was the term used by NESTORIUS, and which
 the Greeks render by the term *ὑπόστασις*. The word *person*
 would have done better in this unintelligible phrase, had it
 not been used immediately before in a different sense from that
 which NESTORIUS would convey by the obscure term *aspect*.

older than himself, and had been handed down C E N T.
 from the earliest times of the Christian church; P A R T II.
 and for this reason they absolutely refused the
 title of Nestorians. And, indeed, if we examine
 the matter attentively, we shall find, that BARSU-
 MAS and his followers, instead of teaching their
 disciples precisely the doctrine of NESTORIUS, ra-
 ther polished and improved his uncouth system
 to their own taste, and added to it several tenets
 of which the good man never dreamt.

XIII. A violent aversion to the Nestorian errors The Euty-
 led many into the opposite extreme. This was chian sect.
 the case with the famous EUTYCHES, abbot of a
 certain convent of monks at *Constantinople*, and
 founder of a sect, which was in direct opposition
 to that of NESTORIUS, yet equally prejudicial to
 the interests of the Christian church, by the pes-
 tilential discords and animosities it produced.
 The opinions of this new faction shot like light-
 ning through the east; and it acquired such
 strength in its progress, as to create much unea-
 siness both to the Greeks and Nestorians, whose
 most vigorous efforts were not sufficient to pre-
 vent its rising to a high degree of credit and
 splendor. EUTYCHES began these troubles, A. D.
 448, when he was far advanced in years; and to
 exert his utmost force and vehemence in opposing
 the progress of the Nestorian doctrine, he ex-
 pressed his sentiments concerning the person of
 CHRIST, in the very terms which the Egyptians
 made use of for that purpose, and taught, that *in*
 CHRIST *there was but one nature*, viz. *that of the*
incarnate word [a]. Hence he was thought to
 deny

[a] That CYRIL expressed himself in this manner, and ap-
 pealed, for his justification in so doing, to the authority of
 ATHANASIUS, is evident beyond all possibility of contra-
 diction. But it is uncertain whether or no this manner of ex-
 pression was adopted by ATHANASIUS, since many are of opi-
 nion,

C E N T.
V.
P A R T II. deny the existence of the human nature in CHRIST, and was accused of this, by EUSEBIUS of *Dorylaeum*, in the council that was assembled by FLAVIANUS at *Constantinople*, probably this same year. By a decree of this council he was ordered to renounce the abovementioned opinion, which he obstinately refused to do, and was on this account, excommunicated and deposed; little disposed, however, to acquiesce in this sentence, he appealed to the decision of a general council.

The council, which was called *Conventus Latronum*.

XIV. In consequence of this appeal, the emperor THEODOSIUS assembled an *œcumenical council* at *Ephesus*, A. D. 449, at the head of which he placed DIOSCORUS, bishop of *Alexandria*, the successor of CYRIL, the faithful imitator of his arrogance and fury, and a declared enemy to the bishop of *Constantinople*. Accordingly, by the influence and caballing of this turbulent man, matters were carried on in this council with the same want of equity and decency that had dishonoured a former Ephesian council, and characterised the proceedings of CYRIL against NESTORIUS. For DIOSCORUS, in whose church a doctrine almost the same with that of the Eutychians was constantly taught, confounded matters with such artifice and dexterity, that the doctrine of *one incarnate nature* triumphed, and EUTYCHES was acquitted of the charge of error that had been brought against him. FLAVIANUS, on the other hand,

nion, that the book, in which it is found, has been falsely attributed to him. See MICH. LE QUIEN, *Dissert. ii. in Damasenum*, p. 31. CHRIST. AUG. SALIG, *De Eutychianismo ante Eutichen*, p. 112. It appears, by what we read in the *Biblioth. Oriental. &c.* of ASSEMAN. tom. i. p. 219, that the Syrians expressed themselves in this manner before EUTYCHES, though without designing thereby to broach any new doctrine, but rather without well knowing what they said. We stand yet in need of a solid and accurate history of the Eutychian troubles; notwithstanding the labours of the learned SALIG upon that subject.

hand, was, by the order of this unrighteous council, publicly scourged in the most barbarous manner, and banished to *Epipas*, a city of *Lydia*, where soon after he ended his days [b]. The Greeks called this Ephesian council, a band, or *assembly of robbers*, συνέδοι ληστρικὴν, to signify that every thing was carried in it by fraud or violence [c]. And many councils, indeed, both in this and the following ages, are equally entitled to the same dishonourable appellation.

XV. The face of affairs soon changed, and assumed an aspect utterly unfavourable to the party whom the Ephesian council had rendered triumphant. FLAVIANUS and his followers not only engaged LEO the GREAT, bishop of *Rome*, in their interests (for the Roman pontif was the ordinary refuge of the oppressed and conquered party in this century), but also remonstrated to the emperor, that a matter of such an arduous and important nature required, in order to its decision, a council composed out of the church universal. LEO seconded this latter request, demanded of THEODOSIUS a general council, which no entreaties could persuade this emperor to grant. Upon his death, however, his successor MARCIAN consented to LEO's demand, and called, in the year 451, the council of *Chalcedon* [d], which is reckoned the *fourth general*, or *œcumenical*

[b] See the *Councils* Jo. HARDUINI, tom. i. p. 82. LIBERATI *Breviarium*, cap. xii. p. 76. LEONIS M. *Epist.* xciii. p. 625. NICEPHORI *Hist. Ecclesiastic.* lib. xiv. cap. lxxvii. p. 550, &c.

[c] Though FLAVIANUS died soon after the council of *Ephesus*, of the bruises he had received from DIOSCORUS, and the other bishops of his party in that horrid assembly, yet, before his death, he had appealed to LEO; and this appeal, pursued by LEO, occasioned the council; in which EUTYCHES was condemned, and the bloody DIOSCORUS deposed.

[d] This council was, by the emperor's summons, first assembled at *Nice*, but afterwards removed to *Chalcedon*; that the

C E N T. *œcumenical council.* The legates of LEO, who, in
 V. his famous letter to FLAVIANUS, had already con-
 P A R T II. demned the Eutychian doctrine, presided in this
 grand and crowded assembly. DIOSCORUS was con-
 demned, deposed, and banished into *Paphlagonia*,
 the acts of the council of *Ephesus* were annulled,
 the *epistle* of LEO received as a rule of faith [e];
 EUTYCHES, who had been already sent into banish-
 ment, and deprived of his sacerdotal dignity by
 the emperor, was now condemned, though absent;
 and the following doctrine, which is at this time
 almost generally received, was inculcated upon
 CHRISTIANS as the object of faith, *viz.* "That in
 " CHRIST *two distinct natures* were united in *one*
 " *person*, and that without any change, mixture,
 " or confusion."

Warm con-
 tests suc-
 ceed the
 council of
 Chalcedon.

XVI. The remedy applied by this council, to
 heal the wounds of a torn and divided church,
 proved really worse than the disease. For a great
 number of Oriental and Egyptian doctors, though
 of various characters and different opinions in
 other respects, united in opposing, with the ut-
 most vehemence, the council of *Chalcedon* and
 the *epistle* of LEO, which it had adopted as a rule
 of faith, and were unanimous in maintaining an
unity of nature, as well as of *person*, in JESUS
 CHRIST. Hence arose deplorable discords and
 civil wars, whose fury and barbarity were carried
 to

the emperor, who, on account of the irruption of the Huns
 into *Illyricum*, was unwilling to go far from *Constantinople*,
 might assist at it in person.

[e] This was the Letter which LEO had written to FLA-
 VIANUS, after having been informed by him of what had pas-
 sed in the council of *Constantinople*. In this *epistle*, LEO ap-
 proves of the decisions of that council, declares the doctrine
 of EUTYCHES heretical and impious, explains, with great ap-
 pearance of perspicuity, the doctrine of the Catholic church
 upon this perplexed subject; so that this letter was esteemed
 a masterpiece both of logic and eloquence, and was constantly
 read, during the *Advent*, in the western churches.

to the most excessive and incredible lengths. C E N T.
 Upon the death of the emperor MARCIAN, the ^{V.}
 populace assembled tumultuously in *Egypt*, mas- ^{PART II.}
 sacred PROTERIUS, the successor of DIOSCORUS,
 and substituted in his place TIMOTHEUS ÆLURUS,
 who was a zealous defender of the Eutychian doc-
 trine of *one incarnate nature* in CHRIST. This
 latter, indeed, was deposed and banished by the
 emperor LEO; but, upon his death, was restored
 by BASILICUS both to his liberty and episcopal
 dignity. After the death of ÆLURUS, the de-
 fenders of the council of *Chalcedon* chose in his
 place, TIMOTHEUS, surnamed SALOPHACIOLUS,
 while the partisans of the Eutychian doctrine of
 the *one nature*, elected schismatically PETER
 MOGGUS to the same dignity. An edict of the
 emperor ZENO obliged the latter to yield. The
 triumph, however, of the Chalcedonians, on this
 occasion was but transitory; for, upon the
 death of TIMOTHEUS, JOHN TALAIA, whom they
 had chosen in his place, was removed by the same
 emperor [f]; and MOGGUS, or MONGUS, by an
 imperial edict, and the favour of ACACIUS, bishop
 of *Constantinople*, was, in the year 482, raised to
 the see of *Alexandria*.

XVII. The abbot BARSUMAS (whom the reader ^{Contexts in}
 must be careful not to confound with BARSUMAS ^{Syria and}
 of *Nisibis*, the famous promoter of the Nestorian ^{Armenia.}
 doctrines) having been condemned by the coun-
 cil of *Chalcedon* [g], brought the Eutychian opi-
 nions into *Syria*, and, by the ministry of his dis-
 ciple

[f] See LIBERATI *Breviarium*, cap. xvi, xvii, xviii. EVAGR.
Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. viii. lib. iii. cap. iii. LEQUIEN, *Oriens*
Christianus, tom. ii. p. 410.

[g] The BARSUMAS, here mentioned, was he who assist-
 ed the bishop of *Alexandria* (DIOSCORUS) and the soldiers, in
 beating FLAVIANUS to death in the council of *Ephesus*, and to
 stun whose fury, the orthodox bishops were forced to creep in-
 to holes, and hide themselves under benches, in that *pious as-*
sembly.

CEN T.ciple SAMUEL, spread them amongst the Armenians about the year 460. This doctrine, however, as it was commonly explained, had something so harsh and shocking in it, that the Syrians were easily engaged to abandon it by the exhortations of XENAIAS, otherwise called PHILOXENUS, bishop of *Hierapolis*, and the famous PETER FULLO. These doctors rejected the opinion, attributed to EUTYCHES, that *the human nature of CHRIST was absorbed by the divine* [b], and modified matters so as to form the following hypothesis : “ That in the Son of God there was *one nature*, which, notwithstanding its *unity*, was *double and compounded*.” This notion was not less repugnant to the decisions of the council of *Chalcedon* than the Eutychian doctrine, and was therefore stedfastly opposed by those who acknowledged the authority of that council [i].

The troubles excited by Peter the Fuller.

XVIII. PETER, surnamed FULLO, from the trade of a fuller, which he exercised in his monastic state, had usurped the see of *Antioch*, and, after having been several times deposed and condemned on account of the bitterness of his opposition to the council of *Chalcedon*, was fixed in it, at last, A. D. 482, by the authority of the emperor ZENO, and the favour of ACACIUS, bishop of *Constantinople* [k]. This troublesome and contentious

[b] EUTYCHES never affirmed what is here attributed to him; he maintained simply, that the *two natures*, which existed in CHRIST before his incarnation, became *one* after it, by the *hypostatical union*. This miserable dispute about words was nourished by the contending parties having no clear ideas of the terms *person* and *nature*; as also by an invincible ignorance of the subject in dispute.

[i] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vat.* tom. ii. p. 1—10. See also the *Dissertation* of this author, *De Monophysitis*, which is prefixed to this volume.

[k] VALESII *Dissertatio de PET. FULLONE, et de Synodis adversus eum collectis*, which is added to the third volume of the *Scriptor. Hist. Ecclesiast.* p. 173.

tentious man excited new discords in the church, and seemed ambitious of forming a new sect under the name of Theopaschites [1]; for to the words, *O God most holy, &c.* in the famous hymn which the Greeks called *Trisagium*, he ordered the following phrase to be added in the eastern churches, *who hast suffered for us upon the cross*. His design in this was manifestly to raise a new sect, and also to fix more deeply in the minds of the people, the doctrine of *one nature in CHRIST*, to which he was zealously attached. His adversaries, and especially FELIX the Roman pontif, interpreted this addition to the hymn abovementioned in a quite different manner, and charged him with maintaining, that all the three persons of the Godhead were crucified: and hence those who approved of his addition were called *Theopaschites*. The consequence of this dispute was, that the western Christians rejected the addition inserted by FULLO, which they judged relative to the whole trinity; while the Orientals used it constantly after this period, and that without giving the least offence, because they applied it to CHRIST alone [m].

XIX. To put an end to this controversy, which had produced the most unhappy divisions, both in church and state, the emperor ZENO, by the advice of ACACIUS, bishop of *Constantinople*, published, A. D. 482, the famous *Henoticon*, or *Decree of union*, which was designed to reconcile the contending parties. This *decree* repeated and confirmed all that had been enacted in the councils of *Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon*,
 Vol. II. G against

[1] This word expresses the enormous error of those frantic doctors, who imagined that the Godhead suffered in and with CHRIST.

[m] See NORRIS, *Lib. de uno ex Trinitate carne passo*, tom. iii. opp. *Diss. i. cap. iii. p. 782.* ASSEMANNI. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 518. tom. ii. p. 36. 180.

C E N T.
 V.
 PART II.

C E N T. against the Arians, Nestorians, and Eutychians,
 V.
 P A R T II. without making any particular mention of the
 council of *Chalcedon* [n]. For ACACIUS had persuaded the emperor, that the present opposition was not carried on against the decrees that had passed in the council of *Chalcedon*, but against the council itself; with respect to which, therefore, an entire silence was undoubtedly prudent in a proposal, which, instead of reviving, was designed to put an end to all disputes, and to reconcile the most jarring principles.

In the mean time MONGUS and FULLO, who filled the sees of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and headed the sect of the Monophysites [o], subscribed this *Decree of union*, which was also approved by ACACIUS of *Constantinople*, and by all those of the two contending parties who were at all remarkable for their candour and moderation. But there were on all sides violent and obstinate bigots, who opposed, with vigour, these pacific measures, and complained of the Henoticon as injurious to the honour and authority of the most holy council of *Chalcedon* [p]. Hence arose new contests and new divisions not less deplorable than those which the *Decree of union* was designed to suppress.

Produces
 new con-
 tests among
 the Euty-
 chians.

XX. A considerable body of the Monophysites, or Eutychians, looked upon the conduct of MONGUS, who had subscribed the *decree*, as highly criminal, and consequently formed themselves into a new faction, under the title of Acephali, i. e. *headless*, because, by the submission of MONGUS,

[n] EVAGRIUS, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. cap. xiv. LIBERATI *Breviarium Hist.* cap. xviii.

[o] This word expresses the doctrine of those who believed, that in CHRIST there was but *one nature*, and is, in most respects, the same with the term *Eutychians*.

[p] See FACUNDUS HERMIAN. *Defens. trium Capitulor.* lib. xii. cap. iv.

gus, they had been deprived of their chief [q]. C E N T. V. P A R T II.
 This sect was afterwards divided into three others, who were called Anthropomorphites, Barsanuphites, and Esaianists; and these again, in the following century, were the unhappy occasion of new factions, of which the ancient writers make frequent mention [r]. It is however necessary to observe here, for the information of those, whose curiosity interests them in inquiries of this nature, that these subdivisions of the Eutychian sect are not to be adopted with too much facility. Some of them are entirely fictitious; others are characterised by a nominal, and not by a real difference; the division is in *words*, and not in *things*; while a third sort are distinguished, not by their peculiar doctrines, but by certain rites and institutions, and matters of a merely circumstantial nature. Be that as it will, these numerous branches of the Eutychian faction did not flourish long; they declined gradually in the following century; and the influence and authority of the famous BARADÆUS contributed principally to their total extinction by the union he established among the numbers of that sect.

XXI. The Roman pontif, FELIX II. having assembled an Italian council composed of sixty-seven bishops, condemned, deposed, and cut off from the communion of the church, ACACIUS bishop of *Constantinople*, as a perfidious enemy to the truth. Several articles were alleged against ACACIUS, to furnish a pretext for the severity of this sentence; such as his attachment to the Monophysites,

And also among the partisans of the council of Chalcedon.

G 2

[q] EVAGR. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. cap. xiii. LEONTIUS BYZANT. *De sectis*, tom. i. *Lectio. Antiq.* CANISII, p. 537. TIMOTH. in COTELERII *Monument. Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, tom. iii. p. 409.

[r] These sects are enumerated by BASNAGE, in his *Prolegom. ad HEN. CANISII Lectio. Antiq.* cap. iii. and by ASSEMAN, in his *Dissertatio de Monophysitis*, p. 7.

C E N T. nophysites, and their leaders MONGUS and FULLO,
 V.
 P A R T II. the contempt with which he treated the council
 of *Chalcedon*, and other accusations of a like nature. But the true reasons of these proceedings, and of the irreconcilable hatred which the Roman pontiffs indulged against ACACIUS, were his denying the supremacy of the bishop of *Rome*, his opposing it throughout the whole course of his ministry [s], and his ambitious efforts to enlarge, beyond all bounds, the authority and prerogatives of the see of *Constantinople*. The Greeks, however, defended the character and memory of their bishop against all the aspersions which were cast upon him by the Romans. Hence arose a new schism, and new contests, which were carried on with great violence until the following century, when the obstinacy and perseverance of the Latins triumphed over the opposition of the oriental Christians, and brought about an agreement, in consequence of which, the names of ACACIUS and FULLO were struck out of the *diptychs*,

[s] This again is one of the periods of ecclesiastical history, in which we find a multitude of events, which are so many proofs how far the supremacy of the bishop of *Rome* was from being universally acknowledged. Pope FELIX II. deposes and excommunicates ACACIUS the patriarch of *Constantinople*, who not only receives this sentence with contempt, but, in his turn, anathematizes and excommunicates the Pope, and orders his name to be struck out of the *diptychs*. This conduct of ACACIUS is approved by the emperor, the church of *Constantinople*, by almost all the eastern bishops, nay, by even ANDREAS of *Thessalonica*, who was at that time the pope's vicar for *East Illyricum*. This was the occasion of that general schism, which continued for the space of twenty-five years, between the eastern and western churches. It is here worthy of observation, that the eastern bishops did not adhere to the cause of ACACIUS from any other principle; as appears from the most authentic records of those times, than a persuasion of the illegality of his excommunication by the Roman pontiff, who, in their judgment, had not a right to depose the first bishop of the east, without the consent of a general council.

tychs, or sacred registers, and thus branded with C E N T. V. perpetual infamy [t].

P A R T II.

XXII. These, deplorable dissensions and contests had, for their object, a matter of the smallest importance. EUTYCHES was generally supposed to have maintained, "That the *divine nature* of CHRIST had absorbed the *human*, and that, consequently, in him there was but *one nature*, viz. the *divine*," but the truth of this supposition is as yet destitute of sufficient evidence. However that may have been, this opinion, as also EUTYCHES, its pretended author, were rejected and condemned by those who opposed the council of *Chalcedon*, and principally indeed by XENAIAS and FULLO, who are, therefore, improperly called Eutychians, and belong rather to the class of the Monophysites. They, who assumed this latter title, held, "That the *divine* and *human nature* of CHRIST were so united, as to form only *one nature*, yet, without any *change*, *confusion*, or *mixture* of the two natures:" and that this caution might be carefully observed, and their meaning be well understood, they frequently expressed themselves thus: "In CHRIST there is one nature; but that nature is two-fold and compounded [u]." They disowned all relation and attachment to EUTYCHES; but regarded, with the highest veneration, DIOSCORUS, BARSUMAS, XENAIAS, and FULLO, as the pillars of their sect; and rejected not only the *Epistle* of LEO, but also

The doctrines of Eutyches and the Monophysites.

G 3

the

[t] HEN. VALESIIUS, *Dissert. de synodis Roman. in quibus damnatus est Acacius, ad calcem*, tom. iii. *Scriptor. Eccl.* p. 179, BASNAGE, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 301, 380, 381. BAYLE'S *Dictionary* in English, at the article ACACIUS. DAVID BLONDEL, *De la Primauté dans l'Eglise*, p. 279. *Acta sanctorum*, tom. iii. Februar. p. 502.

[u] See the passages drawn from the writings of the Monophysites by the most learned, and, frequently, impartial ASSEMAN, in his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. p. 25, 26, 29, 34, 117, 133, 135, 277, 297, &c.

C E N T. the decrees of the council of *Chalcedon*. The
 V.
 P A R T II. opinion of the Monophysites, if we judge of it
 by the terms in which it is here delivered, does
 not seem to differ in reality, but only in the man-
 ner of expression, from that which was establish-
 ed by the council of *Chalcedon* [w]. But, if we at-
 tend carefully to the metaphysical arguments and
 subtilties which the former employed to confirm
 their doctrine [x], we shall, perhaps, be induced
 to think that the controversy between the Mono-
 physites and Chalcedonians is not merely a dis-
 pute about words.

The Pela-
 gian con-
 troversy.

XXIII. A new controversy arose in the church
 during this century, and its pestilential effects
 extended themselves through the following ages.
 The authors of it were PELAGIUS and CÆLESTIUS,
 both monks ; the former a *Briton*, and the latter
 a native of *Ireland* [y] : They lived at *Rome* in the
 greatest reputation, and were universally esteemed
 on account of their extraordinary piety and vir-
 tue [z]. These monks looked upon the doctrines,
 which

[w] Many learned men treat this controversy as a mere dis-
 pute about words. GREGORY ABULPHARAIUS, himself a Mo-
 nophysite, and the most learned of the sect, declares this as his
 opinion. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient.* &c. tom. ii. p. 291. Add
 to this the *Biblioth. Italique*, tom. xvii. p. 285. LA CROZE,
Histoire du Christianisme des Indes. p. 23. and *Histoire du*
Christianisme d'Ethiope, p. 14. ASSEMAN, though a Roman
 by birth and by religion, seems, in a good measure to have a-
 dopted the same way of thinking as appears by p. 297, of the
 tome quoted above.

[x] See the subtile argumentation of ABULPHARAIUS, in the
Biblioth. Orient. of ASSEMAN, tom. ii. p. 288.

[y] Nothing very certain can be advanced with respect
 to the native country of CÆLESTIUS, which some say was *Scot-*
land, and others *Campania* in *Italy*. We know, however, that
 he was descended of an illustrious family ; and that, after ha-
 ving applied himself to the study of the law for some time, he
 retired from the world, and embraced the monastic life. See
 GENNAD. *De Script. Ecclesiast.* cap. xliv.

[z] The learned and furious JEROM, who never once
 thought of doing common justice to those who had the mis-
 fortune

which were commonly received, “ *Concerning the* C E N T.
 “ *original corruption of human nature, and the ne-* V.
 “ *cessity of divine grace to enlighten the understand-* P A R T II.
 “ *ing, and purify the heart,* as prejudicial to the
 “ progress of holiness and virtue, and tending to
 “ lull mankind in a presumptuous and fatal secu-
 “ rity. They maintained, that these doctrines
 “ were as false as they were pernicious ; that the
 “ sins of our *first parents* were *imputed* to them
 “ alone, and not to their *posterity* ; that we derive
 “ no *corruption* from their fall, but are born as
 “ pure and unspotted, as ADAM came out of the
 “ forming hand of his creator ; that mankind,
 “ therefore, are capable of repentance and amend-
 “ ment ; and of arriving to the highest degrees
 “ of piety and virtue by the use of their natural
 “ faculties and powers ; that, indeed, *external*
 “ *grace* is necessary to excite their endeavours, but
 “ that they have no need of the *Internal* succours
 “ of the divine Spirit.” These notions, and some
 others intimately connected with them [a], were
 propagated at *Rome*, though in a private manner,
 by the two monks already mentioned, who, re-
 tiring from that city, A. D. 410, upon the ap-
 proach of the Goths, went first into *Sicily*, and
 afterwards into *Africa*, where they published their
 G 4 doctrine

fortune to differ from him in opinion, accused PELAGIUS of
 gluttony and intemperance, after he had heard of his errors,
 though he had admired him before for his exemplary virtue.
 AUGUSTIN, more candid and honest, bears impartial testimony
 to the truth ; and even while he writes against this heretic, ac-
 knowledges that he had made great progress in virtue and pie-
 ty, that his life was chaste and his manners blameless ; and this,
 indeed, is the truth of the matter.

[a] The doctrines that were more immediately connect-
 ed with the main principles of PELAGIUS, were, *that infant bap-*
tism was not a *sign*, or *seal* of the *remission of sins*, but a *mark*
 of admission to the *kingdom of heaven*, which was only open to
 the pure in heart ; that *good works* were *meritorious*, and the
 only conditions of salvation ;—with many others too tedious to
 mention.

C E N T. doctrine with more freedom. From *Africa* PE-
 V.
 LAGIUS passed into *Palestine*, while CÆLESTIUS
 PART II. remained at *Carthage* with a view to preferment,
 desiring to be admitted among the presbyters of
 that city. But the discovery of his opinions having
 blasted his hopes, and his errors being condemn-
 ed in a council held at *Carthage*, A. D. 412, he
 departed from that city, and went into the east.
 It was from this time that AUGUSTIN, the famous
 bishop of *Hippo*, began to attack the tenets of
 PELAGIUS and CÆLESTIUS in his learned and elo-
 quent writings ; and to him, indeed, is principally
 due the glory of having suppressed this sect in
 its very birth [b].

The pro-
 gress of this
 controver-
 sy.

XXIV. Things went more smoothly with PE-
 LAGIUS in the east, where he enjoyed the protec-
 tion and favour of JOHN, bishop of *Jerusalem*,
 whose attachment to the sentiments of ORIGEN
 led him naturally to countenance those of PELA-
 GIUS, on account of the conformity that there
 seemed to be between these two systems. Under
 the shadow of this powerful protection, PELA-
 GIUS made a public profession of his opinions,
 and formed disciples in several places. And
 though in the year 415, he was accused by ORO-
 SIUS, a Spanish presbyter, whom AUGUSTIN had
 sent into *Palestine* for that purpose, before an As-
 sembly of bishops met at *Jerusalem*, yet he was
 dismissed without the least censure ; and not only
 so,

[b] The Pelagian controversy has been historically treated
 by many learned writers, such as USHER, in his *Antiquit.
 Eccles. Britannicæ* ; LAET ; GER. VOSSIUS ; NORIS ; GAR-
 NIER, in his *Supplement. Oper. Theodoret* ; JANSENIUS in *Au-
 gustino* ; and others. LONGUEVAL also, a French Jesuit, wrote
A history of the Pelagians. See the Preface to the ninth vol.
 of his *Historia Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ*, p. 4. After all, it must
 be confessed, that of all these learned writers none have ex-
 hausted this interesting subject, or treated it with a sufficient
 degree of impartiality.

so, but was soon after fully acquitted of all errors C E N T.
by the council of *Diospolis* [c]. V.

This controversy was brought to *Rome*, and re- P A R T II.
ferred by CÆLESTIUS and PELAGIUS to the deci-
sion of ZOSIMUS [d], who was raised to the Pon-
tificate A. D. 417. The new Pontif, gained over
by the ambiguous, and seemingly orthodox *con-*
fession of faith, that CÆLESTIUS, who was now
at *Rome*, had artfully drawn up, and also by the
letters and protestations of PELAGIUS, pronounced
in favour of these monks, declared them sound in
the faith, and unjustly persecuted by their adver-
saries. The African bishops, with AUGUSTIN at
their head, little affected with this declaration,
continued obstinately to maintain the judgment
they had pronounced in this matter, and to
strengthen it by their exhortations, their letters,
and their writings. ZOSIMUS yielded to the per-
severance of the Africans, changed his mind, and
condemned, with the utmost severity, PELAGIUS
and CÆLESTIUS, whom he had honoured with his
approbation, and covered with his protection.
This was followed by a train of evils, which pur-
sued these two monks without interruption. They
were condemned by that same Ephesian council
which had launched its thunder at the head of
NESTORIUS: in short, the Gauls, Britons, and
Africans,

[c] See DANIEL, *Histoire du Concile de Diospolis*, which is
to be found in the *Opuscula* of that eloquent and learned Je-
suit, published at Paris in the year 1724, in three volumes
quarto. *Diospolis* was a city of *Palestine*, known in Scripture
by the name of *Lydda*; and the bishop who presided in this
council was EULOGIUS of *Cæsarea*, Metropolitan of *Palestine*.

[d] To preserve the thread of the history here, and pre-
vent the reader's being surprised to find PELAGIUS and CÆLES-
TIUS appealing to *Rome* after having been acquitted at *Diospo-*
lis, it is necessary to observe, that after the council of *Diospolis*,
these two monks were condemned anew, A. D. 416. by the
African bishops assembled at *Carthage*, and those of *Numi-*
dia assembled at *Milevum*; upon which they appealed to
Rome.

C E N T. Africans, by their councils, and the emperors, by
 V.
 P A R T II. their edicts and penal laws, demolished this sect
 in its infancy, and suppressed it entirely before it
 had acquired any tolerable degree of vigour or
 consistence [e].

The pre-
 destinari-
 ana.

XXV. The unhappy disputes about the opi-
 nions of PELAGIUS occasioned, as usually hap-
 pens, other controversies equally prejudicial to
 the peace of the church, and the interests of true
 Christianity. In the course of this dispute, Au-
 GUSTIN had delivered his opinion, *Concerning the
 necessity of divine grace in order to our salvation,
 and the decrees of God with respect to the future
 conditions of men*, without being always consistent
 with himself, or intelligible to others. Hence cer-
 tain monks of *Adrumetum*, and others, were led
 into a notion, “ That God not only predestinated
 “ the wicked to eternal punishment, but also to
 “ the guilt and transgression for which they are
 “ punished ; and that thus both the good and bad
 “ actions of all men were determined from eterni-
 “ ty by a divine decree, and fixed by an invin-
 “ cible necessity.” Those who embraced this o-
 pinion, were called Predestinarians. AUGUSTIN
 used his utmost influence and authority to pre-
 vent the spreading of this doctrine, and explain-
 ed his true sentiments with more perspicuity,
 that it might not be attributed to him. His ef-
 forts were seconded by the councils of *Arles* and
Lyons, in which the doctrine in question was pub-
 licly

[e] See GERARD. JO. VOSSIUS, his *Historia Pelagiana*, lib. i.
 cap. lv. p. 130. ; as also the learned observations that have
 been made upon this controversy, in the *Bibliothèque Italique*,
 tom. v. p. 74. The writers on both sides are mentioned by
 JO. FRANC. BUDDEUS, in his *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, tom. ii.
 1071. The learned WALL, in his *History of Infant Baptism*,
 vol. i. chap. xix. has given a concise and elegant account of
 the Pelagian controversy ; an account which, though im-
 perfect in several respects, abounds with solid and useful
 erudition.

licly rejected and condemned [f]. But we must not omit observing, that the existence of this Predestinarian sect has been denied by many learned men, and looked upon as an invention of the Semi-Pelagians, designed to decry the followers of AUGUSTIN, by attributing to them unjustly this dangerous and pernicious error [g].

XXVI. A new and different modification was given to the doctrine of AUGUSTIN by the monk CASSIAN, who came from the east into *France*, and erected a monastery near *Marseille*. Nor was he the only one who attempted to fix upon a certain temperature between the errors of PELAGIUS and the opinion of the African oracle; several persons embarked in this undertaking about the year 430, and hence arose a new sect, which were called, by their adversaries, Semi-Pelagians.

The opinions of this sect have been misrepresented, by its enemies, upon several occasions; such is generally the fate of all parties in religious

[f] See JAC. SERMONDI *Historia Prædestinatio*, tom. iv. opp. p. 271. BASNAGE *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. livr. xii. cap. ii. p. 698. DION. PETAVIUS, *Dogmat. Theol.* tom. vi. p. 168, 174, &c.

[g] See GILB. MAUGUINI *Fabula Prædestinatio confutata*, which he subjoined to the second tome of his learned work, intitled, *Collectio variorum Scriptorum qui Sæc. ix. de Prædestinatione et Gratia scripserunt*. FRED. SPANHEMIUS, *Introd. ad Historiam Eccles.* tom. i. opp. p. 993. JAC. BASNAG. *Adnot. ad Prosperi Chronicon & Præf. ad Faustum Regiensem*, tom. i. *Lectio. Antiqu.* HEN. CANTII, p. 315. 348. GRANGER (who wrote the life of LAUNOY) observes, that SIRMOND had solicited LAUNOY to write against MAUGUIN, who denied the existence of the *Predestinarian sect*; but that the former, having examined the matter with care and application, adopted the sentiment of MAUGUIN. The whole dispute about the existence of this sect will, when closely looked into, appear to be little more, perhaps, than a dispute about words. It may be very true, that, about this time, nay, from the time of St PAUL, certain persons embraced the *Predestinarian* opinions here mentioned. But there is no solid proof, that the abettors of these opinions ever formed themselves into a sect. See BASNAGE *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 700.

C E N T.ous controversies. Their doctrine, as it has been
 V.
 PART II. generally explained by the learned, amounted to
 this : “ That *inward preventing grace* was not ne-
 cessary to form in the soul the *first beginnings* of
 true repentance and amendment ; that every
 one was capable of producing these by the mere
 power of their natural faculties, as also of ex-
 ercising faith in CHRIST, and forming the pur-
 poses of a holy and sincere obedience.” But
 they acknowledged at the same time, “ That
 none could *persevere* or *advance* in that holy
 and virtuous course which they had the power
 of *beginning*, without the perpetual support, and
 the powerful assistance of the divine grace [b].”
 The disciples of AUGUSTIN, in *Gaul*, attacked
 the Semi-Pelagians with the utmost vehemence,
 without being able to extirpate or overcome
 them [i]. The doctrine of this sect was so suited
 to the capacities of the generality of men, so
 conformable to the way of thinking that prevailed
 among the monastic orders, so well received a-
 mong the gravest and most learned Grecian doc-
 tors, that neither the zeal nor industry of its adver-
 saries

✠ [b] The leading principles of the Semi-Pelagians were
 the five following: 1. That God did not dispense his *grace* to
 one more than another, in consequence of Predestination, *i. e.*
 an eternal and absolute decree ; but was willing to save all
 men, if they complied with the terms of his gospel. 2. That
 CHRIST *died for all men*. 3. That the grace purchased by
 CHRIST, and necessary to salvation, was offered to all men.
 4. That man, before he received grace, was capable of faith
 and holy desires. 5. That man born *free*, was consequently
 capable of resisting the influences of grace, or *complying* with
 its suggestions. See BASNAGE, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i.
 livr. xii. cap. 1. p. 696, &c.

[i] JAC. BASNAGE, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. i. livr. xii. cap. i.
Hist. Litteraire de la France, tom. ii. *Præf.* p. 9. VOSSII
Histor. Pelagiana, lib. v. p. 538. SCIPIO MAFFEI (under
 the fictitious name of IRENÆUS VERONENSIS) *De Hæresi Pe-
 lagiana in tomo xxix. Opuscul. Scientif. ANGELI Calogeræ*,
 p. 399.

ries could stop its rapid and extensive progress. C E N T. V. P A R T II. Add to its other advantages, that neither AUGUSTIN, nor his followers, had ventured to condemn it in all its parts, nor to brand it as an impious and pernicious heresy.

XXVII. This was the commencement of those Various controversies concerning grace. unhappy contests, those subtle and perplexing disputes concerning grace, or the nature and operation of that divine power, which is essentially required in order to salvation, that rent the church into the most deplorable divisions through the whole course of the succeeding age, and which, to the deep sorrow and regret of every true and generous Christian, have been continued down to the present time. The doctrine of AUGUSTIN, who was of opinion, that, in the work of conversion and sanctification, all was to be attributed to a divine energy, and nothing to human agency, had many followers in all ages of the church; though his disciples have never been entirely agreed about the manner of explaining what he taught upon that head [k]. The followers of CASSIAN were, however, much more numerous, and his doctrine, though variously explained, was received in the greatest part of the monastic schools in *Gaul*, from whence it spread itself far and wide through the European provinces. As to the Greeks, and other eastern Christians, they had embraced the Semi-Pelagian doctrine before CASSIAN, and still adhere firmly to it. The generality of Christians looked upon the opinions of
PELAGIUS

✠ [k] It is well known that the Jansenists and Jesuits both plead the authority of St AUGUSTIN, in behalf of their opposite systems with respect to predestination and grace. This knotty doctrine has exercised severely the pretended infallibility of the popes, and exposed it to the laughter of the wise upon many occasions; and the famous *Bull Unigenitus*, which of late years has made such noise, set CLEMENT XI. in direct opposition with several of the most celebrated Roman pontiffs. Which are we to believe?

C E N T. PELAGIUS as daring and presumptuous ; and even
 V.
 P A R T II. to those who adopted them in secret, they ap-
 peared too free and too far removed from the no-
 tions commonly received, to render the public
 profession of them adviseable and prudent. Cer-
 tain, however, it is, that in all ages of the church
 there have been several persons, who, in confor-
 mity with the doctrine attributed to this heretic,
 have believed mankind endowed with a *natural*
power of paying to the divine laws a *perfect obe-*
dience.

THE

THE
SIXTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External History of the CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

*Concerning the prosperous events which happened to
the church during this century.*

I. **T**HE zeal of the bishops of *Constantinople*,^{CENT. VI.}
seconded by the protection and influ-^{PART I.}
ence of the GRECIAN EMPERORS, increased
the number of CHRISTIANS in the east, and ^{The progres- of the Christian religion in the east.}
contributed to the conversion of some barba-
rous nations, of those, particularly, who lived
upon the borders of the *Euxine* sea, as appears
by the most authentic records of Grecian history.
Among these nations were the Abasgi, who inha-
bited the country lying between the coasts of the
Euxine sea, and mount *Caucasus*, and who em-
braced Christianity under the reign of JUSTI-
NIAN [a]; the Heruli, who dwelt beyond the *Da-*
nube, and who were converted under the same
reign [b]; as also the Alans, Lazi, and Zani,
with other uncivilized countries, whose situation,
at this time, is only known by vague and imper-
fect

[a] PROCOPIUS, *De bello Gotbico*, lib. iv. cap. iii. LE QUIN
Oriens Christianus, tom. i. p. 1351.

[b] PROCOPIUS, l. c. lib. ii. cap. xiv.

C E N T. VI. P A R T I. fect conjectures. These conversions, indeed, however pompously they may sound, were extremely superficial and imperfect, as we learn from the most credible accounts that have been given of them. All that was required of these darkened nations amounted to an oral profession of their faith in CHRIST, to their abstaining from sacrificing to the gods, and their committing to memory certain forms of doctrine; while little care was taken to enrich their minds with pious sentiments, or to cultivate in their hearts virtuous affections. So that even after their conversion to Christianity, they retained their primitive ferocity and savage manners, and continued to distinguish themselves by the most horrid acts of cruelty and rapine, and the practice of all sorts of wickedness. In the greatest part of the Grecian provinces, and even in the capital of the eastern empire, there were still multitudes who preserved a secret attachment to the Pagan religion. Of these vast numbers were brought over to Christianity under the reign of JUSTIN, by the ministerial labours of JOHN, bishop of *Asia* [c].

In the west. II. In the western parts, REMIGIUS, or REMI, bishop of *Rheims*, who is commonly called *The apostle of the Gauls*, signalized his zeal in the conversion of those who still adhered to the ancient superstitions [d]; and his success was considerable, particularly after that auspicious period when CLOVIS, king of the Franks, embraced the gospel.

In *Britain*, several circumstances concurred to favour the propagation of Christianity. ETHELBERT, king of *Kent*, and the most considerable

[c] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANUS. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 55.

[d] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 155.

ble of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs, among whom CENT.
 hat island was at this time divided, married BER-^{VI.}
 THA, daughter of CHEREBERT, king of *Paris*, to-_{PART I.}
 wards the conclusion of this century. This prin-
 cess, partly by her own influence, and partly by
 the pious efforts of the clergy, who followed her
 into *Britain*, gradually formed, in the mind of
 ETHELBERT, a certain inclination to the Christian
 religion. While the king was in this favourable
 disposition, GREGORY the GREAT sent into *Britain*,
 A. D. 596, forty Benedictine monks, with AU-
 GUSTIN at their head [*e*], in order to bring to
 perfection what the pious queen had so happily
 begun. This monk, seconded by the zeal and
 assistance of BERTHA, converted the king, and
 the greatest part of the inhabitants of *Kent*,
 and laid anew the foundations of the British
 church [*f*].

The labours of COLUMBAS, an Irish monk,
 were attended with success among the Picts and
 Scots, many of whom embraced the gospel of
 CHRIST [*g*].

In *Germany*, the Bohemians, Thuringians, and
 Boii, are said to have abandoned, in this century,
 their antient superstitions [*h*], and to have re-
 Vol. II. H ceived

[*e*] This British apostle was prior of the monastery of
 St ANDREW, of the order of St BENEDICT, at *Rome*. After
 his arrival in *England*, he converted the heathen temples into
 places of Christian worship, erected *Christ Church* into a cathe-
 dral, opened a seminary of learning, founded the abbey of St
 AUGUSTIN, received episcopal ordination from the primate of
Arles, was invested by Pope GREGORY with power over all the
 British bishops and Saxon prelates, and was the first arch-bi-
 shop of *Canterbury*.

[*f*] BEDE, *Histor. Eccles. Gentes Anglor.* lib. i. cap. xviii.
 p. 55. edit. Chifletii. RAPIN's *History of England*, *Acta Sanc-*
tor. tom. iii. Februar. p. 470.

[*g*] BEDE, *Histor. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 134.

[*h*] HENR. CANISIUS *Lectio Antiquar.* tom. iii. part II. p.
 258. AVENTINUS, *Annal. Biocrum.*

C E N T. received the light of divine truth ; though this fact
 VI. appears extremely doubtful to many.
 P A R T I.

All these conversions and sacred exploits will lose much of their importance in the esteem of such, as examine with attention the accounts which have been given of them by the writers of this and the succeeding ages. For by these accounts it appears, that the converted nations now mentioned, retained a great part of their former impiety, superstition, and licentiousness ; and that, attached to CHRIST by a mere outward and nominal profession, they, in effect, renounced the purity of his doctrine, and the authority of his gospel, by their flagitious lives, and the superstitious and idolatrous rites and institutions which they continued to observe [i].

The Jews
 converted
 in several
 places.

III. A vast multitude of Jews, converted to Christianity in several places, were added to the church during the course of this century. Many in the east, particularly the inhabitants of *Borium*, a city of *Libya*, were brought over to the truth by the persuasion and influence of the emperor JUSTINIAN [k]. In the west, the zeal and authority of the Galic and Spanish monarchs, the efforts of GREGORY the GREAT, and the labours of AVITUS, bishop of *Vienna*, engaged numbers of that blinded nation to receive the gospel. It must, however, be acknowledged, that of these conversions, the greatest part were owing to the liberality of Christian princes, or to the fear of punishment, rather than to the force of argument,

OR

[i] This is ingenuously confessed by the Benedictine monks, in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. Introduc. p. 8. II. 13. See also the orders given to the Anglo-Saxons by GREGORY the Great, in his *Epist.* lib. xi. lxxvi. p. 1176. tom. ii. opp. edit. Benedict. where we find him permitting them to sacrifice to the saints, on their respective holidays, the victims which they had formerly offered to the gods. See also WILKINS's *Concilia Magnæ Britannia*, tom. i. p. 18.

[k] PROCORIUS, *De Ædificiis Justiniani*, lib. vi. cap. ii.

OF to the love of truth. In *Gaul*, the Jews were C E N T. VI. PART I. compelled by **CHILDERIC** to receive the ordinance of baptism; and the same despotic method of converting was practised in *Spain* [l]. This method, however, was entirely disapproved by **GREGORY** the **GREAT**, who, though extremely severe upon the heretics, would suffer no violence to be offered to the Jews [m].

IV. If credit is to be given to the writers of The miracles of this century. this century, the conversion of these uncivilized nations to Christianity was principally effected by the prodigies and miracles which the heralds of the gospel were enabled to work in its behalf. But the conduct of the converted nations is sufficient to invalidate the force of these testimonies: for certainly had such miracles been wrought among them, their lives would have been more suitable to their profession, and their attachment and obedience to the doctrines and laws of the gospel more steadfast and exemplary than they appear to have been. Besides, as we have already had occasion to observe, in abandoning their ancient superstitions, the greatest part of them were more influenced by the example and authority of their princes, than by force of argument, or the power of a rational conviction. And, indeed, if we consider the wretched manner in which many of the first Christian missionaries performed the solemn task they had undertaken, we shall perceive that they wanted not many arguments to enforce the doctrines they taught, and the discipline they recommended; for they required nothing of these barbarous people that was

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• difficult

[l] **GREG. TURON.** *Histor. Francor.* lib. vi. cap. xxi. **LAUNOIVS**, *De veteri more baptizandi Judæos et infideles*, cap. l. p. 700. 704. tom. ii. part II. opp.

[m] See his *Epistles*, book i. ep. xlvii. tom. ii. opp. p. 547. edit. Benedict. particularly those which he wrote to **VIRILIUS** of *Arles*, **THEODORUS** of *Marseilles*, and **PETER** of *Tar-*
racina.

C E N T. difficult to be performed, or that laid any remarkable restraint upon their appetites and passions. The principal injunctions they imposed upon these rude proselytes were, that they should get by heart certain summaries of doctrine, and pay to the images of CHRIST and the saints the same religious service which they had formerly offered to the statues of the gods. Nor were they at all delicate or scrupulous in chusing the means of establishing their credit ; for they looked upon it as lawful, nay, even meritorious, to deceive an ignorant and inattentive multitude, by representing to them as prodigies, things that were merely natural, as we learn from the most authentic records of these times.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the calamitous events which happened to the church during this century.

Some remains of Paganism are to be found in this century.

I. **T**HOUGH the abjuration of Paganism was, by the imperial laws, made a necessary step to preferment, and to the exercising all public offices ; yet several persons, reputed for their erudition and gravity of manners, persisted in their adherence to the antient superstition. TRIBONIAN, the famous compiler of the Roman law, is thought, by some, to have been among the number of those who continued in their prejudices against the Christian religion ; and such also, in the opinion of many, was the case of PROCOPIUS, the celebrated historian. It is at least undoubtedly certain, that AGATHIAS, who was an eminent lawyer at *Smyrna*, and who had also acquired a considerable reputation as an historical writer, persevered in his attachment to the Pagan worship. These illustrious Gentiles were

were exempted from the severities which were employed frequently to engage the lower orders to abandon the service of the gods. The rigour of the laws, as it usually happens in human life, fell only upon those who had neither rank, fortune, nor court-favour to ward off their execution.

II. Surprised as we may be at the protection granted to the persons now mentioned, and that at a time when the gospel was, in many instances, propagated by unchristian methods; it will appear still more astonishing, that the Platonic philosophers, whose opposition to Christianity was universally known, should be permitted, in *Greece* and *Egypt*, to teach publicly the tenets of their sect, which were absolutely incompatible with the doctrines of the gospel. These doctors indeed affected, generally speaking, a high degree of moderation and prudence, and, for the most part, modified their expressions in such a manner, as to give to the Pagan system an evangelical aspect, extremely adapted to deceive the unwary, as the examples of CHALCIDIUS [n] and ALEXANDER of *Lycopolis*

Several
write a-
gainst
Chri-ti-
anity.

[u] The religion of CHALCIDIUS has been much disputed among the learned. CAVE seems inclined to rank him among the Christian writers, though he expresses some uncertainty about the matter. HUET, G. J. VOSSIUS, FABRICIUS, and BEAUSOBRE, decide with somewhat more assurance that CHALCIDIUS was a Christian. Some learned men have maintained, on the contrary, that many things in the writings of this sage entitle him to a place among the Pagan philosophers. Our learned author, in his notes to his Latin translation of CUDWORTH's *Intellectual System*, and in a *Dissertation de turbata per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesia*, lays down an hypothesis, which holds the middle way between these two extremes. He is of opinion that CHALCIDIUS neither rejected nor embraced the whole system of the Christian doctrine, but selected out of the religion of JESUS and the tenets of PLATO, a body of divinity, in which, however, Platonism was predominant; and that he was one of those Syncretist, or Eclectic philosophers,

C E N T. VI.
 P A R T I.
 Lycopolis abundantly testify [o]. Some of them however were less modest, nay, carried their audacious efforts against Christianity so far as to revile it publicly. DAMASCIUS, in the life of ISODORUS, and in other places, casts upon the Christians the most ignominious aspersions [p]; SIMPLICIUS, in his illustrations of the Aristotelian philosophy, throws out several malignant insinuations

phers, who abounded in the fourth and fifth centuries, and who attempted the uniting Paganism and Christianity into one motley system. This account of the matter; however, appears too vague to the celebrated author of the *Critical History of Philosophy*, M. BRUCKER. This excellent writer agrees with Dr MOSHEIM in this, that CHALCIDIUS followed the motley method of the eclectic Platonists, but does not see any thing in this inconsistent with his having publicly professed the Christian religion. For the question is not, whether this philosopher was a sound and orthodox Christian, which M. BRUCKER denies him to have been, but whether he had abandoned the Pagan rites, and made a public profession of Christianity; and this our philosophical historian looks upon as evident. For though, in the commentary upon PLATO's *Timæus*, CHALCIDIUS teaches several doctrines that seem to strike at the foundations of our holy religion, yet the same may be said of ORIGEN, CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, ARNOBIUS, and others, who are, nevertheless, reckoned among the professors of Christianity. The reader will find a most excellent view of the different opinions concerning the religion of CHALCIDIUS, in the *Hist. Critica Philosophiæ* BRUCKERI, tom. iii. p. 472—485. The truth of the matter seems to be this, that the Eclectics, before Christianity became the religion of the state, enriched their system from the gospel, but ranged themselves under the standards of PLATO; and that they repaired to those of CHRIST, without any considerable change of their system, when the examples and authority of the emperors rendered the profession of the Christian religion a matter of prudence, as well as its own excellence rendered it most justly a matter of choice.

[o] ALEXANDER wrote a treatise against the Manichæans, which is published by COMBESIS, in the second tome of his *Auctor. Noviss. Biblioth. PP.* PHOTIUS, COMBESIS, and our learned CAVE looked upon ALEXANDER as a proselyte to Christianity. But BEAUSOBRE has demonstrated the contrary. See *Histoire de Manichéisme*, part II. *Discours Preliminaire*, sect. 13. p. 236.

[p] PHOTIUS, *Bibliothecæ Cod.* ccxlii. p. 1027.

ations against the doctrines of the gospel; and the C E N T. VI. P A R T I. *Epicheiremato* of PROCLUS, written expressly against the disciples of JESUS, were universally read, and were, on that account, accurately refuted by PHILOPONUS [q]. All this shews, that many of the magistrates, who were witnesses of these calumnious attempts against the gospel, were not so much Christians in reality, as in appearance; otherwise they would not have permitted the slanders of these licentious revilers to pass without correction or restraint.

III. Notwithstanding the extensive progress of The sufferings of the Christians in several places. the gospel, the Christians, even in this century, suffered grievously, in several places, from the savage cruelty and bitterness of their enemies. In *Britain*, the Anglo-Saxons, who were masters of that kingdom, involved a multitude of its antient inhabitants, who professed Christianity, in the deepest distresses, and tormented them with all that variety of suffering, which the injurious and malignant spirit of persecution could invent [r]. The Huns, in their irruption into *Thrace, Greece*, and the other provinces, during the reign of JUSTINIAN, treated the Christians with great barbarity; not so much, perhaps, from an aversion to Christianity, as from an hostile spirit of hatred against the Greeks, and a desire of overturning and destroying their empire. The face of affairs was totally changed in *Italy*, about the middle of this century, by a grand revolution which happened under the reign of JUSTINIAN I. This emperor, by the arms of NARSES, overturned the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, which had subsisted ninety years; and subdued all *Italy* under his dominion. The state of things, however, which this revolution introduced, was not of a very long

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dura-

[q] See J. A. FABRICII *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. iii. p. 522.

[r] USSERII *Index Chronol. Antiquit. Eccles. Britann. sub-*
jectus ad A. 508. p. 1123.

C E N T. duration for the Lombards, a fierce and warlike
 VI.
 P A R T II. people, headed by ALBOINUS their king, and joined by several other German nations, issued forth from *Pannonia*, in the year 568, under the reign of JUSTIN, invaded *Italy*; and, having made themselves masters of the whole country, except *Rome* and *Ravenna*, erected a new kingdom at *Ticinum*. Under these new tyrants, who, to the natural ferocity of their characters, added an aversion to the religion of JESUS, the Christians, in the beginning, endured calamities of every kind. But the fury of these savage usurpers gradually subsided; and their manners contracted, from time to time, a milder character. AUTHARIS, the third monarch of the Lombards, embraced Christianity, as it was professed by the Arians, in the year 587. But his successor AGILULF, who married his widow THEUDILINDA, was persuaded, by that princess, to abandon Arianism, and to adopt the tenets of the Nicene Catholics [s].

But the calamities of the Christians, in all other countries, were light and inconsiderable in comparison of those which they suffered in Persia under CHOROES; the inhuman monarch of that nation. This monster of impiety aimed his audacious and desperate efforts against heaven itself; for he publicly declared, that he would make war not only upon JUSTINIAN, but also upon the God of the Christians; and, in consequence of this blasphemous menace, he vented his rage against the followers of JESUS in the most barbarous manner, and put multitudes of them to the most cruel and ignominious deaths [t].

[s] PAUL, DIACON. *De gestis Longobardorum*, lib. ii. cap. ii. xxvii. p. 219. 231. edit. Lindenbrogii. MURATORI *Antiquit. Italicae*, tom. i. p. 15. tom. ii. p. 297. GIANNONE, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. i. p. 302.

[t] PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, lib. ii. cap. xxvi.

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P T E R I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

THE incursions of the barbarous nations into C E N T. VI.
the greatest part of the western provinces, P A R T II.
were extremely prejudicial to the interests of The state of letters in the west.
learning and philosophy, as must be known to all
who have any acquaintance with the history of
these unhappy times. During these tumultuous
scenes of desolation and horror, the liberal arts
and sciences would have been totally extinguished,
had they not found a place of refuge, such as it
was, among the bishops, and the monastic orders.
Here they assembled their scattered remains, and
received a degree of culture which just served to
keep them from perishing. Those churches,
which were distinguished by the name of *Cathe-*
drals, had schools erected under their jurisdiction,
in which the bishop, or a certain person appoint-
ed by him, instructed the youth in the *seven liberal*
arts, as a preparatory introduction to the study of
the scriptures [a]. Persons of both sexes, who
had devoted themselves to the monastic life, were
obliged, by the founders of their respective or-
ders, to employ daily a certain portion of their
time in reading the ancient doctors of the church,
whose

[a] FLEURY, *Discours sur l'Histoire Eccles. depuis l'an 600*, &c. sect. 21. p. 56. tom. xiii. de *l'Histoire Eccles.—Histoire. Litter. de la France*, tom. iii. Intr. sect. 32. p. 12. HERM. CON-
RINGII *Antiq. Academicæ*, p. 66—167. edit. Heumann.

C E N T. whose writings were looked upon as the rich re-
^{VL}
 P A R T I. pertories of celestial wisdom, in which all the
 treasures of theology were centered [b]. Hence
 libraries were formed in all the monasteries, and
 the pious and learned productions of the Christian
 and other writers were copied and dispersed by
 the diligence of transcribers appointed for that
 purpose, who were generally such monks as, by
 weakness of constitution, or other bodily infirmi-
 ties, were rendered incapable of harder labour.
 To these establishments we owe the preservation
 and possession of all the antient, authors sacred
 and profane, who escaped, in this manner, the sa-
 vage fury of Gothic ignorance, and are happily
 transmitted to our times. It is also to be observed,
 that, besides the schools that belonged to the ca-
 thedrals, there were others opened in the mo-
 nasteries, in which the youth who were set apart
 for the monastic life, were instructed by the ab-
 bot, or some of his ecclesiastics, in the arts and
 sciences [c].

The scien-
 ces are
 taught ve-
 ry imper-
 fectly.

II. But these institutions and establishments, however laudable, did not produce such happy effects as might have been expected from them. For, not to speak of the indolence of certain abbots and bishops, who neglected entirely the duties of their stations, nor of the bitter aversion which others discovered towards every sort of learning and erudition, which they considered as pernicious to the progress of piety [d]; not to speak

[b] BENEDICT. ANIANENSIS *Concordia Regularum*, lib. ii. p. 55. 64. 75. 77. 80. 100. lib. iii. p. 16—41, &c. edit. Hug. Menardi. JO. MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. i. Actor. SS. Ord. Bened.* p. 44.

[c] BENEDICT. *Concord. Reg.* lib. ii. p. 232. MABILLON, *Actor. SS. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. p. 314.

[d] GREGORY the GREAT is said to have been of this number, and to have ordered a multitude of the productions of Pagan writers, and among others LIVY's *Roman History*, to be committed

speak of the *illiberal ignorance* which several pre-
 lates affected, and which they injudiciously con-
 founded with *Christian simplicity* [e]; even those
 who applied themselves to the study and propa-
 gation of the sciences, were for the most part,
 extremely unskilful and illiterate; and the
 branches of learning taught in the schools, were
 inconsiderable, both as to their quality and their
 number [f]. Greek literature was almost every
 where neglected; and those who, by profession,
 had devoted themselves to the culture of Latin
 erudition, spent their time and labour in gram-
 matical subtilties and quibbles, as the pedantic
 examples of ISODORUS and CASSIODORUS abun-
 dantly shew. Eloquence was degraded into a
 rhetorical bombast, a noisy kind of declamation,
 which was composed of motley and frigid allego-
 ries and barbarous terms, as may even appear
 from several parts of the writings of those superi-
 or geniuses who surpassed their contemporaries in
 precision and elegance, such as BOETHIUS, CAS-
 SIODORUS, ENNODIUS, and others.. As to the o-
 ther liberal arts, they shared the common cala-
 mity; and as they were now cultivated, had no-
 thing very liberal or elegant in their appearance,
 consisting entirely in a few dry rules, which, in-
 stead of a complete and finished system, produced
 only a ghastly and lifeless skeleton.

III. Philosophy fared still worse than litera-
 ture: for it was entirely banished from all the se-
 minaries which were under the inspection and go-
 vernment of the ecclesiastical order.. The great-
 est part of these zealots looked upon the study of
 philosophy not only as useless, but even pernicious

committed to the flames. See GABRIEL LIRON, *Singularités
 Histor. et Litter.* tom. i. p. 166.

[e] MABILLON. *Præf. ad Sæc. i. Benedict.* p. 46.

[f] See M. AUR. CASSIODORI *Liber de septem Disciplinis*,
 which is extant among his works.

VI.
 PART II.

E N T. cious to those who had dedicated themselves to
 the service of religion. The most eminent, nay,
 almost the only Latin philosopher of this age, was
 the celebrated BOETHIUS, privy counsellor to
 THEODORIC, king of the Ostrogoths in *Italy*.
 This illustrious senator had embraced the Pla-
 tonic philosophy [g], but approved also, as was
 usual among the modern Platonics, the doctrine
 of ARISTOTLE, and illustrated it in his writings.
 And it was undoubtedly owing to the diligence
 and zeal with which he explained and recom-
 mended the Aristotelian philosophy, that it arose
 now among the Latins to a higher degree of cre-
 dit than it had hitherto enjoyed.

The state
 of letters
 among the
 Greeks.

IV. The state of the liberal arts among the
 Greeks was, in several places, much more flou-
 rishing than that in which we have left them
 among the Latins; and the emperors raised and
 nourished a spirit of literary emulation, by the
 noble rewards and the distinguished honours
 which they attached to the pursuit of all the va-
 rious branches of learning [h]. It is, however,
 certain, that notwithstanding these encourage-
 ments, the sciences were cultivated with less ar-
 dour, and men of learning and genius were less
 numerous than in the preceding century.

In the beginning of this, the modern Platonics
 maintained as yet their credit, and their philo-
 sophy was in vogue. The Alexandrian and Athe-
 nian schools flourished, under the direction of
 DAMASCIUS, ISIDORUS, SIMPLICIUS, EULAMIUS,
 HERMIAS,

[g] This will appear evident to such as, with a competent
 knowledge of modern Platonism, read attentively the books
 of BOETIUS, *De consolatione*, &c. See also, on this subject,
 RENAT. VALL. p. 10. 50. HOLSTENIUS *en vita Porphyrii*, p.
 7. edit. Cantabr. See also MASCOV. *Histor. Germanor.* tom.
 ii. p. 102.

[h] See the *Codex Theodos.* tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 113. HERM.
 CONRINGIUS, *De studiis urbis Romæ et Constantinop.* in a Dis-
 sertation subjoined to his *Antiquitates Academicæ*.

HERMIAS, PRISCIANUS, and others, who were C E N T.
placed on the highest summit of literary glory. ^{VI.} P A R T I I.
But when the emperor JUSTINIAN, by a particu-
lar edict, prohibited the teaching philosophy at
Athens [i] (which edict, no doubt, was levelled at
the modern Platonism already mentioned), and
when his resentment began to flame out against
those who refused to abandon the Pagan wor-
ship, then all these celebrated philosophers took
refuge among the Persians, who were, at that
time the enemies of *Rome* [k]. They, indeed,
returned from their voluntary exile, when the
peace was concluded between the Persians and
the Romans, A. D. 533 [l]; but they could ne-
ver recover their former credit, and they gra-
dually disappeared in the public schools and se-
minaries of learning, which ceased, at length, to
be under their direction.

Thus expired that famous sect, which was di-
stinguished by the title of the Modern or Later
Platonic; and which, for a series of ages, had
produced such divisions and tumults in the Chri-
stian church, and been, in other respects, preju-
dicial to the interests and progress of the gospel.
It was succeeded by the Aristotelian philosophy,
which arose imperceptibly out of its obscurity,
and was placed in an advantageous light by the
illustrations of the learned; but especially and
principally by the celebrated commentaries of
PHILOPONUS. And, indeed, the knowledge of
this philosophy was necessary for the Greeks;
since

[i] JOHANNES MALELA, *Historia Chronica*, part II. p. 187.
edit. Oxon. Another testimony concerning this matter is
cited from a certain *Chronicle*, not yet published, by NIC.
ALEMANNUS, *ad Procopii Histor. Arcanam*, cap. xxvi. p. 377.
edit. Venet.

[k] AGATHIAS, *De rebus Justiniani*, lib. ii. p. 49. edit. Venet.
tom. ii. *Corpor. Byzant.*

[l] See WESSKLINGII *Observat. Variar.* lib. i. cap. xviii.
p. 117.

C E N T. since it was from the depths of this peripatetical
^{VL}
 P A R T II. wisdom, that the Monophysites and Hestorians
 drew the subtilties with which they endeavoured
 to overwhelm the abettors of the Ephesian and
 Chalcedonian councils.

In the east. V. The Nestorians and Monophysites, who
 lived in the east, turned equally their eyes towards
 ARISTOTLE, and, in order to train their respective
 followers to the field of controversy, and arm them
 with the subtilties of a contentious logic, transla-
 ted the principle books of that deep philoso-
 pher into their native languages. SERGIUS, a
 Monophysite and philosopher, translated the books
 of ARISTOTLE into Syriac [m]. URANIUS, a Sy-
 rian, propagated the doctrines of this philosopher
 in *Persia*; and disposed in their favour CHOSROES,
 the monarch of that nation; who became a zeal-
 ous abettor of the peripatetic system [n]. The
 same prince received from one of the Nestorian
 faction (which after having procured the exclu-
 sion of the Greeks, triumphed at this time unri-
 valled in *Persia*) a translation of the Stagirite in-
 to the Persian language [o].

It is, however, to be observed, that among these
 eastern Christians there were some who re-
 jected both the Platonic and Aristotelian doc-
 trines; and unwilling to be obliged to others
 for their philosophical knowledge, invented sys-
 tems of their own, which were inexpressibly chi-
 merical and pregnant with absurdities. Of this
 class of original philosophers was COSMAS, a Nes-
 torian,

[m] GEORGIUS ABULPHARAIUS, *Historia Dynastiar.* publish-
 ed by Dr POCOCK, p. 94. 172.

[n] See AGATHIAS, *De rebus Justiniani*, lib. ii. p. 48.
 That URANIUS made use of the Aristotelian philosophy in the
 Eutychian controversy, is evident even from this single circum-
 stance, that AGATHIAS represents him disputing concerning the
possibility and immiscibility of God (και τὸ δυνατόν και ἀμίχυνον).

[o] AGATHIAS, l. c. lib. li. p. 48. edit. Venet.

torian, commonly called Indicopleustes, whose doctrines are extremely singular, and resemble more the notions of the Orientals than the opinions of the Greeks [p]. Such also was the writer, from whose *Exposition of the Octateuch*, PHOTIUS has drawn several citations [q].

C H A P. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church.

1. **T**HE external form of church government continued without any remarkable alteration during the course of this century. But the bishops of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, who were considered as the most eminent and principal rulers of the Christian church, were engaged in perpetual disputes about the extent and limits of their respective jurisdictions, and seemed both to aspire at the supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters. The bishop of *Constantinople* not only claimed an unrivalled sovereignty over the eastern churches, but also maintained, that his church was, in point of dignity, no way inferior to that of *Rome*. The Roman pontiffs beheld, with impatience, these lordly pretensions, and warmly asserted the pre-eminence of their church, and its undoubted superiority over that of *Constantinople*. GREGORY the GREAT distinguished himself in this violent contest; and the following event furnished him with an opportunity of exerting his zeal. In the year 588, JOHN bishop of *Constantinople*, surnamed the FASTER, on account of his extraordinary abstinence and austerity, assembled, by his own authority,

Disputes
between
the bishops
of Rome
and Con-
stantinople.

[p] BERNARD DE MONTEFAUCON, *Præfat. ad Cosmam*, p. 10.
tom. ii. *Collectionis novæ patrum Græcorum*.

[q] *Biblioth. Codic. xxxvi. p. 22, 23.*

C E N T. VI. P A R T II. thority, a council at *Constantinople*, to inquire into an accusation brought against PETER, patriarch of *Antioch*; and, upon this occasion, assumed the title of *œcumenical*, or *universal bishop* [r]. Now, although this title had been formerly enjoyed by the bishops of *Constantinople*, and was also susceptible of an interpretation that might have prevented its giving umbrage or offence to any [s], yet GREGORY suspected, both from the time and the occasion of JOHN's renewing his claim to it, that he was aiming at a supremacy over all the Christian churches; and therefore he opposed his claim in the most vigorous manner, in letters to that purpose, addressed to the emperor, and to such persons as he judged proper to second his opposition. But all his efforts were without effect; and the bishops of *Constantinople* continued to assume the title in question, though not in the sense in which it had alarmed the Roman pontif [t].

II. This

☞ [r] We cannot avoid taking notice of some mistakes which have slipped from the pen of Dr MOSHEIM in his narration of this event. *First*, The council here mentioned was held under the pontificate of PELAGIUS II. and not of GREGORY the GREAT, who was not chosen bishop of *Rome* before A. D. 590. *Secondly*, The person accused before this council was not PETER, but GREGORY, bishop of *Antioch*. *Thirdly*, It does not appear that the council was summoned by JOHN of *Constantinople*, but by the emperor, MAURICIUS, to whom GREGORY had appealed from the governor of the east, before whom he was first accused.

☞ [s] The title of *universal bishop*, which had been given by LEO and JUSTINIAN to the patriarchs of *Constantinople*, was not attended with any accession of power.

[t] GREGOR. MAGNI *Epist.* lib. iv, v, vii. All the passages in these epistles that relate to this famous contest, have been extracted and illustrated by LAUNOIUS, in his *Assertio in Privileg. S. Medardi*, tom. iii. opp. part II. p. 266. See also LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 67. PRAEFFII *Dissertatio de titulo Œcumenicus*, in the *Tempe Helvetica*, tom. iv. p. 99.

II. This pontif, however, adhered tenaciously C E N T. to his purpose, opposed with vehemence the bi- P A R T II. shop of *Constantinople*, raised new tumults and dis- ^{VI.} sensions among the sacred order, and aimed at no ^{The Ro-} less than an unlimited supremacy over the Chri- ^{man pontif} stian church. This ambitious design succeeded ^{struggles} in the west ; while, in the eastern provinces, his ^{hard for u-} arrogant pretensions were scarcely respected by ^{niversal do-} any but those who were at enmity with the bishop ^{minion.} of *Constantinople* ; and this prelate was always in a condition to make head against the progress of his authority in the east. How much the opinions of some were favourable to the lordly demands of the Roman pontifs, may be easily imagined from an expression of ENNODIUS that infamous and extravagant flatterer of SYMMACHUS, who was a prelate of but ambiguous fame. This parasitical panegyrist, among other impertinent assertions, maintained, that the Roman pontif was constituted *judge in the place of God*, which he filled as the vicègerent of the Most High [u]. On the other hand, it is certain, from a variety of the most authentic records, that both the emperors and the nations in general were far from being disposed to bear with patience the yoke of servitude, which the see of Rome was arrogantly imposing upon the Christian church [w]. The Gothic princes set bounds to the power of the bishop of Rome in Italy, permitted none to be raised to

Vol. II. I the

[u] See his *Apologeticum pro Synodo*, in the xvth volume of the *Bibliotheca Magna Patrum*, p. 248. edit. Paris. ¶ One would think that this servile adulator had never read the 4th verse of the 2d chapter of *St Paul's 2d Epistle to the Thessalonians*, where the *Anti-Christ*, or *man of sin*, is described in the very terms in which he represents the authority of the pontif SYMMACHUS.

[w] See particularly the truth of this assertion, with respect to *Spain*, in GEDDES's *Dissertation on the papal Supremacy, chiefly with relation to the ancient Spanish church*, which is to be found in the second volume of his *Miscellaneous Tracts*.

C E N T. the pontificate without their approbation, and
V I.
P A R T II. reserved to themselves the right of judging con-
 concerning the legality of every new election [x].
 They enacted spiritual laws, called the religious
 orders before their tribunals, and summoned coun-
 cils by their regal authority [y]. In consequence
 of all this, the pontifs, amidst all their high pre-
 tensions, revered the majesty of their kings
 and emperors, and submitted to their authority
 with the most profound humility; nor were they,
 as yet, so lost to all sense of shame, as to aim at
 the subjection of kings and princes to their ghost-
 ly dominion [z].

Vices and
 corruption
 of the cler-
 gy.

III. The rights and privileges of the clergy
 were very considerable before this period, and the
 riches, which they had accumulated, immense :
 and both received daily augmentations from the
 growth of superstition in this century. The arts
 of a rapacious priesthood were practised upon the
 ignorant devotion of the simple; and even the re-
 morse of the wicked was made an instrument of
 increasing the ecclesiastical treasure. For an opi-
 nion was propagated with industry among the
 people, that the remission of their sins was to be
 purchased by their liberalities to the churches and
 monks, and that the prayers of departed saints,
 whose efficacy was victorious at the throne of
 God, were to be bought by offerings presented to
 the temples, which were consecrated to these ce-
 lestial mediators. But, in proportion as the
 riches of the church increased, the various orders
 of

[x] See Jo. JAC. MASCOVII *Histor. Germanor.* tom. ii. not.
 p. 113.

[y] BASNAGE, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, tom. i. p. 381.

[z] See the citations from GREGORY the GREAT, collected
 by LAUNOIS, *De regia potestate in matrimon.* tom. i. opp. part
 II. p. 691. and in his *Assertio in Privilegium S. Medardi*, p.
 72. tom. iii. opp. part II. See also GIANNONE, *Hist. de
 Naples*, tom. ii. p. 282.

of the clergy were infected with those vices that C E N T.
 are too often the consequences of an affluent P A R T II.
 prosperity. This appears, with the utmost evi-
 dence, from the imperial edicts and the decrees
 of councils, which were so frequently levelled at
 the immoralities of those who were distinguished
 by the name of *clerks*. For whence so many laws
 to restrain the vices, and to preserve the morals
 of the ecclesiastical orders, if they had fulfilled
 even the obligations of external decency, or
 shewn, in the general tenor of their lives, a cer-
 tain degree of respect for religion and virtue? Be
 that as it will, the effect of all these laws and
 edicts was so inconsiderable as to be scarcely per-
 ceived; for so high was the veneration paid, at
 this time, to the clergy, that their most flagi-
 tious crimes were corrected by the slightest and
 gentlest punishments: an unhappy circumstance,
 which added to their presumption, and rendered
 them more daring and audacious in iniquity.

IV. The bishops of *Rome*, who considered them-
 selves as the chiefs and fathers of the Christian
 church, are not to be excepted from this censure,
 any more than the clergy who were under their
 jurisdiction. We may form some notion of their
 humility and virtue by that long and vehe-
 ment contention, which arose in the year 498,
 between SYMMACHUS and LAURENTIUS, who
 were, on the same day, elected to the pontificate
 by different parties, and whose dispute was, at
 length, decided by THEODORIC king of the Goths.
 Each of these ecclesiastics maintained obstinately
 the validity of his election; they reciprocally ac-
 cused each other of the most detestable crimes;
 and to their mutual dishonour, their accusations
 did not appear, on either side, entirely destitute
 of foundation. Three different councils, assem-
 bled at *Rome* endeavoured to terminate this

The bi-
 shops of
 Rome not
 excepted.

C E N T. odious schism [a], but without success. A fourth
 was summoned, by THEODORIC, to examine the
 accusations brought against SYMMACHUS, to whom
 this prince had, at the beginning of the schism,
 adjudged the papal chair. This council was held
 about the commencement of this century, and in
 it the Roman pontif was acquitted of the crimes
 laid to his charge. But the adverse party refused
 to acquiesce in this decision; and this gave occa-
 sion to ENNODIUS of *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, to draw
 up his adulatory *apology for the council and SYMMA-*
CHUS [b]. In this apology, which disguises the
 truth under the seducing colours of a gaudy rhe-
 toric, the reader will perceive that the founda-
 tions of that enormous power, which the popes
 of *Rome* afterwards acquired, were now laid; but
 he will seek in vain in this laboured production
 any satisfactory proof of the injustice of the
 charge brought against SYMMACHUS [c].

The growth
 of the
 monks.

V. The number, credit, and influence of the
 monks augmented daily in all parts of the Chris-
 tian world. They multiplied so prodigiously in
 the east, that whole armies might have been raised
 out of the monastic order, without any sensible
 diminution

[a] This schism may be truly termed odious, as it was
 carried on by assassinations, massacres, and all the cruel pro-
 ceedings of a desperate civil war. See PAUL DIACONUS, lib.
 xvii.

[b] This *apology* may be seen in the fifteenth volume of the
Magn. Bibl. Patrum. p. 248.

[c] That SYMMACHUS was never fairly acquitted, may be
 presumed from the *first*, and proved from the *second* of the fol-
 lowing circumstances: *First*, that THEODORIC, who was a wise
 and equitable prince, and who had attentively examined the
 charge brought against him, would not have referred the deci-
 sion to the bishops, if the matter had been clear, but would have
 pronounced judgment himself as he had formerly done concerning
 the legality of his election. The *second* circumstance against
 SYMMACHUS is, that the council acquitted him without so much
 as hearing those who accused him; and he himself did not ap-
 pear, though frequently summoned.

diminution of that enormous body. The monastic life was also highly honoured, and had an incredible number of patrons and followers in all the western provinces, as appears from the rules which were prescribed, in this century, by various doctors, for directing the conduct of the cloistered monks, and the Holy Virgins, that had sacrificed their capacity of being useful in the world, to the gloomy charms of a convent [d]. In *Great Britain*, a certain abbot, named CONGALL, is said to have persuaded an incredible number of persons to abandon the affairs, obligations, and duties of social life, and to spend the remainder of their days in solitude, under a rule of discipline, of which he was the inventor [e]. His disciples travelled through many countries, in which they propagated, with such success, the contagion of this monastic devotion, that, in some time, *Ireland, Gaul, Germany, and Switzerland*, swarmed with those lazy orders, and were, in a manner, covered with convents. The most illustrious disciple of the abbot now mentioned, was COLUMBAN, whose singular rule of discipline is yet extant, and surpasses all the rest in simplicity and brevity [f]. The monastic orders, in general, abounded with fanatics and profligates; the *latter* were more numerous than the *former* in the western convents, while, in those of the east, the fanatics were predominant.

VI. A new order of monks, which in a manner absorbed all the others that were established in the west, The rise of the Benedictine order.

I 3

[d] These are in HOLSTENIUS's *Codex Regularum*, part II. which work was published at *Rome* in three volumes 4to, in the year 1661. See also EDM. MARTENE et URSIN. DURAND. *Thesour. Anecd. Nov.* tom. i. p. 4.

[e] JAC. USSERII *Antiq. Eccles. Britan.*

[f] USSERII *Sylloge Antiquar. Epistolar. Hibernicar.* p. 5—15. HOLSTENII *Codex Regularum*, tom. ii. p. 48. MABIL-
LON, *Præf. ad Sæculum ii. Benedictinum*, p. 4.

well, was instituted, A. D. 529, by BENEDICT of
 Nursia, a man of piety and reputation, for the age
 he lived in. From his *rule* of discipline, which is
 extant, we learn that it was not his intention
 to impose it upon all the monastic societies, but
 to form an order whose discipline should be
 milder, their establishment more solid, and their
 manners more regular, than those of the other
 monastic bodies; and whose members, during
 the course of a holy and peaceful life, were to
 divide their time between prayer, reading, the
 education of youth, and other pious and learned
 labours. But, in process of time, the fol-
 lowers of the celebrated ecclesiastic degenerated
 with them the piety of their founder, and lost
 sight of the duties of their station, and the great
 end of the establishment. Having acquired
 considerable riches from the liberal liberality of the
 emperor, they sunk into sloth, dissipation,
 and dissipation, and themselves to all sorts of
 dissipation, and were no longer the same
 men who had been the first disciples of the
 founder. The emperor, however, who was
 a great patron of the church, and who had
 been the first to introduce the monastic
 life into Italy, was so much attached to the
 order, that he continued to support it, and
 to give it the same privileges and immunities
 which he had granted to the first disciples of
 the founder. The emperor, however, who was
 a great patron of the church, and who had
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 life into Italy, was so much attached to the
 order, that he continued to support it, and
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 which he had granted to the first disciples of
 the founder.

The emperor, however, who was a great patron of the church, and who had been the first to introduce the monastic life into Italy, was so much attached to the order, that he continued to support it, and to give it the same privileges and immunities which he had granted to the first disciples of the founder.

celebrated on account of its excellence, though it has not been observed for many ages.

C E N T.
VI.
P A R T II.

It is proper to remark here, that the institution of BENEDICT changed, in several respects, the obligations and duties of the monastic life as it was regulated in the west. Among other things, he obliged those who entered into his order to promise, at the time of their being received as Novitiates, and afterwards, at their admission as members of the society, to persevere in an obedience to the rules he had laid down, without attempting to change them in any respect. As he was extremely solicitous about the stability of his institution, this particular regulation was wise and prudent; and it was so much the more necessary, that, before his time, the monks made scruple of altering the laws and rules of their founders as often as they thought proper [b].

VII. This new order made a most rapid progress in the west, and, in a short space of time, arrived at the most flourishing state. In *Gaul*, its interests were promoted by MARIUS; in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, by PLACIDUS; in *England*, by AUGUSTIN and MELLITUS; in *Italy*, and other countries, by GREGORY the GREAT, who is himself reported to have been for some time a member of this society [i]; and it was afterwards received in *Germany* by the means of BONIFACE [k]. This sudden

Its rapid
progress.

I 4

[b] See MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Benedict. part I. p. 18.*

[i] See MABILLON, *Diss. de vita Monastica Gregorii M. ad Hadr. Valesium*, tom. ii. *Analcc. veter.* as also his *Præf. ad Sæc. i. Benedict* p. 29. This circumstance, however, is denied by some writers; and among others by GALLONIUS, concerning whose book upon that subject, see SIMON's *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iii. p. 63.

[k] ANTON. DADINI ALTESERRÆ, *Origines rei Monasticæ*, lib. i. cap. ix. p. 33. The propagation of the Benedictine order, through the different provinces of Europe, is related by MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. i. Benedictine*, et *ad Sæc. iv. part I. p. 62.*

JOHN, patriarch of *Constantinople*, who, on account of his austere method of life, was surnamed the FASTER, and who acquired a certain degree of reputation by several little productions, and more particularly by his *Penitential*. VI.
PART II.

LEONTIUS of *Byzantium*, whose book against the sects, and other writings, are yet extant.

EVAGRIUS, a scholastic writer, whose *Ecclesiastical History* is, in many places, corrupted with fabulous narrations.

ANASTATIUS of *Sinai*, whom most writers consider as the author of a trifling performance, written against a sort of heretics called Acephali, of whom we shall have occasion to speak afterwards [n].

IX. Among the Latin writers the following are principally worthy of mention: Latin writers.

GREGORY the GREAT, bishop of *Rome*, who united the most inconsistent and contradictory qualities; as in some cases he discovered a sound and penetrating judgment, and in others the most shameful and superstitious weakness; and in general manifested an extreme aversion to all kinds of learning, as his *Epistles* and *Dialogues* sufficiently testify [o].

CÆSARIUS of *Arles*, who composed some moral writings, and drew up a *rule* of conduct and discipline for the *Holy Virgins* [p].

FULGENTIUS bishop of *Ruspina*, who attacked, with great warmth, the Arians and Pelagians in *Africa*; but whose style and manner were harsh and

[n] See, for an account of this book, SIMON, l. c. tom. i. p. 232; as also BARAT. *Bibliothèque Choisie*. tom. ii. p. 21.

[o] A splendid edition of the works of GREGORY was published at *Paris* in the year 1705, in four volumes folio, by father St MARTHE, a Benedictine monk. See an account of this pontif, *Acta Sanctor*. tom. ii. Martii, p. 121.

[p] Of this writer, the Benedictine monks have given a learned account in their *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 190.

C E N T. and uncouth, as was generally the case of the A-
 VI.
 P A R T II. can writers [q].

ENNODIUS bishop of *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, who was none of the meanest authors of this century, whether we consider his compositions in prose or in verse; though he disgraced his talents, and dishonoured his eloquence, by his infamous adulation of the Roman pontif, whom he exalted so high above all mortals, as to maintain that he was answerable to none upon earth for his conduct, and subject to no human tribunal [r].

BENEDICT of *Nursia*, who acquired an immortal name, by the *rule* he laid down for the order which he instituted, and the multitude of religious societies that submitted to his discipline.

DIONYSIUS, who was surnamed the LITTLE, on account of his extraordinary humility, and was deservedly esteemed for his *Collection of the ancient canons*; and also for his *Chronological Researches*,

FULGENTIUS FERRANDUS, an African, who acquired a considerable degree of reputation by several treatises, but especially by his *Abridgement of the Canons*; though his style and diction were entirely destitute of harmony and elegance.

FACUNDUS, a strenuous defender of the *Three Chapters*, of which we shall give an account in their place.

ARATOR, who translated, with tolerable success, *The Acts of the Apostles*, into Latin verse.

PRIMASIUS of *Adrumetum*, whose *Commentary upon the epistles of St PAUL*, as also his book *Concerning heresies*, are yet extant.

LIBERATUS, whose *Compendious History of the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies*, entitle him to an

[q] See, for an account of FULGENTIUS, the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. Januar. p. 32, &c.

[r] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii p. 96.

an eminent rank among the writers of this cen-^{C E N T.}
 tury.^{VI.}

^{P A R T II.}

FORTUNATUS, a man of various erudition, and whose poetic compositions are far from being destitute of genius [s].

GREGORY of *Tours*, who is esteemed the father of Galic history; and who would have descended with honour to posterity, did not his *Annals of the Franks*, and the rest of his writings, carry so many marks of levity, credulity, and weakness [t].

GILDAS, the most ancient of the British writers, who composed a book *Concerning the destruction of Britain*, in which there are several things not altogether unworthy of the curiosity of the learned.

COLUMBAS, a native of *Ireland*, who became famous on account of the monastic rules he prescribed to his followers, his zeal for establishing religious orders; and his poetical productions [u].

ISIDORE, bishop of *Seville*, whose grammatical, theological, and historical productions discover more learning and pedantry, than judgment and taste.

We may conclude this enumeration of the Latin writers with the illustrious names of BOETHIUS and CASSIODORUS, who far surpassed all their contemporaries in learning and knowledge; the former shone forth with the brightest lustre in the republic of letters, as a philosopher, an orator,

[s] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 464.

[t] The life of GREGORY of *Tours* is to be found in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*; and his faults are mentioned by PAGI, in his *Dissert. de Dionysio Paris.* sect. 25. p. 6. which is added to the fourth tome of the *Breviarium Pontif. Romanor.* LAUNOIUS defends this historian in many things in his works, tom. i. part II. p. 131.

[u] None have given more accurate accounts of GILDAS and COLUMBAN than the learned Benedictins, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 279. 505.

C E N T. tor, a poet, and a divine, and both in elegance
 VI.
 P A R T II. and subtilty of genius had no superior, nor indeed any equal in this century ; the latter, though in many respects inferior to him, was nevertheless far from being destitute of merit [w]. Several productions of these writers have been transmitted down to our times.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the church during this century.

The increase of superstition.

I. **W**HEN once the ministers of the church had departed from the ancient simplicity of religious worship, and sullied the native purity of divine truth by a motely mixture of human inventions, it was difficult to set bounds to this growing corruption. Abuses were daily multiplied, and superstition drew from its horrid fecundity an incredible number of absurdities, which were added to the doctrine of CHRIST and his apostles. The controversial writers in the eastern provinces continued to render perplexed and obscure some of the principal doctrines of Christianity, by the subtle distinctions which they borrowed from a vain and chimerical philosophy. The public teachers and instructors of the people degenerated sadly from the apostolic character. They seemed to aim at nothing else, than to sink the multitude into the most opprobrious ignorance and superstition, to efface in their minds all sense of the beauty and excellence of genuine piety, and to substitute, in the place of religious principles, a blind veneration for the clergy, and
 a stu-

[w] See SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliothèque de M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 211.

a stupid zeal for a senseless round of ridiculous rites and ceremonies. This, perhaps, will appear less surprizing, when we consider, that *the blind led the blind*; for the public ministers and teachers of religion were, for the most part, grossly ignorant; nay, almost as much so as the multitude whom they were appointed to instruct.

II. To be convinced of the truth of the dismal representation we have here given of the state of religion at this time, nothing more is necessary than to cast an eye upon the doctrines now taught *concerning the worship of images and saints, the fire of purgatory, the efficacy of good works*, i. e. the observance of human rites and institutions, towards the attainment of salvation, the power of relics to heal the diseases of body and mind; and such like sordid and miserable fancies, which are inculcated in many of the superstitious productions of this century, and particularly in the epistles and other writings of GREGORY the GREAT. Nothing more ridiculous on the one hand, than the solemnity and liberality with which this good, but silly pontif, distributed the wonder-working relics; and nothing more lamentable on the other, than the stupid eagerness and devotion with which the deluded multitude received them, and suffered themselves to be persuaded, that a portion of stinking oil, taken from the lamps which burned at the tombs of the martyrs, had a supernatural efficacy to sanctify its possessors, and to defend them from all dangers both of a temporal and spiritual nature [x].

III. Several attempts were made in this century to lay down a proper and judicious method of explaining the scriptures. Of this nature were the two books of JUNILIUS the African,

Concerning

[x] See the *List of sacred oils* which GREGORY the GREAT sent queen THEUDELLINDA, in the work of RUINARTUS, intituled, *Acta Martyrum sincera et selecta*, p. 619.

C E N T. Concerning the various parts of the divine law [y];
 VI.
 PART II. a work destitute of precision and method, and by
 which it appears that the author had not sufficient knowledge and penetration for the task he undertook.

CASSIODORUS also, in his two books *Concerning the divine laws*, has delivered several rules for the right interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

PHILOXENUS the Syrian, translated, into his native language, the *Psalms of David*, and the *Books of the New Testament* [z].

The number of interpreters was considerable in this century. Those, who made the greatest figure among the Greeks in this character, were PROCOPIUS of *Gaza*, SEVERUS of *Antioch*, JULIAN, and a few others; the first was an expositor of no mean abilities [a]. The most eminent rank among the Latin commentators is due to GREGORY the GREAT, CASSIODORUS, PRIMASIUS [b], ISIDORE of *Seville* [c], and BELLATOR.

The defects
 of these ex-
 positors.

IV. It must, however, be acknowledged, that these writers scarcely deserve the name of expositors, if we except a small number of them, and among these the eastern NESTORIANS, who, following the example of THEODORE of *Mopsuestia*, were careful in exploring the true sense, and the native energy of the words employed in the Holy Scriptures. So that we may divide the commentators of this age into two classes. In the *first*, we

[y] See SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliothèque de Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 229.

[z] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANUS *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 83.

[a] See SIMON, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iv. p. 120. of the new edition.

[b] SIMON *Hist. Critique des principaux Commentateurs du N. T.* chap. xxiv. p. 337; as also his *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Eccl. de Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 226.

[c] SIMON, *Critique de la, &c. du M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 159.

we rank those who did nothing more than collect CENT.
the opinions and interpretations which had been VI.
received by the ancient doctors of the church; PART II.
which collections were afterwards called *chains* by
the Latins [d]. Such was the *chain* of OLYMPI-
ODORUS on JOB; the *chain* of VICTOR of Capua
upon the Four Gospels; and the *commentary* of PRI-
MASIUS on the Epistle to the Romans, which was
compiled from the works of AUGUSTIN, JEROME,
AMBROSE, and others. Even PROCOPIUS of Gaza
may be ranked in this class, though not with so
much reason as the mere compilers now men-
tioned; since, in many cases, he has consulted
the dictates of his own judgment, and not fol-
lowed, with a servile and implicit submission, the
voice of antiquity. To the *second* class belong
those fanciful expositors, who setting up ORI-
GEN as their great model, neglect and overlook
entirely the sense of the words employed by the
sacred writers, lose themselves in spiritual refine-
ments and allegorical digressions, and, by the
succour of a lively and luxuriant imagination,
draw from the scriptures arguments in favour of
every whim they have thought proper to adopt.
Such was ANASTATIUS the Sinaite, whose *Myste-
rious contemplations upon the six days creation* [e],
betray the levity and ignorance of their author;
and GREGORY the GREAT, whose *Moral observa-
tions upon the book of JOB*, have formerly met with
unmerited commendations. Such also were ISO-
DORE of Seville, and PRIMASIUS, as manifestly ap-
pears by the *Book of Allegories upon the Holy Scrip-
tures* [f], which was invented by the former, and
the

[d] See STEPH. LE MOYNE, *Prolegomena ad varia Sacra*,
p. 53. JO. ALBERT. FABRICII *Biblioth. Græcæ*, lib. v. cap.
xvii. or vol. vii. p. 727.

[e] The title is *Contemplationes Anagogicæ in Hexaëmerone*.

[f] *Liber Allegoriarum in Scripturam Sacram.*

C E N T. the *Mystical exposition of the book of the Revela²*
 VI.
 P A R T II. *tion* [g], which was imagined by the latter.

The me-
thods of ex-
plaining the
Christian
doctrine
which now
prevailed. V. It would be needless to expect from the di-
 vines of this century, an accurate view, or a
 clear and natural explanation of the Christian
 doctrine. The greatest part of them reasoned and
 disputed concerning the truths of the gospel, as
 the blind would argue about light and colours;
 and imagined that they had acquitted themselves
 nobly, when they had thrown out a heap of crude
 and indigested notions, and overwhelmed their
 adversaries with a torrent of words.

We may perceive, however, in the writers of
 this age, some evident marks of the three differ-
 ent methods of explaining and inculcating the
 doctrines of religion, which are yet practised
 among the Greeks and Latins. For some col-
 lected together a heap, rather than a system of
 theological opinions, from the writings of the
 ancient doctors, from the decrees of councils, and
 from the Holy Scriptures; such were ISIDORE of
Seville among the Latins; whose *three books of*
sentences, or opinions, are still extant; and LEON-
 TIUS the Cyprian among the Greeks, whose *Loci*
communes, or Common-place book of divinity, which
 he had compiled from the writings of the an-
 cients, have been much esteemed. These authors
 gave rise to that species of divinity, which the La-
 tins distinguished afterwards by the name of
positive theology.

Others endeavoured to explain the various
 doctrines of Christianity by reasoning upon their
 nature, their excellency and fitness; and thus
 it was, even with the weapons of *reason* and *argu-
ment*, that the most of the Christian doctors
 disputed against the Nestorians, the Eutychians,
 and the Pelagians. These metaphysical divines
 were

[g] *Expositio Mystica in Apocalypsin.*

were called *schoolmen*, and their writings were afterwards characterized under the general term of *scholastic divinity*. CENT.
VI.
PART II.

A third class of theological teachers, very different from those already mentioned, comprehended a certain species of fanatics, who maintained that the knowledge of divine truth was only to be derived from inward feeling, and mental contemplation. This class assumed the appellation of mystics. These three methods of deducing and unfolding the doctrines of the gospel have been transmitted down to our times. No writer of this century composed a judicious or complete system of divinity; though several branches of that sacred science were occasionally illustrated.

VI. Those who consecrated their pious labours to the advancement of practical religion and moral virtue, aimed at the fulfilling this good purpose, partly by laying down *precepts*, and partly by exhibiting edifying *examples*. They who promoted the cause of piety and virtue in the former way, modified their *precepts* according to the state and circumstances of the person for whom they were designed. One sort of precepts were addressed to those who had not abandoned the connections of civil society, but lived amidst the hurry of worldly affairs. A different set of rules was administered to those who aspired after higher degrees of perfection, and lived in a retirement from the contagion and vanities of the world. The *precepts*, addressed to the former, represent the Christian life, as consisting in certain external virtues, and acts of religion; as appears from the *Homilies* and *Exhortations* of CÆSARIUS; the *Capita Parænetica* of AGAPETUS; and especially from the *Formula honestæ vitæ*, i. e. the *Summary of a virtuous life*, drawn up by MARTIN, archbishop

Vol. II. K shop

C E N T. shop of *Braga* [b]. The rules administered to the
 VI. latter sort of Christians, were more spiritual and
 P A R T II sublime: they were exhorted to separate, as far as
 was possible, the soul from the body by divine
 contemplation; and for that purpose, to enervate
 and emaciate the latter by watching, fasting, per-
 petual prayer, and singing of psalms; as we find
 in the dissertation of FULGENTIUS, *upon fasting*,
 and those of NICERIUS, *Concerning the vigils of the*
servants of God, and *the good effects of psalmody*.
 The Greeks adopted for their leader, in this
 mystic labyrinth, DIONYSIUS, falsely called the
 Areopagite, whose pretended writings JOHN of
Scythopolis illustrated with annotations in this cen-
 tury. We need not be at any pains in pointing
 out the defects of these injudicious zealots; the
 smallest acquaintance with that rational religion,
 which is contained in the gospel, will be sufficient
 to open the eyes of the impartial upon the absur-
 dities of that chimerical devotion we have now
 been describing.

The lives of
the saints.

VII. They who enforced the duties of Christi-
 anity, by exhibiting *examples* of piety and virtue
 to the view of those for whom their instructions
 were designed, wrote, for this purpose, the *Lives*
of the saints; and there was a considerable num-
 ber of this kind of biographers both among the
 Greeks and Latins. ENNODIUS, EUGIPPIUS,
 CYRIL of *Scythopolis*, DIONYSIUS the Little, CO-
 GITOSUS, and others, are to be ranked in this
 class. But, however pious the intentions of these
 biographers may have been, it must be acknow-
 ledged, that they executed it in a most contempt-
 ible manner. No models of rational piety are
 to be found among those pretended worthies,
 whom they propose to Christians as objects of
 imitation. They amuse their readers with gigan-
 tic

[b] See the *Acta sanctor. Martii*, tom. iii. p. 86.

tic fables and trifling romances: the examples C E N T. VI. P A R T II. they exhibit are those of certain delirious *fanatics*, whom they call *saints*, men of a corrupt and perverted judgment, who offered violence to reason and nature by the horrors of an extravagant austerity in their own conduct, and by the severity of those singular and inhuman rules which they prescribed to others. For, by what means were these men *sainted*? By starving themselves with a frantic obstinacy, and bearing the useless hardships of hunger, thirst, and inclement seasons, with steadfastness and perseverance; by running about the country, like madmen in tattered garments, and sometimes half-naked, or shutting themselves up in a narrow space, where they continued motionless; by standing for a long time in certain postures, with their eyes closed, in the enthusiastic expectation of divine light. All this was saint-like and glorious; and the more that any ambitious fanatic departed from the dictates of reason and common sense, and counterfeited the wild gestures, and the incoherent conduct of an idiot, or a lunatic, the surer was his prospect of obtaining an eminent rank among the heroes and demigods of a corrupt and degenerate church.

VIII. Many writers laboured with diligence to Polemic divinity. terminate the reigning controversies, but none with success. Nor shall we be much surprised, that these efforts were ineffectual, when we consider how they were conducted; for scarcely can we name a single writer, whose opposition to the Eutychians, Nestorians, and Pelagians, was carried on with probity, moderation, or prudence. PRIMASIUS and PHILOPONUS wrote concerning all the sects, but their works are lost; the treatise of LEONTIUS, upon the same extensive subject, is still extant, but is scarcely worth perusing. ISIDORE of *Seville*, and LEONTIUS of *Neapolis*, disputed against the Jews, but with what success and dexterity

C E N T. dexterity will be easily imagined by those who are
 VI. acquainted with the learning and logic of these
 P A R T II. times. We omit, therefore, any further men-
 tion of the miserable disputants of this century,
 from a persuasion that it will be more useful and
 entertaining to lay before the reader a brief ac-
 count of the controversies that now divided and
 troubled the Christian church.

The con-
 trover-
 sies
 concern-
 ing
 Origen and
 his doc-
 trine, re-
 newed.

IX. Though the credit of ORIGEN, and his system, seemed to lie expiring under the blows it had received from the zeal of the orthodox, and the repeated thunder of synods and councils, yet it was very far from being totally sunk. On the contrary, this great man, and his doctrine, were held by many, and especially by the monks, in the highest veneration, and cherished with a kind of enthusiasm which became boundless and extravagant. In the west, BELLATOR translated the works of ORIGEN into the Latin language. In the eastern provinces, and particularly in *Syria* and *Palestine*, which were the principal seats of Origenism, the monks, seconded by several bishops, and chiefly by THEODORE of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, defended the truth and authority of the doctrines of ORIGEN against all his adversaries with incredible vehemence and contention of mind [i]. The cause was, at length, brought before JUSTINIAN, who, in a long and verbose edict, addressed to MENNAS, patriarch of *Constantinople* [k], passed a severe condemnation upon ORIGEN and his doctrine, and ordered it to be entirely suppressed [l]. The effects of this edict were

[i] CYRILLUS, *Scythopolis*, in *vita Sabæ*, which is to be found in COTELERIUS, *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, p. 370. HENR. NORIS, *Dissertat. de Synodo Quinta*, cap. i, ii. p. 554. tom. i. opp.

[k] This edict is published in HARDUIN's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 243.

[l] This edict was procured by the solicitation of PELAGIUS, who was legate of VIGILIUS at the court of *Constantinople*.

were more violent than durable ; for, upon the breaking out of the controversy concerning the *three chapters* [m], soon after this time, Origenism was not only revived in *Palestine*, but even recovered new vigour, and spread itself far and wide. Hence many commotions were raised in the church, which were, however, terminated by the fifth general council, assembled at *Constantinople*, by JUSTINIAN, A. D. 533, and in which ORIGEN and his followers were again condemned [n].

X. This controversy produced another, which continued much longer, was carried on with still more excessive degrees of animosity and violence, and the subject of which was of much less moment and importance. The emperor JUSTINIAN was eagerly bent upon extirpating that violent branch of the Monophysites, which was distinguished by the name of Acephali ; and consulted, upon this matter, THEODORE, bishop of *Cæsarea*, who was a Monophysite, and at the same time, extremely attached to the doctrine of ORIGEN. The artful prelate considered this as a favourable opportunity of procuring repose to the followers of ORIGEN by exciting a new controversy, as also of casting a reproach upon the council of *Chalcedon*, and giving a mortal blow to the Nestorians

The controversy concerning the three chapters,

K 3

and

stantinople, with a view to confound the Acephali, who were admirers of ORIGEN, and particularly to vex THEODORE, of whose credit with the emperor, PELAGIUS was extremely jealous. It was to return this affront, as well as to affect the purposes mentioned in the following section, that THEODORE set on foot the controversy concerning the *three chapters*, which produced such tedious, cruel, and fatal dissensions in the church. See BASNAGE, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, livr. x. ch. vi. p. 520.

[m] For an explication of what is meant by the *three chapters*, see note [o] of the Xth section.

[n] See HARDUIN *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 283. EVAGRIUS, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. cap. xxxviii. BASNAGE, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, livr. x. chap. vi. p. 517, &c. PET. DAN. HUETII *Origeniana*, lib. 224. DOMINICIN'S *Singular. Diss.* which is subjoined to his *Historia Origeniana*, p. 345.

C E N T. and their cause. In order, therefore, to effect
 PART II these three important purposes, he persuaded the
 emperor that the Acephali would return to the
 bosom of the church, under the following easy
 and reasonable conditions ; namely, “ That those
 “ passages in the acts of the council of *Chalcedon*,
 “ in which THEODORE of *Mopsuestia*, THEODO-
 “ RET of *Cyrus*, and IBAS of *Edessa*, had been
 “ pronounced orthodox, should be effaced ; and
 “ that the productions of these prelates, which
 “ were known by the appellation of the *three*
 “ *chapters* [o], as also other writings of theirs,
 “ which discovered a manifest propensity towards
 “ the Nestorian errors, should be condemned
 “ and prohibited.” The emperor lent a propi-
 tious ear to the counsels of this prelate ; and, by
 an edict published, A. D. 544, ordered the *three*
chapters to be condemned and effaced, without
 any prejudice, however, to the authority of the
 council of *Chalcedon* [p]. This edict was warmly
 opposed by the African and western bishops, and
 particularly by VIGILIUS, the Roman pontif, who
 considered it as highly injurious not only to the
 authority of the council now mentioned, but also
 to

[o] The pieces that were distinguished by the appella-
 tion of the *three chapters*, were, 1. The writings of THEODORE
 of *Mopsuestia*. 2. The books which THEODORET of *Cyrus*
 wrote against the *twelve Anathemas*, which CYRIL had pub-
 lished against the Nestorians. 3. The letter which Ibas of
Edessa had written to one MARIS a Persian, concerning the
 council of *Ephesus* and the condemnation of NESTORIUS. These
 writings were supposed to favour the Nestorian doctrine, and
 such indeed was their tendency. It is, however, to be observ-
 ed, that THEODORE of *Mopsuestia* lived before the time of NES-
 TORIUS, and died, not only in the communion of the church,
 but also in the highest reputation for his sanctity. Nor were
 the writings of the other two either condemned or censured by
 the council of *Chalcedon* ; nay, the faith of THEODORET and I-
 BAS was there declared entirely orthodox. The decision of the
 council of *Constantinople*, in opposition to this, shews that coun-
 cils, as well as doctors, differ.

[p] See HARDUINI *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 287. EVAGRIUS,
Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. iv. cap. xxxviii. p. 412.

to the memory of those holy men whose writings C B N T. and characters it covered with reproach [q]. Upon P VI. ART II. this, JUSTINIAN ordered VIGILIUS to repair immediately to *Constantinople*, that, having him in his power, he might compel him with more facility to acquiesce in the edict, and reject the *three chapters*; and this method was attended with success, for the pontif yielded. On the other hand, the bishops of *Africa* and *Illyricum* obliged VIGILIUS to retract his *judicatum*, by which, in a council of seventy bishops, he had condemned the *three chapters* in obedience to the emperor. For they separated themselves from the communion of this pope, and refused to acknowledge him as one of their brethren; nay, treated him as an apostate, until he approved what he had been obliged to condemn. The effect of this retraction redoubled the zeal and violence of JUSTINIAN, who, by a second edict, published A. D. 551, condemned anew the *three chapters*.

XI. After many cabals, commotions, and dissensions, which were occasioned by this trifling The œcumenical council. controversy, it was thought proper to submit the final decision of it to an assembly of the universal church. This assembly was accordingly summoned, by JUSTINIAN, to meet at *Constantinople*, A. D. 553, and is considered as the *fifth œcumenical*, or *general council*. The emperor gained his point here: for, besides the doctrines of ORIGEN [r], the *three chapters*, the condemnation of which

[q] HEN. NORIS, *De Synoda quinta*, cap. x. p. 579. tom. i. opp. BASNAGE, *Histoire De l'Eglise*, tom. i. livr. x. cap. vi. p. 523.

[r] We do not find in the acts of this council any one which condemns the doctrines of ORIGEN. It is, however, generally imagined, that these doctrines were condemned by this assembly; and what gave rise to this notion was probably the fifteen Greek canons yet extant, in which the principal errors of ORIGEN are condemned, and which are entitled the canons of the 160 fathers assembled in the council of *Constantinople*. The tenets of ORIGEN, which gave the most offence, were the

C E N T. which he had solely in view, were, by the bishops
 VI.
 P A R T II. of the east (for there were very few western pre-
 lates present at this council), declared here-
 tical and pernicious. VIGILIUS, who was now
 at *Constantinople*, refusing his assent to the de-
 crees of this council ; for which reason, after
 having received various affronts, he was sent
 into exile, from whence he was not permitted to
 return before he had acquiesced in the decisions
 of this assembly [s] ; and, changing his sentiments
 for the fourth time, had declared the opinions
 contained in the *three chapters* to be execrable
 blasphemies. His successor PELAGIUS, and all
 the Roman pontiffs that have since lolled in the
 papal chair, adhered to the decrees of this coun-
 cil ; but neither their authority, nor that of the
 emperor, could prevail upon the western bishops
 to follow their example in this respect. Many of
 these, on the contrary, carried matters so far as to
 separate themselves from the communion of the
 pope on this account ; and divisions, that arose
 from hence in the church, were too violent to ad-
 mit of an expeditious or easy reconciliation, and
 could only be healed by length of time [t].

XII. An-

the following : 1. That, in the Trinity, the *Father* is greater
 than the *Son*, and the *Son* than the *Holy Ghost*. 2. The *pre-*
existence of souls, which ORIGEN considered as sent into mor-
 tal bodies for the punishment of sins committed in a former
 state of being. 3. That the *soul* of CHRIST was united to the
word before the incarnation. 4. That the sun, moon, and stars,
 &c. were animated and endowed with rational souls. 5. That
 after the resurrection all bodies will be of a round figure. 6.
 That the torments of the damned will have an end ; and that as
 CHRIST had been crucified in this world to save mankind, he is
 to be crucified in the next to save the devils.

[s] See PETR. DE MARCA, *Dissert. de decreto Vigilii pro*
confirmatione Synodi V. which is to be found among the *Dis-*
sertations subjoined to his learned work, *De concordia sacerdo-*
tis et imperii.

[t] The best account of this matter is to be found in NORIS,
De synodo quinta œcumenica, though even this excellent author
 cannot

XII. Another controversy of much more importance had been carried on before this period among the Greeks; it was first kindled in the year 519, and it arose upon the following question: *Whether it could be said, with propriety, that ONE OF THE TRINITY suffered on the Cross?* This was designed to embarrass the Nestorians, who seemed to separate too much the two natures in CHRIST; and the Scythian monks, who seconded this design, and to whom the rise of this controversy is principally to be imputed, maintained the affirmative of this nice and difficult question. Others asserted, on the contrary, that this manner of speaking was by no means to be adopted, since it bordered upon the erroneous expressions and tenets of the Theopaschites, who composed one of the sects into which the Eutychians were subdivided [u]. This latter opinion was confirmed by HORMISDAS the Roman pontif, to whom the Scythian monks had appealed in vain; but this, instead of allaying the heat of the present controversy, only added new fuel to the flame. JOHN II. who was one of the successors of HORMISDAS, approved the proposition which the latter had condemned; and confirming the opinion of the Scythian monks, exposed the decisions of the papal oracle to the laughter of the wise; his sentence was afterwards approved by the fifth general council; and thus peace was restored in the church

cannot be vindicated from the imputation of a certain degree of partiality. See also CHRIST. LUPUS, *Not. ad concilium quintum*, in his *Ad concilia Adnotat.*

[u] The deacon VICTOR, and those who opposed the Scythian monks, expressed their opinion in the following proposition: *viz. One PERSON of the Trinity suffered in the flesh.* Both sides received the council of *Chalcedon*, acknowledged two natures in CHRIST, in opposition to EUTYCHES; and only one person in opposition to NESTORIUS; and yet, by a torrent of jargon, and a long chain of unintelligible syllogisms, the Scythian monks accused their adversaries of Nestorianism, and were accused by them of the Eutychian heresy.

C E N T. church by the conclusion of these unintelligible-
 VI. disputes [w].

PART II.

With the question now mentioned, there was another closely and intimately connected, namely, *Whether the PERSON of CHRIST could be considered as COMPOUNDED?* Of this question the Scythian monks maintained the affirmative, and their adversaries the negative.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

Rites multiplied.

IN this century the cause of true religion sunk apace, and the gloomy reign of superstition extended itself in proportion to the decay of genuine piety. This lamentable decay was supplied by a multitude of rites and ceremonies. In the east the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies gave occasion to the invention of various rites and external institutions, which were used as marks to distinguish from each other the contending parties. The western churches were loaded with rites by GREGORY the GREAT, who had a marvellous fecundity of genius in inventing, and an irresistible force of eloquence in recommending superstitious observances. Nor will this appear surprising to those who know, that in the opinion of this pontif, the *words* of the sacred writings were *images* of mysterious and invisible things ;

[w] See NORISII *Historia controversiæ de uno ex Trinitate passo*, tom. iii. opp. p. 771. The ancient writers who mention this controversy, call the monks who set it on foot, Scythians. But LA CROZE, in his *Thesaur. Epist.* tom. iii. p. 189. imagines, that the country of these monks was *Egypt*, and not *Scythia* ; and this conjecture is supported by reasons which carry in them, at least, a high degree of probability.

things; for such as embrace this chimerical system will easily be led to express all the doctrines and precepts of religion by external rites and symbols. GREGORY, indeed, is worthy of praise in this, that he did not pretend to force others to the observance of his inventions; though this, perhaps, was as much owing to a want of power, as to a principle of moderation.

II. This prodigious augmentation of rites and ceremonies rendered an augmentation of doctors and interpreters of these mysteries indispensably necessary. Hence a new kind of science arose, which had, for its object, the explication of these ceremonies, and the investigation of the causes and circumstances from whence they derived their origin. But the most of those, who entered into these researches, never went to the fountain-head, to the true sources of these idle inventions. They endeavoured to seek their origin in reason and Christianity; but in this they deceived themselves, or, at least, deluded others, and delivered to the world their own fancies, instead of letting them into the true causes of things. Had they been acquainted with the opinions and customs of remote antiquity, or studied the pontifical law of the Greeks and Romans, they had come at the true origin of many institutions, which were falsely looked upon as venerable and sacred.

III. The public worship of God was as yet celebrated by every nation in its own language; but was enlarged, from time to time, by the addition of various hymns, and other things of that nature, which were considered as proper to enliven devotion by the power of novelty. GREGORY the GREAT prescribed a new method of administering the Lord's supper, with a magnificent assemblage of pompous ceremonies; this institution of his was called the *canon of the mass*; and, if any are unwilling to give it the name of a new appoint-

C E N T.
VI.
P A R T II.

The occasions of them investigated.

Public worship.

The administration of the Eucharist.

E B N T. appointment, they must, at least acknowledge that it was a considerable augmentation of the ancient canon for celebrating the eucharist, and occasioned a remarkable change in the administration of that ordinance. Many ages, however, passed before this *Gregorian canon* was adopted by all Latin churches [x].

Baptism.

Baptism, except in cases of necessity, was ministered only on great festivals. We omit mentioning, for the sake of brevity, the Litanies that were addressed to the saints, the different sorts of supplications, the *stations*, or assemblies of Gregory, the forms of consecration, and other similar institutions, which were contrived, in this century, to excite a species of external devotion, and to engage the outward senses in religious worship. An enquiry into these matters would of itself serve to be made the subject of a separate work.

IV. There was an incredible number of temples erected in honour of the saints, during this century, both in the eastern and western provinces. The places set apart for public worship were already very numerous; but it was now that Christians first began to consider these sacred edifices as the means of purchasing the favour and protection of the saints, and to be persuaded that these departed spirits defended and guarded, against evils and calamities of every kind, the provinces, lands, cities and villages, in which they were honoured with temples. The number of these temples were almost equalled by that of the festivals, which were now observed in the Christian church, and many of which seem to have been instituted upon a Pagan model. To those that were celebrated in the preceding century, were now added the festival of the *purification of the blessed Virgin*, invented with a design

[x] See THEOD. CHR. LILIENTHAL, *De canone missæ Gregoriano*.

to remove the uneasiness of the heathen converts C E N T. VI. P A R T II. on account of the loss of their *lupercalia*, or feasts of PAN, which had been formerly observed in the month of February, the festival of the *immaculate conception*, the day set apart to commemorate the birth of St JOHN, and others less worthy of mention.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.

I. **T**HE various sects which had fomented divisions among Christians in the early ages The remains of the ancient heresies. of the church, were far from being effectually suppressed or totally extirpated. Though they had been persecuted and afflicted with an infinite diversity of trials and calamities, yet they still subsisted, and continued to excite dissensions and tumults in many places. The Manicheans Manicheans. are said to have gained such a degree of influence among the Persians, as to have corrupted even the son of CABADES, the monarch of that nation, who repaid their zeal in making proselytes with a terrible massacre, in which numbers of that impious sect perished in the most dreadful manner. Nor was *Persia*, the only country which was troubled with the attempts of the Manicheans to spread their odious doctrine; other provinces of the empire were, undoubtedly, infected with their errors, as we may judge from that book that was written against them by HERCULIAN bishop of *Chalcedon* [y]. In *Gaul* and *Africa*, dissensions Semi-Pelagians. of a different kind prevailed; and the controversy between the Semi-Pelagians and the disciples of

[y] See PHOTIUS, *Biblioth. Cod.* cxiv. p. 291.

CENT. of AUGUSTIN continued to divide the western churches.

VI.
PART II.

Donatists.

II. The Donatists enjoyed the sweets of freedom and tranquillity, as long as the Vandals reigned in *Africa*; but the scene was greatly changed with respect to them, when the empire of these Barbarians was overturned in the year 534. They, however, still remained in a separate body, and not only held their church, but towards the conclusion of this century, and particularly from the year 591, defended themselves with new degrees of animosity and vigour, and were bold enough to attempt the multiplication of their sect. GREGORY, the Roman pontif, opposed these efforts with great spirit and assiduity; and as appears from his epistles [z], tried various methods of depressing this faction, which was pluming its wings anew, and menacing the revival of those lamentable divisions which it had formerly excited in the church. Nor was the opposition of the zealous pontif without effect; it seems on the contrary to have been attended with the desired success, since, in this century, the church of the Donatists dwindled away to nothing, and after this period no traces of it are any where to be found.

Arians.

III. Towards the commencement of this century, the Arians were triumphant in several parts of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*. Many of the Asiatic bishops favoured them secretly, while their opinions were openly professed, and their cause maintained, by the Vandals in *Africa*, the Goths in *Italy*, the Spaniards, the Burgundians, the Suevi, and the greatest part of the Gauls. It is true, the Greeks, who had received the decrees of the council of *Nice*, persecuted and oppressed the

Arian s

[z] See his *Epistles*, lib. iv. ep. xxxiv, xxxv. p. 714. 715. lib. vi. ep. lxx. p. 841. ep. xxxvii. p. 821. lib. ix. ep. liii. p. 972. lib. ii. ep. xlviii. p. 611. tom. ii. opp.

Arians wherever their influence and authority CENT.
 could reach; but the Nicenians, in their turn, VI.
 were not less rigorously treated by their adver- PART II.
 saries, particularly in *Africa* and *Italy*, where they
 felt in a very severe manner, the weight of the
 Arian power, and the bitterness of their resent-
 ment [a].

The triumphs of Arianism were, however, but transitory; and its prosperous days were entirely eclipsed, when the Vandals were driven out of *Africa*, and the Goths out of *Italy*, by the arms of JUSTINIAN [b]. For the other Arian princes were easily induced to abandon, themselves, the doctrine of that sect; and not only so, but to employ the force of laws and the authority of councils to prevent its further progress among their subjects, and to extirpate it entirely out of their dominions. Such was the conduct of SIGISMOND king of the Burgundians; THEODIMIR king of the Suevi, who had settled in *Lusitania*; and RECARED king of *Spain*. Whether the change wrought in these princes was owing to the force of reason and argument, or to the influence of hopes and fears, is a question which we shall not pretend to determine. One thing, however, is certain, and that is, that from this period, the Arian sect declined apace, and could never after recover any considerable degree of stability and consistence.

IV. The Nestorians, after having gained a firm The state of
 footing in *Persia*, and established the patriarch, the Nesto-
 or head of their sect at *Seleucia*, extended their riana.
 views

[a] PROCOPIUS, *De bello Vandal.* lib. i. cap. viii. and *De bello Gotbico*, lib. ii. cap. ii. EVAGRIUS, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. iv. cap. xv.

[b] See MASCOVII *Historia German.* tom. ii. p. 76, 91. See also an account of the Barbarian kings, who abandoned Arianism, and received the doctrines of the Nicene council, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. Martii, p. 275. and April. p. 434.

C E N T. views further, and spread their doctrines, with a
VI. success equal to the ardour of their zeal, through
P A R T II. the provinces that lay beyond the limits of the
 Roman empire. There are yet extant authentic records, from which it appears, that, throughout all *Persia*, as also in *India, Armenia, Arabia, Syria*, and other countries, there were vast numbers of Nestorian churches, all under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of *Seleucia* [c]. It is true, indeed, that the Persian monarchs were not all equally favourable to this growing sect, and that some of them even persecuted, with the utmost severity, all those who bore the Christian name throughout their dominions [d]; but it is also true, that such of these princes, as were disposed to exercise moderation and benignity towards the Christians, were much more indulgent to the Nestorians, than to their adversaries who adhered to the council of *Ephesus*, since the latter were considered as spies employed by the Greeks, with whom they were connected by the ties of religion.

Eutychian
controversies.

V. The Monophysites, or Eutychians, flourished also in this century, and had gained over to their doctrine a considerable part of the eastern provinces. The emperor ANASTASIUS was warmly attached to the doctrine and sect of the Acephan, who were reckoned among the more rigid Monophysites [e]; and, in the year 513, created patriarch of *Antioch*, in the room of FLAVIAN, whom he had expelled from that see, SEVERUS, a learned monk

[c] COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, *Topographia Christiana*, lib. ii. p. 125. which is to be found in MONTFAUCON's *Collectio nova PP. Græcorum*.

[d] JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. part I. p. 109. 407. 411. 441. 449. tom. iii. part II. cap. v. sect. ii. p. 83.

[e] EVAGRIUS, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. iii. cap. xxx. xliv. &c. THEODORUS the Reader, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. ii. p. 562. See also the *Index operum SEVERI*, as it stands collected from ancient MSS. in MONTFAUCON's *Bibliotheca Christianiana*, p. 53.

monk of *Palestine*, from whom the Monophysites C E N T. were called Severians [*f*]. This emperor ex-^{VI.}erted all his influence and authority to destroy the PART II. credit of the council of *Chalcedon* in the east, and to maintain the cause of those who adhered to the doctrine of *one nature* in CHRIST; and, by the ardour and vehemence of his zeal, he excited the most deplorable seditions and tumults in the church [*g*]. After the death of ANASTASIUS, which happened A. D. 518, SEVERUS was expelled in his turn; and the sect which the late emperor had maintained and propagated with such zeal and assiduity, was every where opposed and depressed by his successor JUSTIN, and the following emperors, in such a manner, that it seemed to be upon the very brink of ruin, notwithstanding that it had created SERGIUS patriarch in the place of SEVERUS [*b*].

VI. When the affairs of the Monophysites were in such a desperate situation, that almost all hope of their recovery was vanished, and their bishops were reduced, by death and imprisonment, to a very small number, an obscure man whose name was JACOB, and who was distinguished from others so called, by the surname of BARADÆUS, or ZANZALUS, restored this expiring sect to its former prosperity and lustre [*i*]. This poor monk, the

Jacob Baradæus the restorer of the Monophysites.

VOL. II. L grandeur

[*f*] See JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 47. 321. EUSEB. RENAUDOT, *Historia Patriarch. Alexandrinor.* p. 127. 129. 130. 135. 138, &c.

[*g*] EVAGRIUS, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. iii. cap. xxxiii. CYRIELUS, *vita Sabæ in* JO. BAPT. COTELERII *Monument. Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, tom. iii. p. 312. BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article ANASTASIUS.

[*b*] See ABULPHARAH *Series Patriarch. Antiochen. in* ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican*, &c. tom. ii. p. 323.

[*i*] See ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient.* &c. tom. ii. cap. viii. p. 62. 72. 326. 331. 414. EUSEBII RENAUD. *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 119. 133. 425. and the *Liturgiæ Orient.* tom. ii. p. 333. 342. FAUSTUS NAIRONUS, *Euophia fidei Catholicæ ex Syrorum monumentis*, part I. p. 40, 41.

C E N T. grandeur of whose views was much above the ob-
 VI. scurity of his station, and whose fortitude and pa-
 P A R T II. tience no dangers could daunt, nor any labours
 exhaust, was ordained to the episcopal office by a
 handful of captive bishops, travelled on foot
 through the whole east, established bishops and
 presbyters every where, revived the drooping
 spirits of the Monophysites, and produced such an
 astonishing change in their affairs by the power
 of his eloquence, and by his incredible activity
 and diligence, that when he died bishop of *Edessa*,
 A. D. 588, he left his sect in a most flourishing
 state in *Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Egypt, Nu-*
bia, Abyssinia, and other countries [k]. This dex-
 terous monk had prudence to contrive the means
 of success, as well as activity to put them in ex-
 ecution; for he almost totally extinguished all the
 animosities, and reconciled all the factions, that
 had divided the Monophysites; and when their
 churches grew so numerous in the east, that they
 could not all be conveniently comprehended un-
 der the sole jurisdiction of the patriarch of *Antioch*,
 he appointed, as his assistant, the primate of the
 east, whose residence was at *Tagritis*, on the bor-
 ders of *Armenia* [l]. The laborious efforts of JA-
 COB were seconded in *Egypt*, and the adjacent
 countries, by THEODOSIUS bishop of *Alexandria*;
 and he became so famous, that all the Monophy-
 sites of the east considered him as their second pa-
 rent and founder, and are to this day called ja-
 cobites, in honour of their new chief.

VII.

[k] Concerning the Nubians and Abyssinians, see ASSE-
 MAN. *Biblioth. Orient.* &c. tom. ii. p. 330. LOBO, *Voyage*
d'Abyssinie, tom. ii. p. 36. LUDOLPH. *Commentar. ad Histo-*
riam Ethiopicam, p. 451. 461. 466.

[l] ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. 410.
 414. 418. See also this learned writer's *Dissertatio de Mono-*
physitis, which is prefixed to the second volume of the work
 now cited.

VII. Thus it happened, that, by the imprudent zeal and violence which the Greeks employed in defending the truth, the Monophysites gained considerable advantages, and, at length, obtained a solid and permanent settlement. From this period their sect has been under the jurisdiction of the patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, who, notwithstanding the difference of opinion which subsists, with respect to some points, between the Syrian and Egyptian Monophysites, are extremely careful to maintain communion with each other, both by letters, and by the exchange of good offices. The primate of the Abyssines is subject to the patriarch of *Alexandria*; and the primate of the east, who resides at *Tagritis* is under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of *Antioch*. The Armenians are ruled by a bishop of their own, and are distinguished by certain opinions and rites from the rest of the Monophysites.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.
The state of
the Mono-
physites.

VIII. The sect of the Monophysites, before it was thus happily established, was torn with factions and intestine disputes, and suffered, in a particular manner, from that nice and subtle controversy concerning *the body of CHRIST*, which was kindled at *Alexandria*. JULIAN, bishop of *Halicarnassus*, affirmed, A. D. 519, that the divine nature had so insinuated itself into the body of CHRIST, from the very moment of the Virgin's conception, that the body of our Lord changed its nature, and became incorruptible. This opinion was also embraced by CAIANUS, bishop of *Alexandria*: from whom those who adopted it were called Caianists. They were, however, divided into three sects two of which debated this question, Whether the body of CHRIST was *created* or *increated*? While the third asserted, that our Lord's body was indeed corruptible, but never actually corrupted, since the energy of the divine nature must have prevented its dissolution.

Controversies among
the Mono-
physites.

C E N T. VI. This sect was warmly opposed by SEVERUS of
 P A R T II. *Antioch*, and DAMIANUS, who maintained that the
 body of CHRIST, before his resurrection, was truly
corruptible, i.e. subject to the affections and chan-
 ges with which human nature is generally attend-
 ed. Those who embraced the opinion of JULIAN,
 were called Aphthartodocetæ, Docetæ, Phanta-
 siasts, and even Manicheans, because it was sup-
 posed to follow from their hypothesis, that CHRIST
 did not suffer in *reality*, but only in *appearance*,
 hunger and thirst, pain and death; and that he
 did not actually assume the common affections
 and properties of human nature. On the other
 hand, the votaries of SEVERUS were distinguished
 by the names Phthartolatræ, Ktistolatræ, and
 Creaticolæ. This miserable controversy was car-
 ried on with great warmth under the reign of Jus-
 TINIAN, who favoured the Aphthartodocetæ; soon
 after, it subsided gradually; and, at length, was
 happily hushed in silence [m]. XENAIAS of *Hiera-*
polis struck out an hypothesis upon this knotty
 matter, which seemed equally remote from those
 of the contending parties; for he maintained that
 CHRIST had, indeed, truly suffered the various
 sensations to which humanity is exposed; but
 that he suffered them not in his *nature*, but by a
 submissive act of his *will* [n].

The Ag-
 noctæ.

IX. Some of the Corrupticolæ (for so *they* were
 called who looked upon the body of CHRIST to
 be corruptible), particularly THEMISTIUS, a dea-
 con of *Alexandria*, and THEODOSIUS, a bishop of
 that city, were carried by the inconsiderate heat
 of

[m] TIMOTHEUS, *De receptione hæreticorum in COTELERII Monumentis Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, tom. iii. p. 409. LIBERATUS, in *Breviario Controv.* cap. xx. FORBESII *Instructiones Historico Theologicæ*, lib. iii. cap. xviii. p. 108. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Oriental.* tom. iii. part. II. 457.

[n] ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 22. and 168.

of controversy into another opinion, which produced new commotions in the church towards the conclusion of this century. They affirmed, that to the divine nature of CHRIST all things were known; but that from his human nature many things were concealed. The rest of the sect charged the authors of this opinion with imputing ignorance to the divine nature of CHRIST; since they held, in common with them, that there was but one nature in the Son of God. Hence the votaries of this new doctrine were called Agnoëtæ [o]; but their sect was so weak and ill-supported, that, notwithstanding their eloquence and activity, which seemed to promise better success, it gradually declined, and came to nothing.

C E N T.
VI.
P A R T II.

X. From the controversies with the Monophysites arose the sect of the Tritheists, whose chief was JOHN ASCUSNAGE, a Syrian philosopher, and at the same time, a Monophysite [p]. This man imagined in the Deity three natures, or substances, absolutely equal in all respects, and joined together by no common *essence*; to which opinion his adversaries gave the name of Tritheism. One of the warmest defenders of this doctrine was JOHN PHILOPONUS, an Alexandrian philosopher, and grammarian of the highest reputation; and hence he has been considered by many as the author of this sect, whose members have consequently derived from him the title of Philoponists [q].

The Tri-
theists.

L 3

This

[o] JO. BAPT. COTELERIUS, *Ad Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, tom. iii. p. 641. MICH. LE QUIEN, *Ad Damascenum de hæresibus*, tom. i. p. 107. FORBES, *Instruction. Historico. Tb.olog.* lib. iii. cap. xix. p. 119. PHOTIUS, *Biblioth. Cod.* 230. p. 882.

[p] See GREGOR. ABULPHARAIUS, in ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient.* tom. i. p. 328.

[q] See FABRICII *Biblioth. Græc.* lib. v. cap. xxxvii. p. 358. HARDUINI *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1288. TIMOTHEUS, *De receptione hæreticorum in COTELERII Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, tom. iii. p. 414. JO. DAMASCENUS, *De hæresibus*, tom. i. opp. p. 103. edit. Le Quien.

C E N T. VI. **P A R T II.** This sect was divided into two parties, the Philoponists and the Cononites; the latter of whom were so called from CONON bishop of *Tarsus*, their chief [r]. They agreed in the doctrine of *three persons* in the Godhead, and differed only in their manner of explaining what the scriptures taught concerning the resurrection of the body. PHILOPONUS maintained, that the *form*, as well as the *matter*, of all bodies was *generated* and *corrupted*, and that both therefore were to be restored in the resurrection. CONON held, on the contrary, that the body never lost its *form*: that its *matter* alone was subject to corruption and decay, and was consequently to be restored when *this mortal shall put on immortality*.

A third faction was that of the DAMIANISTS, who were so called from DAMIAN bishop of *Alexandria*, and whose opinion concerning the Trinity was different from those already mentioned. They distinguished the *divine essence* from the *three persons*, viz. the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. They denied that each person was God, when considered in itself, and abstractedly from the other two; but they affirmed, at the same time, that there was a *common divinity*, by the joint participation of which each person was God. They therefore called the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, hypostases, or persons, and the *Godhead*, which was common to them all, *substance* or *nature* [s].

[r] PHOTII *Biblioth. Cod. xxiv. ASSEMAN. Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 329.*

[s] JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 78. 332, &c.*

THE
SEVENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the prosperous events which happened to
the church during this century.*

IN this century, the progress of Christianity C E N T.
VII.
P A R T I.
was mightily accelerated both in the eastern
and western hemispheres, and its divine light was
diffused far and wide through the darkened na-
tions. The Nestorians who dwelt in *Syria, Per-*
sia, and India, contributed much to its propaga-
tion in the east, by the zeal and diligence, the
laborious efforts and indefatigable assiduity, with
which they preached it to these fierce and bar-
barous nations, who lived in the remotest borders
and deserts of *Asia*, and among whom, as we learn
from authentic records, their ministry was crown-
ed with remarkable success. It was by the labours
of this sect, that the light of the gospel first pe-
netrated into the immense empire of *China*, about
the year 637, when JESUIABAS of *Gadala* was at
the head of the Nestorians, as will appear proba-
ble to those who look upon as genuine the famous
Chinese monument, which was discovered at

The Chri-
stian reli-
gion intro-
duced into
China.

Siganfu, by the Jesuits during the last century [a]. Some, indeed, look upon this monument to be a mere forgery of the Jesuits, though, perhaps, without reason; there are, however, other unexceptionable proofs, that the northern parts of *China*, even before this century, abounded with Christians, who, for many succeeding ages, were under the inspection of a Metropolitan sent them by the Chaldean or Nestorian patriarch [b].

II. The

[a] This celebrated monument has been published and explained by several learned writers, particularly by KIRCHER, in his *Cbina illustrata*, p. 53; by MULLER, in a treatise published at *Berlin* in 1672; by EUSEBE RENAUDOT, in his *Relations anciennes des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs Mahometans*, p. 228—271, published at *Paris* in the year 1718, in 8vo; and by ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. vatican.* tom. iii. pars II. cap. iv. sect. 7. p. 538. We were promised a still more accurate edition of this famous monument by the learned THEOPH. SIGIFRED BAYER, the greatest proficient of this age in Chinese erudition; but his death has blasted our expectations. For my part, I see no reason to doubt of the genuineness of this monument, nor can I understand what advantage could redound to the Jesuits from the invention of such a fable. See LIRON, *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*, tom. ii. p. 500.

[b] See RENAUDOT, l. c. p. 56. 68, &c. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth.* &c. cap. ix. p. 522.: the learned BAYER, in his Preface to his *Museum Sinicum*, p. 84. assures us, that he has in his hands such proofs of the truth of what is here affirmed, as puts the matter beyond all doubt. ¶ See on this subject a very learned dissertation published by M. DE GUIGNES in the thirtieth vol. of the *Memoires de Litterature tirés des Registres de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, in which he proves that the Christians were settled in *Cbina* so early as the seventh century. He remarks, indeed, that the Nestorians and other Christians were for a long time confounded in the Chinese annals with the worshippers of *Fo*, an Indian idol, whose rites were introduced into *Cbina* about 65 years after the birth of Christ; and that this circumstance has deceived *De la Croze*, *Beausobre*, and some other learned men, who have raised specious objections against the hypothesis that maintains the early introduction of Christianity into this great empire. A reader, properly informed, will lend little or no attention to the account

II. The attention and activity of the Greeks C E N T. VII. P A R T I. were so entirely occupied by their intestine divisions, that they were little solicitous about the progress of Christianity. In the west, AUGUSTIN The English converted. laboured to extend the limits of the church, and to spread the light of the gospel among the Anglo-Saxons; and, after his death, other monks were sent from *Rome*, to exert themselves in the same glorious cause. Their efforts were attended with the desired success, and the efficacy of their labours was manifested in the conversion of the six Anglo-Saxon kings, who had hitherto remained under the darkness of the ancient superstitions, to the Christian faith, which gained ground by degrees, and was, at length, embraced universally throughout all *Britain* [c]. We are not, however, to imagine, that this universal change in favour of Christianity was wholly due to the discourses of the Roman monks and doctors; for other causes were certainly instrumental in accomplishing this great event. And it is not to be doubted, that the influence which some Christian queens, and ladies of high distinction had upon their husbands, and the pains they took to convert them to Christianity, as also the severe and rigorous laws that were afterwards enacted against idolaters [d], contributed much to the progress of the gospel.

III. Many of the British, Scotch, and Irish As also the Gauls, the Suevi, the Frislanders, the Franks, and the Helvetii. ecclesiastics travelled among the Batavian, Belgic, and German nations, with the pious intention of propagating

count given of this matter by Voltaire in the first volume of his *Essai sur l'Histoire Generale*, &c. A Poet, who recounts facts, or denies them, without deigning to produce his authorities, must not expect to meet with the credit that is due to an Historian.

[c] BEDÆ *Historia Ecclesiast. Gentis Anglor.* lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 91. cap. xiv. p. 116. lib. iii. cap. xxi. p. 162, &c. edit. Chifletii. RAPIN THOYRAS, tom. i. p. 227.

[d] WILKINS'S *Cuncilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 222.

C E N T. VII. P A R T I. propagating the knowledge of the truth, and of erecting churches and forming religious establishments every where. This was the true reason which induced the Germans, in after-times, to found so many convents for the Scotch and Irish, of which some are yet in being [e].

COLUMBAN, an Irish monk, seconded by the labours of a few companions, had happily extirpated, in the preceding century, the ancient superstitions in *Gaul*, and the parts adjacent, where idolatry had taken the deepest root; he also carried the lamp of celestial truth among the Suevi, the Boii, the Franks, and other German nations [f], and persevered in these pious and useful labours until his death, which happened A. D. 615. St GAL, who was one of his companions, preached the gospel to the Helvetii, and the Suevi [g]. St KILIAN set out from *Scotland*, the place of his nativity, and exercised the ministerial function with such success among the eastern Franks, that vast numbers of them embraced Christianity [h]. Towards the conclusion of this century, the famous WILLEBRORD, by birth an Anglo-Saxon, accompanied with eleven of his countrymen, viz. SUIDBERT, WIGBERT, ACCA, WILIBALD, UNIBALD, LEBWIN, the two EWALDS, WERENFRID, MARCELLIN, and ADALBERT, crossed over into *Batavia*, which lay opposite to *Britain*, in order to convert the Frieslanders to the religion of JESUS. From thence, in the year 692, they went

[e] See the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. Febr. p. 362.

[f] MABILLON, *Acta Sanctor. Ordinis Benedicti*, tom. iii. p. 560. tom. iii. p. 72, 339. 500. ADAMANNI, lib. iii. *De S. Columbano*, in CANISII *Lectio. Antiq.* tom. i. p. 674.

[g] WALAFRIDI STRABONIS vit. S. GALI in MABILLON: *Actis S. Ord. Benedicti*. tom. ii. p. 228. CANASII *Lectio. Antiq.* tom. i. p. 783.

[h] *Vita S. KILIANI* in CANISII *Lectio. Antiq.* tom. iii. p. 171. JO. PET. DE LUDEWIG, *Scriptores rerum Wurzburgens.* p. 966.

went in *Fosteland*, which most writers look upon C E N T.
to have been the same with the isle of *Helgoland*,^{VII.} P A R T I.
or *Heiligland*; but being cruelly treated there by
RADBOD, king of the Frieslanders, who put WIG-
BERT, one of the company, to death, they de-
parted hence for *Gimbrin*, and the adjacent parts
of *Denmark*. They, however, returned to *Fries-*
land, A. D. 693, and were much more successful
than they had formerly been in opposing the an-
cient superstitions, and propagating the know-
ledge of the truth. WILLEBRORD was ordained,
by the Roman pontif, archbishop of *Witeburg*,
now *Utrecht*, and died among the Batavians in a
good old age; while his associates continued to
spread the light of the gospel among the West-
phalians, and the neighbouring countries [i].

IV. These voyages, and many others, under-
taken in the cause of CHRIST, carry, no doubt,
a specious appearance of piety and zeal; but the
impartial and attentive enquirer after truth will
find it impossible to form the same favourable
judgment of them all, or to applaud, without dis-
tinction, the motives that animated these labori-
ous missionaries. That the designs of some of
them were truly pious; and their characters with-
out reproach, is unquestionably certain. But it
is equally certain, that this was neither the case
of them all, nor even of the greatest part of them.
Many of them discovered, in the course of their
ministry, the most turbulent passions, and disho-
noured the glorious cause in which they were en-
gaged, by their arrogance and ambition, their
avarice and cruelty. They abused the power
which they had received from the Roman pon-
tiffs, of forming religious establishments among
the superstitious nations; and, instead of gaining
souls

[i] ALCUINI *vita Willibrordi* in MABILLON. *Actis SS.*
Ord. Benedict. Sac. iii. pars I. p. 603. JO. MOLLER *Gim-*
bria Litterata, tom. ii. p. 980.

C E N: T. souls to CHRIST, they usurped a despotic domi-
 VII.
 P A R T I. nion over their obsequious proselytes; and exer-
 cised a princely authority over the countries where
 their ministry had been successful. Nor are we
 to consider as entirely groundless, the suspicions
 of those who allege that many of the monks, de-
 sirous of rule and authority, concealed their vices
 under the mask of religion, and endured, for a
 certain time, the austerities of a rigid mortifica-
 tion and abstinence, merely with a view, to rise
 in the church to the episcopal dignity.

The Jews
 compelled
 to embrace
 Christiani-
 ty.

V. The conversion of the Jews seemed at a
 stand in this century; few or none of that obsti-
 nate nation embraced the gospel in consequence
 of an inward conviction of its truth, though in ma-
 ny places they were barbarously compelled, by
 Christians, to make an outward and feigned
 profession of their faith in CHRIST. The emperor
 HERACLIUS, incensed against that miserable
 people by the insinuations, as it is said, of the
 Christian doctors, persecuted them in a cruel
 manner, and ordered multitudes of them to be
 inhumanly dragged into the Christian churches,
 in order to be baptized by violence and compul-
 sion [k]. The same odious method of converting
 was practised in *Spain* and *Gaul*, by the monarchs
 of those nations, against which even the bishops
 of *Rome* expressed their displeasure and indigna-
 tion. Such were the horrid and abominable prac-
 tices to which an ignorance of the true spirit of
 Christianity, and the barbarous genius of this age
 led the heralds of that divine religion, which was
 designed to spread abroad CHARITY upon earth,
 and to render mankind truly and rationally FREE.

[k] EUTYCHII *Annales Ecclesiast. Alexandr.* tom. ii. p. 212.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century,

I. **T**HE Christians suffered less in this, than in C E N T. VII. PART I. the preceding centuries. They were sometimes persecuted by the Persian monarchs, but still recovered their former tranquillity after transitory scenes of violence and oppression. In *England*, the new converts to Christianity suffered various calamities under the petty kings, who governed in those boisterous times; but these kings embraced the gospel themselves, and then the sufferings of the Christians ceased. In the eastern countries, and particularly in *Syria* and *Palestine*, the Jews, at certain times, attacked the Christians with a merciless fury [1]; but, however, with so little success, that they always had reason to repent of their temerity, which was severely chastised. It is true, the church had other enemies, even those who, under the treacherous profession of Christianity, were laying secret schemes for the restoration of Paganism; but they were too weak and too inconsiderable to form any attempts that could endanger the Christian cause.

II. But a new and most powerful enemy to the Mahomet appears. Christian cause started up in *Arabia* A. D. 612, under the reign of HERACLIUS. This was MAHOMET, an illiterate man [m], but endowed by nature

[1] EUTYCHII *Annales*, tom. ii. p. 236. JO. HENR. HOTTINGERI *Historia Orientalis*, lib. i. cap. iii. p. 129.

[m] Mahomet himself expressly declared, that he was totally ignorant of all branches of learning and science, and was even unable either to write or read: and his followers have drawn from this ignorance an argument in favour of the divinity of his mission, and of the religion he taught. It is, however, scarcely credible, that his ignorance was such as it is here

C E N T nature with the most flowing and attractive elo-
 quence, and with a vast and penetrating ge-
 nius [n], distinguished also by the advantages he
 enjoyed from the place of his birth, which added
 a lustre to his name and his undertakings. This
 adventurous impostor declared publicly, that he
 was commissioned, by God, to destroy polytheism
 and idolatry, and then to reform, first the religion
 of the Arabians, and afterwards the Jewish and
 Christian worship. For these purposes he deli-
 vered a new law, which is known by the name of
 the *Koran* [o], or *Alcoran*; and having gained se-
 veral

here described, and several of his sect have called in question
 the declarations of their chief relating to this point. See
 CHARDIN, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. iv. p. 33, 34. If we con-
 sider that MAHOMET carried on, for a considerable time, a suc-
 cessful commerce in *Arabia*, and the adjacent countries, this a-
 lone will convince us, that he must have been, in some measure,
 instructed in the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic, with
 the knowledge of which a merchant cannot dispense.

[n] The writers, to whom we are indebted for accounts of
 the life and religion of MAHOMET, are enumerated by FABRI-
 CIUS, in his *Delectus et syllabus argumentor. pro veritate relig.
 Christianæ*, cap. l. p. 733. To which we may add, BOULAIN-
 VILLIERS, *Vie de Mahomet*, published at London, in 8vo, in the
 year 1730, and which deserves rather the character of a ro-
 mance, than of a history; GAGNIER, *Vie de Mahomet*, printed
 at Amsterdam, in two volumes 8vo, in 1732, and commen-
 dable both for the learning and candour with which it ap-
 pears to have been composed; and above all, the most learn-
 ed and judicious SALE's *Preliminary discourse*, prefixed to his
English Translation of the Koran, sect. ii. p. 37.

[o] For an account of the *Koran*, see principally the learned
 SALE's Preface to his *English Translation* of that work. See
 also VERTOT's *Discours sur l'Alcoran*, which is subjoined to
 the third volume of his *History of the Knights of Malta*, and
 CHARDIN's *Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 281. The book
 which the Mahometans call the *Koran*, or *Alcoran*, is com-
 posed of several papers and discourses of MAHOMET, which
 were discovered and collected after his death, and is by no
 means that same law whose excellence MAHOMET vaunted
 so highly. That some parts of the true *Koran* may be copied
 in the modern one, is indeed very possible; but that the *Koran*,
 or

veral victories over his enemies, he compelled an incredible multitude of persons, both in *Arabia* and the neighbouring nations, to receive his doctrine, and range themselves under his standards. Elated with this rapid and unexpected success, he extended yet further his ambitious views, and formed the vast and arduous project of founding an empire. Here again success crowned his adventurous efforts ; and his plan was executed with such intrepidity and impudence, that he died master of all *Arabia*, besides several adjacent provinces.

III. It is, perhaps, impossible, at this time, to form such an accurate judgment of the character, views, and conduct of MAHOMET, as would entirely satisfy the curiosity of a sagacious inquirer after truth. To give entire credit to the Grecian writers in this matter, is neither prudent nor safe, since their bitter resentment against this hostile invader led them to invent, without scruple or hesitation, fables and calumnies to blacken his character. The Arabians, on the other hand, are as little to be trusted to ; as their historians are destitute of veracity and candour, conceal the vices and enormities of their chief, and represent him as the most divine person that ever appeared upon earth, and as the best gift of God to the world. Add to this, that a considerable part of MAHOMET's life, and, indeed, that part of it that would be the most proper to lead us to a true knowledge

Or *Lew*, given by Mahomet to the Arabians, is entirely distinct from the modern *Alcoran*, is manifest from this, that in the latter, MAHOMET appeals to, and extols the former, and therefore they must be two different compositions. May it not be conjectured, that the true *Koran* was an Arabic poem, which MAHOMET recited to his followers without giving it to them in writing, ordering them only to commit it to their memory ? Such were the laws of the Druids in *Gaul*, and such also those of the Indians, which the Bramins receive by oral tradition, and get by heart.

N T. knowledge of his character, and of the motives
 VII. from which he acted, is absolutely unknown. It
 PART I. is highly probable, that he was so deeply affected
 with the odious and abominable superstition which
 dishonoured his country, that it threw him into a
 certain fanatical disorder of mind, and made him
 really imagine that he was supernaturally com-
 missioned to reform the religion of the Arabians,
 and to restore among them the worship of one
 God. It is, however, at the same time, un-
 doubtedly evident, that, when he saw his enter-
 prize crowned with the desired success, he made
 use of impious frauds to establish the work he had
 so happily begun, deluded the giddy and credu-
 lous multitude by various artifices, and even
 forged celestial visions to confirm his authority,
 and remove the difficulties that frequently arose
 in the course of his affairs. This mixture of im-
 posture is by no means incompatible with a
 spirit of enthusiasm ; for the fanatic, through the
 unguided warmth of zeal, looks often upon the
 artifices that are useful to his cause as pious and
 acceptable to the Supreme Being ; and therefore
 deceives when he can do it with impunity [p].
 The religion which MAHOMET taught, is cer-
 tainly different from what it would have been, if
 he had met with no opposition in the propagation
 of his opinions. The difficulties he had to en-
 counter obliged him to yield, in some respects to
 the reigning systems ; the obstinate attachment
 of the Arabians to the religion of their ancestors,
 on the one hand, and the fond hope of gaining
 over to his cause both the Jews and Christians on
 the

[p] This, methinks, is the best way of adjusting the con-
 troversy that has been carried on by some learned men upon
 this curious question, viz. Whether MAHOMET was a fanatic,
 or an impostor? See BAYLE'S *Dictionary* at the article MA-
 HOMET. OCKLEY'S *Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt, by*
the Saracens, vol. i. p. 62. SALE'S *Preface to his translation*
of the Alcoran, sect. 2. p. 39.

the other, engaged, no doubt, this fanatical impostor to admit into his system several tenets, which he would have rejected without hesitation, had he been free from the restraints of ambition and artifice.

IV. The rapid success which attended the propagation of this new religion, was owing to causes that are plain and evident, and must remove, or rather prevent our surprize, when they are attentively considered. The terror of MAHOMET'S arms, and the repeated victories which were gained by him and his successors, were, no doubt, the irresistible argument that persuaded such multitudes to embrace his religion, and submit to his dominion. Besides, his law was artfully and marvellously adapted to the corrupt nature of man; and, in a more particular manner, to the manners and opinions of the eastern nations, and the vices to which they were naturally addicted; for the articles of faith which it proposed were few in number, and extremely simple; and the duties it required were neither many nor difficult, nor such as were incompatible with the empire of appetites and passions [q]. It is to be observed further that the gross ignorance, under which the Arabians, Syrians, Persians, and the greatest part of the eastern nations, laboured at this time, rendered many an easy prey to the artifice and eloquence of this bold adventurer. To these causes of the progress of Mahometism, we may add the bitter dissensions and cruel animosities that reigned among the Christian sects, particularly the Greeks, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Monophysites, dissensions that filled a great part of the east with carnage, assassinations, and such detestable enormities, as rendered the very name of Christianity odious to many. We might add

The causes which contributed to the rapid progress of the Mahometan religion.

VOL. II.

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here,

[q] See RELAND, *De religione Mahumetica*. SALE'S *Preliminary di. course*.

C E N T. here, that the Monophysites and Nestorians, of resentment against the Greeks, from which they had suffered the bitterest and most injurious treatment, assisted the Arabians in the conquest of several provinces [r], into which, of consequence, the religion of MAHOMET was afterwards introduced. Other causes of the sudden progress of that religion, will naturally occur to such as consider attentively its spirit and genius, and the state of the world at this time.

The treatment which the Christians received from the Mahometans.

V. After the death of MAHOMET, which happened A. D. 632, his followers, led on by amazing intrepidity, and a fanatical fury, and assisted, as we have already observed, by the Christians whom the Greeks had treated with severity, extended their conquests beyond the limits of *Arabin*, and subdued *Syria*, *Persia*, *Egypt*, and other countries under their dominion. On the other hand, the Greeks, exhausted with civil discords, and wholly occupied by intestine troubles, were unable to stop these intrepid conquerors in their rapid career.

For some time these enthusiastic invaders used their prosperity with moderation, and treated the Christians, and particularly those among them who rejected the decrees of the councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon* with the utmost indulgence and lenity. But as an uninterrupted course of success and prosperity renders, too generally, conquerors insolent and imperious, so the moderation of this victorious sect degenerated by degrees into severity; and they treated the Christians at length, rather like slaves than citizens, loaded them with unsupportable taxes, and obliging them to submit to a variety of vexatious and oppressive measures.

VI. 1

[r] See OCKLEY'S *Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt by the Saracens*, the first part of which was published at London in the year 1708, and the second in 1717.

VI. The progress, however, of this triumphant sect received a considerable check by the civil dissensions which arose among them immediately after the death of MAHOMET. ABUBEKER and ALI, the former the father-in-law, and the latter the son-in-law, of this pretended prophet, aspired both to succeed him in the empire which he had erected. Upon this arose a tedious and cruel contest, whose flame reached to succeeding ages, and produced that schism which divided the Mahometans into two great factions, whose separation not only gave rise to a variety of opinions and rites, but also excited the most implacable hatred, and the most deadly animosities. Of these factions, the one acknowledged ABUBEKER as the true *calif*, or successor of MAHOMET, and its members were distinguished by the name of Sonnites; while the other adhered to ALI, and were known by the title of Schiites [s]. Both however adhered to the Alcoran as a divine law, and the rule of faith and manners; to which, indeed, the former added, by way of interpretation, the *sonna*, i. e. a certain law which they looked upon as descended from MAHOMET by oral tradition, and which the Schiites refused to admit. Among the Sonnites, or followers of ABUBEKER, we are to reckon the Turks, Tartars, Arabians, Africans, and the greatest part of the Indian Mahometans; whereas the Persians and the subjects of the Grand Mogul are generally considered as the followers of ALI; though the latter indeed seem rather to observe a strict neutrality in this contest.

Besides these two grand factions, there are other subordinate sects among the Mahometans, which dispute with warmth concerning several points of

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reli-

[s] See RELAND, *De religione Turcica*, lib. i. p. 36. 70. 74. 85. CHARDIN'S *Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 236.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T J.
The Mahometans divided.

C E N T. religion, though without violating the
 VII.
 P A R T I. mutual toleration (1). Of these sects the
 four, which far surpass the rest in point of
 veneration and importance.

[1] For an account of the Mahometan sects, see
 GER, *Histor. Orient.* lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 340. RICAR
de l'empire Ottoman, livr. ii. p. 242. CHARDIN'S *Pe*
Perse, tom. ii. p. 263. SALE'S *Preliminary Discou*
 8. p. 151.

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P T E R I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

I. **N**OTHING can equal the ignorance and ^{C E N T. VII.} darkness that reigned in this century ; ^{P A R T II.} the most impartial and accurate account of which ^{The state of learning,} will appear incredible to those who are unacquainted with the productions of this barbarous period. Any remains of learning and philosophy that yet survived, were, a few particular cases excepted, to be found principally among the Latins, in the obscure retreats of cloistered monks. The monastic institutions prohibited the election of any abbot to the head of a convent, who was not a man of learning, or, at least, endowed with a tolerable measure of the erudition of the times. The monks were obliged to consecrate certain hours every day to reading and study : and, that they might improve this appointment to the most advantageous purposes, there were, in most of the monasteries, stated times marked out, at which they were to assemble, in order to communicate to each other the fruits of their study, and to discuss the matters upon which they had been reading [a]. The youth also, who were destined for the service of the church, were obliged to prepare themselves for their ministry by a diligent application to study ; and in this they were directed by the monks,

M 3

one

[a] See MABILLON, *Acta S. S. Ord. Benedicti*, tom. ii. p. 479. 513.

C E N T. one of whose principal occupations it was to pre-
 VII. side over the education of the rising priesthood.
 P A R T II.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that all these institutions were of little use to the advancement of solid learning, or of rational theology, because very few in these days were acquainted with the true nature of the liberal arts and sciences, or with the important ends which they were adapted to serve; and the greatest part of those who were looked upon as learned men, threw away their time in reading the marvellous lives of a parcel of fanatical saints, instead of employing it in the perusal of well-chosen and excellent authors. They, who distinguished themselves most by their taste and genius, carried their studies little farther than the works of AUGUSTIN, and GREGORY the GREAT: and it is of scraps collected out of these two writers, and patched together without much uniformity, that the best productions of this century are entirely composed.

The ignorance of the bishops.

II. The sciences enjoyed no degree of protection, at this time, from kings and princes, nor did they owe any thing to men of high and eminent stations in the empire. On the other hand, the schools which had been committed to the care and inspection of the bishops, whose ignorance and indolence were now become enormous, began to decline apace, and were, in many places, fallen into ruin [b]. The bishops in general were so illiterate, that few of that body were capable of composing the discourses which they delivered to the people. Such of them as were not totally destitute of genius composed out of the writings of AUGUSTIN and GREGORY, a certain number of insipid homilies, which they divided between themselves and their stupid colleagues, that they might

[b] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 428.

might not be obliged through incapacity to dis-^{C E N T.} continue preaching the doctrines of Christianity^{VII.} to their people, as appears evident by the exam-^{P A R T II.} ples of CÆSARIUS bishop of *Arles*, and ELOI bishop of *Noyon* [c]. There is yet extant a summary of theological doctrine, which was unskillfully compiled by TAION bishop of *Saragossa*, from the writings of AUGUSTIN and GREGORY; and which was so highly exalted in this illiterate age, that its author was called, by the rest of the bishops, the *true salt of the earth*, and a divine light that was sent to illuminate the world [d]. Many such instances of the ignorance and barbarity of this century will occur to those who have any acquaintance with the writers it produced. *England*, it is true, was happier in this respect than the other nations of *Europe*, which was principally owing to THEODORE of *Tarsus*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak afterwards, who was appointed archbishop of *Canterbury*, and contributed much to introduce, among the English, a certain taste for literary pursuits, and to excite in that kingdom a zeal for the advancement of learning [e].

III. In *Greece*, the fate of the sciences was truly lamentable. A turgid eloquence, and an affected pomp and splendor of style, which cast a perplexing obscurity over subjects in themselves the most clear and perspicuous, was now the highest point of perfection to which both prose writers and poets aspired. The Latin eloquence was still vastly below that of the Greeks; it had not spirit

The sciences and the art of writing sunk into barbarity and corruption.

M 4

enough

[c] In the original we read *ELIGIUS Noviomagensis*, which is a mistake either of the author, or printer. It is probable that *Noviomagensis* has slipped from the pen of Dr MOSEIM, in the place of *Noviodunensis*; for ELOI was bishop of *Noyon*, and not of *Nimeguen*.

[d] MABILLON, *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. i. p. 42.

[e] WILKINS's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 42. CORINGII *Antiquitat. Academicæ*, p. 277.

C E N T. enough even to be turgid, and, a few composi-
 VII.
 P A R T II. tions excepted, was sunk to the very lowest degree
 of barbarity and corruption. Both the Greek
 and Latin writers, who attempted historical com-
 positions, degraded most miserably that important
 science. MOSCHUS and SOPHRONIUS among the
 former; and among the latter BRAULIO, JONAS an
 Hibernian, AUDOENUS, DADO, and ADAMANNUS,
 wrote the lives of several saints; or rather a heap
 of insipid and ridiculous fables, void of the least
 air of probability, and without the smallest tinc-
 ture of eloquence. The Greeks related, without
 discernment or choice, the most vulgar reports
 that were handed about concerning the events of
 antient times: and hence that multitude of ab-
 surd fables, which the Latins afterwards copied
 from them with the utmost avidity.

The fate of
 philosophy.

IV. Among the Latins philosophy was at its
 lowest ebb. If there were any that retained some
 faint reluctance to abandon it entirely, such con-
 fined their studies to the writings of BOETIUS and
 CASSIODORUS, from which they committed to me-
 mory a certain number of phrases and sentences;
 and that was all their philosophical stock. The
 Greeks, abandoning PLATO to the monks, gave
 themselves entirely up to the direction of ARI-
 STOTLE, and studied, with eagerness, the subtil-
 ties of his logic, which were of signal use in the
 controversies carried on between the Monophy-
 sites, the Nestorians, and Monothelites. All
 these different sects called the Stagirite to their as-
 sistance, when they were to plead their cause, and
 to defend their doctrines. Hence it was, that
 JAMES, bishop of *Edessa*, who was a Monophysite
 translated, in this century, the dialectics of ARI-
 STOTLE into the Syriac language [*f*].

C H A P

[*f*] See ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. i. p.
 498.

C. H A P. II.

*Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church,
and its form of government during this century.*

I. **T**HE disputes about pre-eminence, that had so long subsisted between the bishops of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, proceeded, in this century, to such violent lengths, as laid the foundations of that deplorable schism, which afterwards separated the Greek and Latin churches. The most learned writers, and those who are most remarkable for their knowledge of antiquity, are generally agreed that BONIFACE III. engaged PHOCAS, that abominable tyrant, who waded to the imperial throne through the blood of the emperor MAURITUS, to take from the bishop of *Constantinople* the title of *œcumenical*, or *universal bishop*, and to confer it upon the Roman pontif. They relate this, however, upon the sole authority of BARONIUS, for none of the ancient writers have mentioned it. If, indeed, we are to give credit to ANASTASIUS and PAUL DEACON [g], something like what we have now related was transacted by PHOCAS; for when the bishops of *Constantinople* maintained that their church was not only equal in dignity and authority to that of *Rome*: but also the head of all the Christian churches, this tyrant opposed their pretensions, and granted the pre-eminence to the church of *Rome*: and thus was the papal supremacy first introduced.

II. The Roman pontifs used all sorts of methods to maintain and enlarge the authority and pre-eminence which they had acquired by a grant from the most odious tyrant that ever disgraced the

[g] ANASTASIUS, *De vitis Pontificum*. PAUL. DIACON. *De rebus gestis Longobard.* lib. iv. cap. xxxvii. in MURATORI *Scriptor. rerum Italicar.* tom. i. pars I. p. 46.

C E N T.
VII.

P A R T II.

The disputes about pre-eminence between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople.

The supremacy of the former opposed by many.

C E N T. the annals of history. We find, however, in the
 VII.
 PART II. most authentic accounts of the transactions of this
 century, that not only several emperors and princes, but also whole nations, opposed the ambitious views of the bishops of *Rome*. The Byzantine history, and the *Formulary* of MARCULFUS contain many proofs of the influence which the civil magistrate yet retained in religious matters and of the subordination of the Roman pontiff to the regal authority. It is true, the Roman writers affirm, that CONSTANTINE POGONATUS abdicated the privilege of confirming, by his approbation, the election of the bishop of that city and, as a proof of this, they allege a passage of ANASTASIUS, in which it is said, that according to an edict of POGONATUS, *the pontif, who should be elected, was to be ordained immediately, and without the least delay* [b]. But every one must see that this passage is insufficient to prove what these writers assert with such confidence. It is however certain, that this emperor abated, some say remitted, the sum, which, since the time of THEODORIC, the bishops of *Rome* had been obliged to pay to the imperial treasury before they could be ordained, or have their election confirmed [i].

The ancient Britons and Scots persisted long in the maintenance of their religious liberty; and
 neither

[b] ANASTASII vit. Pontif. in Bened. p. 146. in MURATORI Scriptor. rerum Italicar. tom. iii-

[i] ANASTAS. vit. Pontif. in Agathone, p. 144. compared with MASCOVII Hist. German. tom. ii. p. 121. in the annotations. ¶ It will not be amiss to observe here, that by the same edict, which diminished the ordination money paid by the bishops of *Rome* to the emperor, CONSTANTINE resumed the power of confirming the election of the pope, which his predecessors had invested in the exarchs of *Ravenna*; so that the bishop elect was not to be ordained till his election was notified to the court of *Constantinople*, and the imperial decree confirming it was received by the electors at *Rome*. See ANASTASIUS, in his life of AGATHO.

neither the threats nor promises of the legates of C E N T. VII. PART II. Rome could engage them to submit to the decrees and authority of the ambitious pontif, as appears manifestly from the testimony of BEDE. The churches of *Gaul* and *Spain* attributed as much authority to the bishop of *Rome*, as they thought suitable to their own dignity, and consistent with their interests; nay, even in *Italy*, his supreme authority was obstinately rejected, since the bishop of *Ravenna*, and other prelates, refused an implicit submission to his orders [k]. Besides all this, multitudes of private persons expressed publicly, and without the least hesitation, their abhorrence of the vices, and particularly of the lordly ambition, of the Roman pontifs : and it is highly probable, that the Valdenses or Vaudois had already, in this century, retired into the valleys of *Piedmont*, that they might be more at their liberty to oppose the tyranny of those imperious prelates [l].

III. The progresss of vice among the subordinate rulers and ministers of the church was, at this time, truly deplorable; neither bishops, presbyters, deacons, nor, even the cloistered monks, were exempt from the general contagion, as appears from the unanimous confession of all the writers of this century that are worthy of credit. In those very places, that were consecrated to the advancement of piety, and the service of God, there was little else to be seen than ghostly ambition, insatiable avarice, pious frauds, intolerable pride, and a supercilious contempt of the natural rights of the people, with many other vices still more enormous. There reigned also in many places the most bitter dissensions between the bishops and the monks. The former had employed the Vices of the clergy.

[k] See GEDDES'S *Miscellaneous Tracts*, tom. ii. p. 6.

[l] See ANTOINE LEGER'S *Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises*. livr. i. p. 15.

C E N T. VII. P A R T II. the greedy hands of the latter to augment the episcopal treasures, and to draw the contributions from all parts to support them in their luxury, and the indulgence of their lusts. The monks perceiving this, and also unwilling to serve the bishops in such a dishonourable character, fled for refuge to the emperors and princes, under whose civil jurisdiction they lived; and afterwards, for their further security, had recourse to the protection of the Roman pontif [m]. This protection they readily obtained, and the imperious pontifs, always fond of exerting their authority, exempted, by degrees, the monastic orders from the jurisdiction of the bishops. The monks, in return for this important service, devoted themselves wholly to advance the interests, and to maintain the dignity of the bishop of *Rome*. They made his cause their own, and represented him as a sort of god to the ignorant multitude, over whom they had gained a prodigious ascendant by the notion that generally prevailed of the sanctity of the monastic order. It is, at the same time, to be observed, that this *humanity* of the monks was a fruitful source of licentiousness and disorder, and occasioned the greatest part of the vices with which they were afterwards so justly charged. Such, at least, is the judgment of the best writers upon this subject [n].

The state of
the monks.

IV. In the mean time the monks were every where in high repute, and their cause was accompanied with the most surprising success, particularly among the Latins, through the protection and

[m] See LAUNON *Assertio inquisitionis in Chartam Immunitatis S. Germani*, opp. tom. iii. pars l. p. 50. BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 159. tom. iv. p. 108. MURATORI *Antiq. Italic.* tom. ii. p. 944. 949.

[n] See LAUNON *Examen privilegii S. Germani*, tom. iii. part l. p. 282. WILKINS's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 43. 44. 49, &c.

and favour of the Roman pontif, and their pharisaical affectation of uncommon piety and devotion. The heads of families, striving to surpass each other in their zeal for the propagation and advancement of monkery, dedicated their children to God, by shutting them up in convents, and devoting them to a solitary life, which they looked upon as the highest felicity [o]: nor did they fail to send, with these innocent victims a rich dowry. Abandoned profligates, who had passed their days in the most enormous pursuits, and whose guilty consciences filled them with terror and remorse, were comforted with the delusive hopes of obtaining pardon, and making atonement for their crimes, by leaving the greatest part of their fortune to some monastic society. Multitudes, impelled by the unnatural dictates of a gloomy superstition, deprived their children of fertile lands and rich patrimonies, in favour of the monks, by whose prayers they hoped to render the Deity propitious. Several ecclesiastics laid down rules for the direction of the monastic orders. Those among the Latins, who undertook this pious task, were FRUCTUOSUS, ISIDORE, JOHANNES GERUNDINENSIS, and COLUMBA [p]. The rule of discipline, prescribed by St BENEDICT, was not as yet so universally followed as to exclude all others.

V. The writers of this age, who distinguished themselves by their genius or erudition, were very few in number. Among the Greeks, the first rank is due to MAXIMUS, a monk, who disputed with great obstinacy and warmth against the Monothelites, composed some illustrations upon the Holy Scriptures, and was, upon the whole, a man of no mean capacity, though unhappy through the impatience and violence of his natural temper.

ISYCHIUS

[o] GRAVAIS, *Histoire de l'Abbé Suger*, tom. i. p. 9—16.

[p] LUCAE HOLSTENII *Codex Regular*. tom. ii. p. 225.

C E N T. ^{VH.}
 PART II. ISYCHIUS, bishop of *Jerusalem*, explained several books of scripture [q]; and left behind him several *Homilies*, and some productions of less importance.

DOROTHEUS, abbot of *Palestine*, acquired a considerable name by his *Ascetic Dissertations*, in which he laid down a plan of monastic life and manners.

ANTIOCHUS, a monk of SEBA in *Palestine*, and a monk of a very superstitious complexion, composed a *Pandect of the Holy Scriptures*, i. e. a summary or system of the Christian doctrine, which is by no means worthy of the highest commendation.

SOPHRONIUS, bishop of *Jerusalem*, was rendered illustrious, and attracted the veneration of succeeding ages, by the controversies he carried on against those who, at this time, were branded with the name of Heretics; and particularly against the Monothelites, of whose doctrine he was the first opposer, and also the fomentor of the dispute which it occasioned [r].

There are yet extant several *Homilies*, attributed to ANDREW bishop of *Crete*, which are destitute of true piety and eloquence, and which are, moreover, considered by some writers as entirely spurious.

GREGORY, surnamed PISIDES, deacon of *Constantinople*, besides the *History of Heraclius and the Avars*, composed several poems, and other pieces of too little moment to deserve mention.

THEODORE, abbot of *Raithu*, published a book which is still extant, against those sects who seemed to introduce corrupt innovations into the Christian

[q] See SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques de M. DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 261.

[r] See the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. *Martii ad d. xi.* p. 65.

tian religion, by their doctrine relating to the person of CHRIST.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.
The Latin
writers.

VI. Among the Latin writers, a certain number were distinguished from the rest by their superior abilities. ILDEFONSE, archbishop of *Toledo*, was reputed for his learning; the Spaniards, however, attribute to him, without foundation, certain treatises concerning the Virgin Mary [s].

We have yet extant *Two books of epistles*, written by DESIDERIUS, bishop of *Cabors*, and published by the learned CANISIUS.

ELIGIUS, or ELOI, bishop of *Limoges*, left behind him several *Homilies*, and some other productions.

MARCULF, a Gallic monk, composed *Two books of ecclesiastical forms*, which are highly valuable, as they are extremely proper to give a just idea of the deplorable state of religion and learning in this century [t].

ALDHELM, an English prelate, composed several poems *Concerning the Christian life*, which exhibit but indifferent marks of genius and fancy [u].

JULIAN POMERIUS confuted the Jews, and acquired a name by several other productions, which are neither worthy of much applause nor of utter contempt. To all these we might add CRESCONIUS, whose *Abridgement of the canons* is well known; FREDEGARIUS the historian, and a few others.

CHAP.

[s] See the *Acta Sanctorum*, *Januar.* tom. ii. p. 535.

[t] *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 565.

[u] This prelate certainly deserved a more honourable mention than is here made of him by Dr MOSHEIM. His poetical talents were by no means the most distinguishing part of his character. He was profoundly versed in the Greek, Latin, and Saxon languages. He appeared also with dignity in the *paschal* controversy, that so long divided the Saxon and British churches. See COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical Hist.* vol. i. p. 128.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church during this century

C E N T. VI. P A R T II. **I**N this barbarous age, religion lay expiring under a motely and enormous heap of superstitious inventions, and had neither the courage nor the force to raise her head, or to display her native charms, to a darkened and deluded world. In the earlier periods of the church, the worship of Christians was confined to the one Supreme God, and his Son JESUS CHRIST: but the Christians of this century multiplied the objects of their devotion, and paid homage to the remains of the true cross, to the images of the saints, and to bones, whose real owners were extremely dubious [w]. The primitive Christians, in order to excite men to a course of piety and virtue, set before them that heavenly state, and those mansions of misery, which the gospel has revealed as the different portions of the righteous

[w] It will not be amiss to quote here a remarkable passage out of *The life of St ELIGIUS*, or ELOI, bishop of Noyon, which is to be found in DACHERIUS's *Spicilegium veter. scriptor.* tom. ii. p. 92. This passage, which is very proper to give us a just idea of the piety of this age, is as follows: "Huic sanctissimo viro inter cetera virtutum suarum miracula id etiam a Domino concessum erat, ut sanctorum martyrum corpora, quæ per tot sæcula abdita populis hactenus habebantur, eo investigante ac nimio ardore fidei indagante, patefacta prodarentur." It appears by this passage, that St ELOI was a zealous relic-hunter, and if we may give credit to the writer of his life, he was very successful at this kind of game, for he smelt and kennelled the carcasses of St QUINTIN, St PLATO, St CRISPIN, St CRISPINIAN, St LUCIAN, and many more. The bishops of this age, who were either ambitiously desirous of popular applause, or intent upon accumulating riches, and filling their coffers with the oblations of a superstitious people, pretended to be endowed with a miraculous sagacity in discovering the bodies of saints and martyrs.

eous and the wicked : while the Christians of this C E N T. VII. PART II. century talked of nothing else but a certain fire, which effaced the stains of vice, and purified souls from their corruption. The *former* taught that CHRIST, by his sufferings and death, had made atonement for the sins of mortals ; the *latter* seemed, by their superstitious doctrine, to exclude from the kingdom of heaven, such as had not contributed, by their offerings, to augment the riches of the clergy or the church [x]. The *former* were only studious to attain to a virtuous simplicity of life and manners, and employed their principal zeal and diligence in the culture of true and genuine piety ; while the *latter* placed the whole of religion in external rites and bodily exercises. The methods also of solving the difficulties, and dissipating the doubts, that often arose in inquisitive minds, were of a piece with the rest of the superstitious system that now prevailed. The two great and irresistible arguments

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[x] St ELIGIUS, or ELOI, expresses himself upon this matter in the following manner : “ Bonus Christianus est, qui
 “ ad ecclesiam frequenter venit, et oblationem, quæ in altari
 “ Deo offeratur, exhibet ; qui de fructibus suis non gustat,
 “ nisi prius Deo aliquid offerat ; qui, quoties sanctæ solem-
 “ nitates adveniunt, ante dies plures castitatem etiam cum
 “ propria uxore custodit, ut segura conscientia Domini altare
 “ accedere possit ; qui postremo symbolum vel orationem Do-
 “ minicam memoriter tenet.—Redimite animas vestras de
 “ poenâ, dum habetis in potestate remedia—oblaciones et de-
 “ cimas ecclesiis offerte, luminaria sanctis locis, juxta quod
 “ habetis, exhibite—ad ecclesiam quoque frequentius conve-
 “ nite, sanctorum patrocinia humiliter expetite—quod si ob-
 “ servaveritis, securi in die judicii ante tribunal æterni judi-
 “ cis venientes dicetis : Da, Domine, quia dedimus : ” ¶ We see here a large and ample description of the character of a good Christian, in which there is not the least mention of the love of God, resignation to his will, obedience to his laws, or of justice, benevolence, and charity towards men ; and in which the whole of religion is made to consist in coming often to the church bringing offerings to the altar, lighting candles in consecrated places, and such like vain services.

C E N T. ments against all doubts, were *the authority of the church*, and the *working of miracles* : and the production of these prodigies required no extraordinary degree of dexterity in an age of such gross and universal ignorance.

VII.
PART II.

The expositors of the Holy Scriptures.

II. Few either of the Greeks or Latins applied themselves to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures during this century. There are yet extant some commentaries of ISYCHIUS, bishop of *Jerusalem*, upon certain books of *the Old Testament*, and upon *the Epistle to the Hebrews*. MAXIMUS published a solution of LXV *questions relating to the Holy Scriptures*, and other productions of the same nature. JULIAN POMERIUS attempted, but without success, to reconcile the seeming contradictions that are to be found in the sacred writings, and to explain the prophecy of NAHUM. All these writers were manifestly inferior to the meanest expositors of modern times. The Grecian doctors, particularly those who pretended to be initiated in the most mysterious depths of theology, were continually hunting after fantastic allegories, as is evident from the *Questions* of MAXIMUS already mentioned. The Latins, on the contrary, were so diffident of their abilities, that they did not dare to enter these allegorical labyrinths, but contented themselves with what flowers they could pluck out of the rich collections of GREGORY and AUGUSTIN. Of this we see a manifest example in PATERIUS's *Exposition of the Old and New Testament*, which is entirely compiled from the writings of GREGORY the GREAT [r]. Among the interpreters of this century, we must not forget THOMAS bishop of *Heraclea*, who gave a
second

[y] This useless production has been usually published with the works of GREGORY the GREAT : in consequence of which, the Benedictine monks have inserted it in their splendid edition of the works of that pontif, tom. iv. part II.

second Syriac version of all the books of the New C E N T. Testament [z].

III. While philosophy and theology had scarcely any remains of life, any marks of existence among the Latins, the Greeks were wholly occupied with controversies about certain particular branches of religion, and never once thought of reducing all the doctrines of Christianity into any regular and rational system. It is true, ANTIOCHUS, a monk of *Palestine*, composed a short summary of the Christian doctrine, which he intitled, *The Pandect of the Holy Scriptures*. It is, however, easy to perceive what sort of an author he was, how void of dignity and true judgment, from many circumstances, and particularly from that rueful poem which is subjoined to his work; in which he deplores, in lamentable strains, the loss of that precious fragment of the true cross, which is said to have been carried away, by the Persians, among other spoils. The most elegant and judicious summary of theology that appeared among the Latins in this century, was the Treatise of ILDEFONSE, *De cognitione baptismi*, which was saved, by BALUSIUS, from the ruins of time; a work, indeed, which is not extremely necessary since the ignoble frauds of superstition have been so fully brought to light, though it contains remarkable proofs, that many of the corrupt additions and inventions, which disfigure Christianity in the popish churches, were not contrived till after this period [a]. The dry and insipid body of

VII.
PART II.
Didactic
theology.

[z] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 93, 94.

[a] See BALUZII *Miscellanea*, tom. vi. p. 1. From the work of ILDEFONSUS it appears evident, that the monstrous doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was absolutely unknown to the Latins in this century; see C. 137. p. 99: that the Holy Scriptures were in the hands of all Christians, and were per-

C E N T. of divinity, composed by TAIO, or TAGO, bishop
 VII.
 P A R T II. of *Saragossa*, under the title of *Five Books of Sen-
 tences*, and compiled from the writings of GRE-
 GORY and AUGUSTIN, is scarcely worthy of men-
 tion, though, in this century, it was considered
 as an admirable and immortal work [b].

Several particular branches of doctrine were
 treated by the theological writers of this age :
 Thus MAXIMUS wrote concerning the nature of
Theology, and the *Manifestation of the Son in the
 flesh*, and also concerning the *Two natures in
 CHRIST* ; and THEODORE RAITHU composed a
 treatise concerning CHRIST's *Incarnation*. But a
 small acquaintance with the state of learning and
 religion at this period, will enable us to form a
 just, though disadvantageous idea of the merit of
 these performances, and also of their authors.

Moral writ-
 ters.

IV. The moral writers of this century, and
 their miserable productions, shew too plainly to
 what a wretched state that noble and important
 science was now reduced. Among these moral-
 ists, the first rank is due to DOROTHEUS, author
 of the *Ascetic Dissertations* ; MAXIMUS ; ALD-
 HELM ; HESYCHIUS ; THALASSIUS ; and some
 others ; yet, even in their productions, what
 grovelling notions do we find ! what rubbish,
 what an heap of superstitious fancies, and how
 many marks of extravagance, perplexity, and
 doubt ! Besides, the *laity* had little reason to
 complain of the severity of their moral directors,
 whose custom it was to reduce all the obligations
 of

used by them without the least molestation or restraint, C. 80.
 p. 59. ILDEFONSUS, it is true, is zealous in banishing rea-
 son and philosophy from religious matters ; he however esta-
 blishes the *Holy Scriptures* and the *Writings of the ancient doc-
 tors* as the supreme tribunals before which all theological opi-
 nions are to be tried, p. 14. 22.

[b] See MABILLON, *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 68.

of Christianity to the practice of a small number of virtues, as appears from ALDHELM's *Treatise concerning the eight principal Virtues*. Nor was the neglect of these duties attended with such penalties as were proper to restrain offenders. The false notions also, which prevailed in this age, tended much to diminish a just sense of the nature and obligation of virtue; for the solitude of the monastic life, though accompanied with no marks of solid and genuine piety, was deemed sufficient to atone for all sorts of crimes, and was therefore honoured among the Latins with the title of the *second baptism*, which circumstance alone may serve to shew us the miserable state of Christianity at this time. The greatest part of the Grecian and Oriental monks laboured to arrive at a state of perfection by mere contemplation, and studiously endeavoured to form their temper and characters after the model of DIONYSIUS, the chief of the Mystics.

V. THEODORE of *Tarsus*, a Grecian monk, restored among the Latins the discipline of *penance*, as it is commonly termed, which had been for a long time almost totally neglected, and enforced it by a body of severe laws borrowed from the Grecian canons. This zealous prelate, being raised beyond his expectation to the see of *Canterbury*, A. D. 668, formed and executed several pious and laudable projects; and among other things reduced to a regular science that branch of ecclesiastical law, which is known by the name of *penitential discipline*. He published a *Penitential*, which was entirely new to the Latin world, by which the clergy were taught to distinguish sins into various classes, according as they were more or less heinous, private or public; to judge of them and determine the degrees of their guilt by their nature and consequences; the intention of the offender; the time and place in which they

The renewal of penitential discipline.

C E N T. were committed; and the circumstances with
 VII.
 P A R T II. which they were attended. This new *Penitential*
 contained also the methods of proceeding with
 respect to offenders; pointed out the penalties
 that were suitable to the various classes of trans-
 gressions; prescribed the forms of *consolation*, *ex-*
bortation, and *absolution*; and described, in an
 ample and accurate manner, the duties and obli-
 gations of those who were to receive the confes-
 sions of the penitent [c]. This new discipline,
 though of Grecian origin, was eagerly adopted by
 the Latin churches; and, in a short space of time,
 passed from *Britain* into all the western provinces,
 where the book of THEODORE became the model
 of all other *penitentials*, and was multiplied in a
 vast number of copies. The duration of this dis-
 cipline was but transitory; for, in the eighth cen-
 tury, it began to decline, and was, at length, en-
 tirely supplanted by what was called the new
 canon of *indulgences*.

VI. The doctors who opposed the various sects
 The state of
 Polemic
 Theology. are scarcely worthy of mention, and would de-
 serve still less an attentive perusal, did not their
 writings contribute to illustrate the history of the
 times in which they lived. NICIAS composed
 two books *against the Gentiles*; and PHOTIUS in-
 forms us, that a certain writer, whose name is
 unknown, embarked in the same controversy,
 and supported the good cause by a prodigious
 number of arguments drawn from ancient records
 and monuments [d]. JULIAN POMERIUS exerted
 his polemic talent against the Jews. The views
 of

[c] The *Penitential* of THEODORE is yet extant, though
 maimed and imperfect, in an edition published at *Paris* in the
 year 1679, in 4to, by PETIT; and enriched with learned dis-
 sertations and notes of the editor. We have also the cxx *Ca-*
pitula Ecclesiast. THEODORI, published in DACAERIUS's *Spici-*
legium, tom. ix. and in the *Concilia* HARDULNI, tom. iii. p.
 1771.

[d] *Biblioth. Cod.* clxx. p. 379.

of TIMOTHEUS were yet more extensive ; for he gave an ample description and a laboured confutation of all the various *heresies* that divided the church, in his book *Concerning the reception of Heretics*. CENT.
VII.
PART II.

As to the dissensions of the Catholic Christians among themselves, they produced, at this time, few or no events worthy of mention. We shall, therefore, only observe, that in this century were sown the seeds of those fatal discords, which rent asunder the bonds of Christian communion between the Greek and Latin churches ; nay, these seeds had already taken root in the minds of the Greeks, to whom the Roman power became insupportable, and the pretensions of the sovereign pontif odious.

In *Britain*, warm controversies concerning baptism, the tonsure, and particularly the famous dispute concerning the time of celebrating the Easter festival, were carried on between the ancient Britons, and the new converts to Christianity, which AUGUSTIN had made among the Anglo-Saxons [*e*]. The fundamental doctrines of Christianity were not at all affected by these controversies, which, on that account, were more innocent and less important than they would have
N 4 otherwise

[*e*] CUMMANI *Epistola* in JAC. USSERII *Sylloge Epistolar. Hibernicar.* p. 23. BEDÆ *Historia Ecclesiast. gentis Anglor.* lib. iii. cap. xxv. WILKINS'S *Concilia Magnæ Britann.* tom. i. p. 37. 42. *Acta Sanctor. Februar.* tom. iii. p. 21. 84. See also Dr WARNER'S *Ecclesiastical History of England*, books II. and III. This history, which has lately appeared, deserves the highest applause, on account of that noble spirit of liberty, candour, and moderation, that seems to have guided the pen of the judicious author. It were, at the same time, to be wished, that this elegant historian had less avoided citing authorities, and been a little more lavish of that erudition which he is known to possess : for then, after having surpassed in all other respects, he would have equalled truth and learning, which are the only merits of his partial and disagreeable history.

C E N T. otherwise been. Besides, they were entirely terminated, in the eighth century, in favour of the
 VII.
 P A R T II. Anglo-Saxons, by the Benedictine monks [f].

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

Religious
rites multiplied.

I. **I**N the council of *Constantinople*, which was called *Quinisextum* [g], the Greeks enacted several laws concerning the ceremonies that were to be observed in divine worship, which rendered their ritual, in some respects, different from that of the Romans. These laws were publicly received by all the churches, which were established in the dominions of the Grecian emperors; and also by those which were joined with them in communion and doctrine, though under the civil jurisdiction of Barbarian princes. Nor was this all: for every Roman pontif added something new to the antient rites and institutions, as if it was an essential mark of their zeal for religion, and of their pious discharge of the ministerial function, to divert the multitude with new shews and new spectacles of devout mummary. These superstitious inventions were, in the time of CHARLEMAGNE, propagated from *Rome* among the other Latin churches, whose subjection to the Roman ritual was necessary to satisfy the ambitious demands of the lordly pontif.

II. It

[f] MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. iii. Benedictinum*, p. 2.
 See also Dr WARNER'S *Ecclesiast. Hist.* book III.

[g] This council was called *Quinisextum*, from its being considered as a supplement to the fifth and sixth councils of *Constantinople*, in which nothing had been decreed concerning the morals of Christians, or religious ceremonies.

II. It will not be improper to select here a few C E N T. out of the many instances we could produce of the multiplication of religious rites in this century. ^{VII.} ^{P A R T II.} The number of festivals, under which the church ^{Some ex-} already groaned, was now augmented; a new ^{amples of} festival was instituted in honour of the true cross ^{this addi-} on which Christ suffered, and another in commemoration of the Saviour's ascension into heaven. ^{tion to the} BONIFACE V. enacted that infamous law, by which the churches became places of refuge to all who fled thither for protection; a law which procured a sort of impunity to the most enormous crimes, and gave a loose rein to the licentiousness of the most abandoned profligates. HONORIUS employed all his diligence and zeal in embellishing churches, and other consecrated places, with the most pompous and magnificent ornaments; for as neither CHRIST, nor his apostles, had left any injunctions of this nature to their followers, their pretended vicar thought it but just to supply this defect by the most splendid display of his ostentatious beneficence. We shall pass in silence the riches and variety of the sacerdotal garments that were now used at the celebration of the eucharist, and in the performance of divine worship, as this would lead us into a tedious detail of minute and unimportant matters.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.

I. **T**HE Greeks were engaged, during this century, in the most bitter and virulent controversy with the PAULICIANS, whom they considered as a branch of the Manichean sect, and ^{The re-} ^{mains of} ^{the ancient} ^{sects.} who

C E N T. who were settled in *Armenia* and the adjacent countries. This dispute was carried to the greatest height under the reigns of **CONSTANS**, **CONSTANTINE** **POGONATUS**, and **JUSTINIAN II.**; and the Greeks were not only armed with arguments, but were also seconded by the force of military legions, and the terror of penal laws. A certain person, whose name was **CONSTANTINE**, revived, under the reign of **CONSTANS**, the drooping faction of the **PAULICIANS**, which was now ready to expire; and propagated with great success its pestilential [b] doctrines. But this is not the place to enlarge upon the tenets and history of this sect, whose origin is attributed to **PAUL** and **JOHN**, two brothers, who revived and modified the doctrine of **MANES**. As it was in the ninth century that the Paulicians flourished most, and acquired strength sufficient to support the rigours of an open and cruel war with the Greeks, we shall reserve a more particular account of them for our history of that period.

Paulicians.

Arians.

Pelagians.

II. In *Italy*, the Lombards preferred the opinions of the Arians to the doctrine which was established by the council of *Nice*. In *Gaul* and in *England*, the Pelagian and Semi-pelagian controversies continued to excite the warmest animosities and dissensions. In the eastern provinces, the ancient sects, which had been weakened and oppressed by the imperial laws, but neither totally extirpated nor destroyed, began, in many places, to raise their heads, to recover their vigour, and to gain proselytes. The terror of penal laws had obliged them, for some time, to seek their safety in their obscurity, and therefore to conceal their opinions from the public eye; but at

[b] **PHOTIUS**, lib. i. *Contra Manich.* p. 61. **PETRI SICULA** *Historia Manich.* p. 41. **GEORG. CEDRENUS**, *Compend. Hist.* p. 431. edit. Venet.

as soon as they saw the fury or the power of their adversaries diminish, their hopes returned, and their courage was renewed.

III. The condition both of the Nestorians and Monophysites was much more flourishing under the Saracens, who were now become lords of the east, than it had been hitherto under the Christian emperors, or even the Persian monarchs. These two sects met with a distinguished protection from their new masters, while the Greeks suffered under the same sceptre all the rigours of persecution and banishment. JESUIABAS, the sovereign pontif of the Nestorians, concluded a treaty first with MAHOMET, and afterwards with OMAR, by which he obtained many signal advantages for his sect [i]. There is yet extant a *Testamentary Diploma* of MAHOMET, in which he promises and bequeaths to the Christians, in his dominions, the quiet and undisturbed enjoyment of their religion, together with their temporal advantages and possessions. Some learned men have, indeed, called in question the authority of this deed; it is however certain, that the Mahometans unanimously acknowledge it to be genuine [k]. Accordingly, the successors of MOHOMET in Persia, employed the Nestorians in the most important affairs

[i] JOS. SIMON. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part II. p. 94.

[k] This famous *Testament* of MAHOMET was brought from the east during the last century, by PACIFICUS SCALIGER, a Capuchin monk, and was published first in *Arabic* and *Latin* at *Paris*, by GABRIEL SIONITA, A. D. 1630. afterwards in *Latin* by the learned FABRICIUS, A. D. 1638; and also by HINCKELMAN, A. D. 1690. See HENR. HOTTINGER. *Hist. Orient.* lib. ii. cap. xx. p. 237. ASSEMANNI *Bibl. Orient. Vat.* tom. iii. part II. p. 95. RENAUDOT, *Histor. Patriarchar. Alexandr.* p. 168. They who, in conformity with the opinion of GROTIUS, reject this Testament, suppose it forged by the Syrian and Arabian monks, with a view to soften the Mahometan yoke under which they groaned, and to render their despotic masters less severe. Nor is this representation of the matter at all incredible; for it is certain, that the monks

C E N T. affairs, both of the cabinet and of the provinces, and suffered the patriarch of that sect only to reside in the kingdom of *Babylon* [l]. The Monophysites enjoyed in *Syria* and *Egypt* an equal degree of favour and protection. AMRUS, having made himself master of *Alexandria*, in the year 644, fixed BENJAMIN, the pontif of the Monophysites, in the episcopal residence of that noble city; and from this period, the Melchites [m] were without a bishop for almost a whole century [n].

IV. Though of mount *Sinai* formerly shewed an edict of MAHOMET of the same nature with the one now under consideration, which they pretend was drawn up by him while he was yet in a private station. This edict was extremely advantageous to them, and was, undoubtedly, an artful piece of forgery. The fraud was plain; but the Mahometans, in consequence of their ignorance and stupidity, believed it to be a genuine production of their chief, and continue still in the same opinion. There is an account of this fraud given by CANTIMER, in his *Histoire de l' Empire Ottoman*, tom. ii. p. 269. The argument therefore which RENAUDOT and others draw in favour of the *Testament* in question, from the acknowledgement which the Mahometans make of its authenticity, is of little or no weight; since the Mahometans of all others are the most liable to be deceived in things of this nature, by their gross and unparalleled ignorance. On the other hand, several of the arguments used by those who deny the authenticity of this *Testament*, are equally unsatisfactory; that, particularly, which is drawn from the difference that there is between the style of this deed and that of the *Alcoran*, proves absolutely nothing at all: since it is not essential to the genuineness of this *Testament* to suppose it penned by MAHOMET himself, because the impostor might have employed a secretary to compose it. But let this *Testament* be genuine or spurious, it is undeniably certain that its contents were true; since many learned men have fully proved, that MAHOMET, at his first setting out, prohibited, in the strongest manner, the commission of all sorts of injuries against the Christians, and especially the Nestorians.

[l] ASSEMANI. l. c. p. 97. EUSEBE RENAUD. *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 163. 169.

[m] The *Melchites* were those Christians in *Syria*, *Egypt*, and the *Levant*, who, though not Greeks, followed the doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek church. They were called Melchites, i. e. Royalists, by their adversaries, by way of reproach, on account of their implicit submission to the edict of the emperor MARCIAN, in favour of the council of *Chalcedon*.

[n] EUSEB. RENAUD. *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 168.

IV. Though the Greek church was already C E N T. VII torn asunder by the most lamentable divisions, yet P A R T II. its calamities were far from being at an end. A Monothelites. new sect arose, A. D. 630, under the reign of the emperor HERACLIUS, which, in a short space of time, excited such violent commotions as engaged the eastern and western churches to unite their forces in order to its extinction. The source of this tumult was an unseasonable plan of peace and union. HERACLIUS, considering, with pain, the detriment which the Grecian empire had suffered by the migration of the persecuted Nestorians, and their settlement in *Persia*, was ardently desirous of re-uniting the Monophysites to the bosom of the Greek church, lest the empire should receive a new wound by their departure from it. Pursuant to this idea, he held a conference during the Persian war, A. D. 622, with a certain person named PAUL, a man of great credit and authority among the Armenian Monophysites; and another, at *Hierapolis*, in the year 629, with ATHANASIUS, the Catholic or bishop of that sect, upon the methods that seemed most proper to restore tranquillity and concord to a divided church. Both these persons assured the emperor, that they who maintained the doctrine of *one nature*, might be induced to receive the decrees of the council of *Chalcedon*, and thereby to terminate their controversy with the Greeks, provided that the latter would give their assent to the truth of the following proposition, *viz, that in JESUS CHRIST there was, after the union of the two natures, but one will, and one operation.* HERACLIUS communicated this matter to SERGIUS, patriarch of *Constantinople*, who was a Syrian by birth, and whose parents adhered to the doctrine of the Monophysites. This prelate gave it as his opinion, that the doctrine of *one will and one operation*, after the union of the

two

C E N T. *two natures*, might be safely adopted without the least injury to truth, or the smallest detriment to the authority of the council of *Chalcedon*. In consequence of this, the emperor published an edict, A. D. 630, in favour of that doctrine, and hoped, by this act of authority, to restore peace and concord both in church and state [o].

The progress of their doctrine.

V. The first reception of this new project was promising, and things seemed to go on smoothly. For though some ecclesiastics refused submitting to the imperial edict. Yet CYRUS and ATHANASIUS, the patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, received it without hesitation; and the see of *Jerusalem* was at this time vacant [p]. As to the Roman pontif, he was entirely overlooked in the matter, as his consent was not considered as at all necessary in an affair that related only to the eastern church. In the mean time, CYRUS, who had been promoted by HERACLIUS from the see of *Phasis* to that of *Alexandria*, assembled a council, by the seventh decree of which, the doctrine of Monothelitism, or *one will*, which the emperor had introduced by the edict already mentioned, was solemnly confirmed. This new modification of the doctrine of the council of *Chalcedon*, which seemed to bring it nearer to the Eutychian system, had the desired effect upon the Monothelites, and induced great numbers of them, who were dispersed in *Egypt*, *Armenia*, and other remote provinces, to return into the bosom of the church. They, however, explained the perplexed and ambiguous doctrine of *one will* in

CHRIST,

[o] The authors, who have written concerning this sect, are mentioned by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Biblioth.* vol. x. p. 204. The account which I have here given is drawn from the fountain head, and is supported by authorities.

see LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 264.

CHRIST, in a manner peculiar to themselves, and not quite conformable to the true principles of ^{VII.} ~~PART II.~~ their sect.

VI. This smiling prospect of peace and concord was, however, but transitory, and was unhappily succeeded by the most dreadful tumults, excited by a monk of *Palestine*, whose name was SOPHRONIUS. This monk, being present at the council assembled at *Alexandria* by CYRUS, in the year 633, had violently opposed the decree, which confirmed the doctrine of *one will* in CHRIST. His opposition, which was then treated with contempt, became more formidable the following year; when, raised to the patriarchal see of *Jerusalem*, he summoned a council, in which the Monothelites were condemned as heretics, who revived and propagated the Eutychian errors concerning the mixture and confusion of the two natures in CHRIST. Multitudes, alarmed at the cry of heresy raised by this seditious monk, adopted his sentiments; but it was HONORIUS, the Roman pontif, that he laboured principally to gain over to his side. His efforts, however, were vain: for SERGIUS, the patriarch of *Constantinople*, having informed HONORIUS, by a long and artful letter, of the true state of the question, determined that pontif in favour of the doctrine, which maintained *one will* and *one operation* in CHRIST [q]. Hence arose those obstinate contests,

[q] The Roman Catholic writers have employed all their art and industry to represent the conduct of HONORIUS in such a manner, as to save his pretended infallibility from the charge of error in a question of such importance. (See, among others, HARDUIN. *De sacramento altaris*, which is published in his *Opera Selecta*, p. 225.) And, indeed, it is easy to find both matter of accusation and defence in the case of this pontif. On the one hand, it would appear that he himself knew not his own sentiments, nor attached any precise and definite meaning to the expressions he used in the course of this controversy. On

C E N T. tests, which rent the church into two sects, and the state into two factions.

VII.
P A R T II.

The con-
tests occa-
sioned by
the Ecthesis
and the
Type.

VII. In order to put an end to these commo-
tions, HERACLIUS issued out, in the year 639,
the famous edict composed by SERGIUS, and
called the *Ecthesis*, or exposition of the faith, in
which all controversies upon the question, *whether*
in CHRIST there was one, or two operations, were
strictly prohibited, though in the same edict the
doctrine of *one will* was plainly inculcated. A
considerable number of the eastern bishops de-
clared their assent to this new law, which was also
submissively received by their chief PYRRHUS,
who, upon the death of SERGIUS in the year 639,
was raised to the see of *Constantinople*. In the
west, the case was quite different. JOHN, the
fourth Roman pontif of that name, assembled a
council at *Rome* A. D. 639, in which the *Ecthesis*
was rejected, and the Monothelites condemned.
Nor was this all: for, in the progress of this con-
test, a new edict, known by the name of *Type*, or
Formulary, was published, in the year 648, by
the emperor CONSTANS, by the advice of PAUL
of *Constantinople* [r], by which the *Ecthesis* was
suppressed, and the contending parties com-
manded to terminate their disputes concerning the
one

On the other hand, it is certain, that he gave it as his opinion,
that in CHRIST there was but *one will* and *one operation*. It
was for this that he was condemned in the council of *Constan-*
tinople, and he must of consequence be undoubtedly a heretic,
if it is true, that general councils cannot err. See BOSSUET,
in his *Defence of the Declaration made by the Gallican Clergy*,
in the year 1682, concerning *Ecclesiastical power*, pars II. lib.
xii. cap. xxi. p. 182. See also BASNAGE, *Histoire de l'Eglise*,
tom. i. p. 391.

[r] It is proper to observe here, that PAUL, who was
a Monothelite in his heart, and had maintained the *Ecthesis*
with great zeal, fell upon this prudent measure with a view
to appease the Roman pontif and the African bishops, who
were incensed against him to the highest degree on account
of his attachment to the doctrine of *one will*.

one will, and the one operation in CHRIST, by ob-
 serving a profound silence upon that difficult and
 ambiguous subject. This silence which was so
 wisely commanded in a matter which it was im-
 possible to determine to the satisfaction of the
 contending parties, appeared highly criminal to
 the angry and contentious monks. They, there-
 fore, excited MARTIN, bishop of *Rome*, to oppose
 his authority to an edict which hindered them
 from propagating strife and contention in the
 church; and their importunities had the desired
 effect; for this prelate, in a council of an hun-
 dred and five bishops assembled at *Rome*, A. D.
 649, condemned both the *Ecthesis* and the *Type*,
 though without any mention of the names of the
 emperors who had published those edicts, and thun-
 dered out the most dreadful anathemas against the
 Monothelites and their patrons, who were solemn-
 ly consigned to the devil and his angels.

VIII. The emperor CONSTANS, justly irritated
 at these haughty and impudent proceedings of
 MARTIN, who treated the imperial laws with such
 contempt, ordered him to be seized and carried
 into the isle of *Naxos*, where he was kept prisoner
 a whole year. This order which was followed
 with much cruel treatment, was executed by
 CALLIOPAS, exarch of *Italy*, in the year 650; and
 at the same time, MAXIMUS, the ringleader of
 the seditious monks, was banished to *Bizyca*; and
 other rioters of the same tribe were differently
 punished in proportion to the part they acted in
 this rebellion. These resolute proceedings ren-
 dered EUGENIUS and VITALIANUS, the succeeding
 bishops of *Rome*, more moderate and prudent than
 their predecessor had been; especially the latter,
 who received CONSTANS, upon his arrival at *Rome*
 in the year 663, with the highest marks of distinc-
 tion and respect, and used the wisest precautions
 to prevent the flame of that unhappy controversy

C E N T. from breaking out a second time. And thus, for
 VII.
 PART II. several years it appeared to be extinguished ; but
 it was so only in appearance ; it was a lurking
 flame, which spread itself secretly, and gave rea-
 son to those who examined things with attention,
 to dread new combustions both in church and
 state. To prevent these, CONSTANTINE POGO-
 NATUS, the son of CONSTANS, pursuant to the ad-
 vice of AGATHO, the Roman pontif, summoned,
 in the year 680, the sixth *general*, or *œcumenical*
council, in which he permitted the Monothelites
 and Pope HONORIUS himself to be solemnly con-
 demned in presence of the Roman legates, who
 represented AGATHO in that assembly, and con-
 firmed the sentence pronounced by the council,
 by the sanction of penal laws enacted against such
 as pretended to oppose it.

A short
 view of the
 doctrine of
 the Mono-
 thelites.

IX. It is difficult to give a clear and accurate
 account of the sentiments of those who were cal-
 led Monothelites ; nor is it easy to point out the
 objections of their adversaries. Neither of the con-
 tending parties express themselves consistently
 with what seems to have been their respective o-
 pinions ; and they both disavow the errors with
 which they reciprocally charge each other. The
 following observations contain the clearest notion
 we can form of the state of this subtile controversy.
 1. The Monothelites declared, that they had no
 connection with the Eutychians and Monophy-
 sites ; but maintained, in opposition to these two
 sects, that in CHRIST there were two distinct na-
 tures ; which were so united, though without the
 least mixture or confusion, as to form by their
 union only one person. 2. They acknowledged
 that the soul of CHRIST was endowed with a will
 or faculty of volition, which it still retained after
 its union with the divine nature. For they taught
 that CHRIST was not only perfect God, but also
 perfect

perfect man: from whence it followed, that his C E N T
soul was endowed with the faculty of volition. ^{VII.} P A R T II.

3. They denied that this faculty of volition in the soul of CHRIST, was absolutely unactive, maintaining, on the contrary, that it co-operated with the divine will. 4. They, therefore, in effect, attributed to our Lord two wills, and these, moreover, operating and active. 5. They however affirmed, that, in a certain sense, there was in CHRIST but one will and one manner of operation.

X. We must not indeed imagine, that all, who ^{Different opinions among that sect.} were distinguished by the title of Monothelites, were unanimous in their sentiments with respect to the points now mentioned. Some, as appears from undoubted testimonies, meant no more than this, that the two wills in CHRIST were *one*, i. e. in perfect harmony; that the human will was in perpetual conformity with the divine, and was consequently, always holy, just, and good; in which opinion there is nothing reprehensible. Others, approaching nearer to the sentiments of the Monophysites, imagined that the two wills or faculties of volition in CHRIST were blended into one in that which they called the *personal union*: acknowledging, at the same time, that the distinction between these two wills was perceivable by reason, and that it was also necessary to distinguish carefully in this matter. The greatest part of this sect, and those who were also the most remarkable for their subtilty and penetration, were of opinion, that the human will of CHRIST was the instrument of the divine; or, in other words, never operated or acted of itself, but was always ruled, influenced, and impelled by the divine will, in such a manner, however, that when it was once set in motion, it decreed and operated with the ruling principle. The doctrine of one will and one operation in CHRIST, which the

C E N T. VII.
P A R T II. Monothelites maintained with such invincible obstinacy, was a natural consequence of this hypothesis; since the operation of an instrument and of the being who employs it, is one simple operation, and not two distinct operations or energies. According to this view of things, the Eutychian doctrine was quite out of the question; and the only point of controversy to be determined, was, whether the human will in CHRIST was a self-moving faculty determined by its own internal impulse; or whether, on the contrary, it derived all its motion and operations from the divine?

In the mean time, we may learn from this controversy, that nothing is more precarious, and nothing more dangerous and deceitful, than that religious peace and concord which are founded upon ambiguous doctrines, and cemented by obscure and equivocal propositions, or articles of faith. The partisans of the council of *Chalcedon* endeavoured to ensnare the Monophysites, by proposing their doctrine in a manner that admitted of a double explication; and by this imprudent piece of cunning; that shewed so little reverence for the truth, they involved both church and state in tedious and lamentable divisions.

Their fate
after the
council of
Constanti-
nople.

XI. The doctrine of the Monothelites, condemned and exploded by the council of *Constantinople*, found a place of refuge among the *Mar-daites*, a people who inhabited the mounts *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, and who, about the conclusion of this century, were called Maronites, after Maro their first bishop, a name which they still retain. None of the ancient writers give any certain account of the first person who instructed these Mountaineers in the doctrine of the Monothelites; it is probable, however, from several circumstances, that it was JOHN MARO, whose
name

name they had adopted [s]. One thing, indeed, C E N T. VII. P A R T II. we know, with the utmost certainty, from the testimony of TYRIUS and other unexceptionable witnesses, as also from the most authentic records, and that is, that the Maronites retain the opinions of the Monothelites until the twelfth century, when abandoning and renouncing the doctrine of *one will* in CHRIST, they were re-admitted, in the year 1182, to the communion of the Roman church. The most learned of the modern Maronites have left no method unemployed to defend their church against this accusation; they have laboured to prove, by a variety of testimonies, that their ancestors always persevered in the Catholic faith, in their attachment to the Roman pontif, without ever adopting the doctrine either of the Monophysites or Monothelites. But all their efforts are insufficient to prove the truth of these assertions to such as have any acquaintance with the history of the church, and the records of ancient times; for to all such, the testimonies they allege will appear absolutely fictitious and destitute of authority [t].

XII.

[s] This ecclesiastic received the name of MARO, from his having lived in the character of a monk in the famous convent of *St Maro*, upon the borders of the *Orentes*, before his settlement among the Mardaites of mount *Libanus*. For an ample account of this prelate, see JOS. SIMON ASSEMANNI *Bibliothec. Orient. Clement. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 496.

[t] The cause of the Maronites has been pleaded by the writers of that nation, such as ABRAHAM ECHELLENSIS, GABRIEL SIONITA, and others; but the most ample defence of their uninterrupted orthodoxy was made by FAUSTUS NAIKON, partly in his *Dissertatio de origine, nomine, ac religione Maronitarum*, published at Rome, A. D. 1679, and partly in his *Euoplia fidei Catholicæ ex Syrorum et Chaldaeorum Monumentis*, published in the same city, A. D. 1624. None of the learned, however, were persuaded by his arguments except PAGI * and LA ROQUE, of whom the latter has given us, in his *Voyage de Syrie et de Montliban*, tom. ii. p. 28—128, a long dissertation

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

The coun-
cil called
Quinisex-
tum.

XII. Neither the sixth general council, in which the Monothelites were condemned, nor the fifth, which had been assembled in the preceding century, had determined any thing concerning ecclesiastical discipline, or religious ceremonies. To supply this defect, a new assembly of bishops was held, pursuant to the order of JUSTINIAN II. in a spacious hall of the imperial palace called *Trullus*, i. e. *Cupola*, from the form of the building. This council, which met A. D. 692, was called *Quinisextum*, as we had occasion to observe formerly, from its being considered, by the Greeks, as a supplement to the fifth and sixth œcumenical councils, and as having given to the acts of these assemblies the degree of perfection which they had hitherto wanted. There are yet extant an hundred and two laws, which were enacted in this council, and which related to the external celebration of divine worship, the government of the church, and the lives and manners of Christians. Of these there are six, which are diametrically opposite to several opinions and rites of the Romish church; for which reason the Roman pontiffs have refused to adopt, without restriction, the decisions of this council, or to reckon it in the number of those called *œcumenical*, though they

dissertation concerning the origin of the Maronites. Even the learned ASSELMANNUS, himself a Maronite, and who has spared no pains to defend his nation * against the reproach in question, acknowledges ingenuously, that among the arguments used by NAIRON and others in favour of the Maronites, there are a great many destitute of force. See JO. MCCRINUS, *De Ordinac. Sacris*, p. 380. RICH. SIMON, *Histoire Critique des Chrétiens Orientaux*, chap. xiii. p. 146. EUSEB. RENAUDOT. *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinor.* p. 179. and *Præf. ad Liturgias Orientales*. LE BRUN, *Explication de la Messe*, tom. ii. p. 626. Paris. 1726. The arguments of the contending parties are enumerated impartially, in such a manner as leaves the decision to the reader, by LE QUIEN, in his *Oriens Chrétien*, tom. iii. p. 10.

* See Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. i. p. 496.

they look upon the greatest part of its decrees as worthy of applause [u].

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

[x] See FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. i. p. 486. CHRIST. LUPUS, *Dissertat. de Concilio Trulliano, in Notis et Dissertat. ad Concilia*, tom. iii. opp. p. 168. The Roman Catholics reject the following decisions of this council: 1. The fifth *canon*, which approves of the eighty-five apostolical canons commonly attributed to CLEMENT. 2. The thirteenth *canon*, which allows the priests to marry. 3. The fifty-fifth *canon*, which condemns the Sabbath fast, that was an institution of the Latin church. 4. The sixty-seventh *canon*, which prescribes the most rigorous abstinence from blood and things strangled. 5. The eighty-second *canon*, which prohibits the representing CHRIST under the image of a lamb. 6. The thirty-sixth *canon*, concerning the equal rank and authority of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

BOOK THE THIRD.

CONTAINING THE

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

FROM

CHARLEMAGNE,

TO

THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER.

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THE
EIGHTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External History of the Church,

CHAP. I.

*Concerning the prosperous events which happened to
the church during this century.*

I. **W**HILE the Mahometans were infesting CENT. VIII. PART I. with their arms, and adding to their conquests, the most flourishing provinces of *Asia*, and obscuring, as far as their influence could extend, the lustre and glory of the rising church, The gospel propagated in Hyrcania and Tartary, the Nestorians of *Chaldea* were carrying the lamp of Christianity among those barbarous nations, called Scythians by the ancients, and by the moderns, Tartars, who, independent on the Saracen yoke, had fixed their habitations within the limits of mount *Imaus* [a]. It is now well known, that

[a] The southern regions of *Scythia* were divided by the ancients (to whom the northern were unknown) into three parts, namely, *Scythia within*, and *Scythia beyond Imaus*, and *Sarmatia*. It is of the first of these three that Dr MOSHEIM speaks as enlightened at this time with the knowledge of the gospel; and it comprehended *Turkestan* and *Mongal*, the *Usbek*, or *Zagata*, *Kalmuc* and *Nogaian Tartary*, which were peopled by the Bactrians, Sogdians, Gandari, Sacs, and Massagettes, not to mention the land of *Siberia*, *Samoiedes*, and *Nova Zembla*, which were uninhabited in ancient times.

C E N T. that TIMOTHEUS, the Nestorian pontif, who^{had} been raised to that dignity A. D. 778, converted
VIII.
P A R T I. to the Christian faith, by the ministry of SUBCHAL
 JESU, whom he had consecrated bishop, first the
 Gelæ and Dailamites by whom a part of *Hyrkania*
 was inhabited; and afterwards, by the labours of
 other missionaries the rest of the nations, who
 had formed settlements in *Hyrkania Bactria, Mar-*
giana, and *Sogdia* [b]. It is also certain, that
 Christianity enjoyed in these vast regions, not-
 withstanding the violent attacks of the Mahome-
 tans to which it was sometimes exposed, the ad-
 vantages of a firm and solid establishment for a
 long course of ages; while the bishops, by whose
 ministry it was propagated, and supported, were
 all consecrated by the sole authority of the Nesto-
 rian pontif.

The Ger-
mans con-
verted by
Boniface.

II. If we turn our eyes towards Europe, we
 find many nations that were as yet unenlightened
 with the knowledge of the gospel. Almost all
 the Germans (if we except the Bavarians, who
 had embraced Christianity under THEODORIC, or
 THIERRY, the son of CLOVIS, and the eastern
 Franks, with a few other provinces) lay buried
 in the grossest darkness of Pagan superstition.
 Many attempts were made, by pious and holy
 men, to infuse the truth into the minds of these
 savage Germans; and various efforts were used
 for the same purpose by kings and princes, whose
 interest it was to propagate a religion that was so
 adapted to mitigate and tame the ferocity of these
 warlike nations; but neither the attempts of pious
 zeal, nor the efforts of policy, were attended with
 success. This great work was, however, effected
 in this century, by the ministry of WINFRID, a
 Benedictine

[b] THOMAS MARGENSIS, *Historia Monastica*, lib. iii. in
 JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Bibliotheca Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. pars I.
 p. 491. See also this latter work, tom. iii. pars II. cap. ix.
 sect. 5. p. 478.

Benedictine monk, born in *England* of illustrious C R N T. parents, and afterwards known by the name of ^{VIII.} ~~BONIFACE~~. This famous ecclesiastic, attended by ^{PART I.} two companions of his pious labours, passed over into *Friesland*, A. D. 715, to preach the gospel to the people of that country, but this first attempt was unsuccessful; and a war breaking out between RADBOD, the king of that country, and CHARLES MARTEL, our zealous missionary returned to *England*. He resumed, however, his pious undertaking in the year 719; and being solemnly impowered by the Roman Pontif, GREGORY II. to preach the gospel not only in *Friesland*, but all over *Germany*, he performed the functions of a Christian teacher among the Thuringians, Frieslanders, and Hessians, with considerable, success [c].

III. This eminent missionary was, in the year 723, consecrated Bishop by GREGORY II. who ^{Other pious exploits of this famous missionary, and his advancement in the church.} changed the name of WINFRID into that of BONIFACE; seconded also by the powerful protection, and encouraged by the liberality of CHARLES MARTEL, mayor of the palace to CHILPERIC king of *France*, he resumed his ministerial labours among the Hessians and Thuringians, and finished with glory the task he had undertaken, in which he received considerable assistance from a number of pious and learned men, who repaired to him from *England* and *France*. As the Christian churches erected by BONIFACE were too numerous to be governed by one bishop, this prelate was advanced to the dignity of archbishop, in the year 738, by GREGORY III. by whose authority, and the auspicious protection of CARLOMAN and PEPIN, the

[c] An ample account of this eminent man is to be found in a learned dissertation of GUDENIUS, *De S. Bonifacio Germanorum Apostolo*, published in 4to at *Helmstad* in the year 1722. See also JO. AL. FAERICII *Biblioth. Latina medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 709. *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 92. MABIL-LOX, in *Annalibus Benedictinis*, &c.

C E N. T. the sons of CHARLES MARTEL, he founded, in
 VII. Germany, the bishopricks of *Wurtzbourg*, *Bura-*
 PART I. *bourg*, *Erfurt*, and *Aichstadt*: to which he added
 in the year 744, the famous monastery of *Fulda*.
 His last promotion, and the last recompence of
 his assiduous labours in the propagation of the
 truth, was his advancement to the archiepiscopal
 see of *Mentz*, A. D. 746, by ZACHARY, bishop
 of *Rome*, by whom he was, at the same time,
 created primate of *Germany* and *Belgium*. In his
 old age, he returned again to *Friesland*, that he
 might finish his ministry in the same place where
 he had entered first upon its functions; but his
 piety was ill rewarded by that barbarous people,
 by whom he was murdered in the year 755,
 while fifty ecclesiastics, who accompanied him in
 this voyage, shared the same unhappy fate.

The judg-
 ment we
 are to form
 concerning
 the apostle-
 ship of Bo-
 niface.

IV. BONIFACE, on account of his ministerial
 labours and holy exploits, was distinguished by
 the honourable title of the *Apostle of the Germans*;
 nor, if we consider impartially the eminent ser-
 vices he rendered to Christianity, will this title
 appear to have been undeservedly bestowed. But
 it is necessary to observe, that this eminent pre-
 late was an apostle of modern fashion, and had,
 in many respects, departed from the excellent
 model exhibited in the conduct and ministry of
 the primitive and true apostles. Besides his zeal
 for the glory and authority of the Roman pontif,
 which equalled, if it did not surpass, his zeal for
 the service of CHRIST, and the propagation of
 his religion [d], many other things unworthy of a
 truly

[d] The French Benedictine monks ingenuously confess that
 BONIFACE was an over-zealous partizan of the Roman pontif,
 and attributed more authority to him than was just and fitting.
 Their words, in their *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. iv.
 p. 106. are as follows: "Il exprime son devouement pour le
 " S. Siege en des termes qui ne sont pas assez proportionés à
 " la dignité du caractere episcopal."

truly Christian minister are laid to his charge. CENT.
VIII.
PART I.
In combating the Pagan superstitions, he did not always use those arms, with which the ancient heralds of the gospel gained such victories in behalf of the truth ; but often employed violence and terror, and sometimes artifice and fraud, in order to multiply the number of Christians. His *epistles*, moreover, discover an imperious and arrogant temper ; a cunning and insidious turn of mind ; an excessive zeal for increasing the honours and pretensions of the sacerdotal order ; and a profound ignorance of many things of which the knowledge was absolutely necessary in an apostle, and particularly of the true nature and genius of the Christian religion.

V. The famous prelate, of whom we have been now speaking, was not the only Christian minister who attempted to deliver the *German* nations from the miserable bondage of Pagan superstition ; several others signalized their zeal in the same laudable and pious undertaking. CORBINIAN, a French Benedictine monk, after having laboured with vast assiduity and fervour in planting the gospel among the Bavarians, and other countries, became bishop of *Friesingen* [e]. FIRMIN, a Gaul by birth, preached the gospel under various kinds of suffering and opposition in *Alsatia*, *Bavaria*, and *Helvetia*, now *Switzerland*, and had inspection over a considerable number of monasteries [f]. LEBUIN, an Englishman, laboured with the most ardent zeal and assiduity to engage the fierce and warlike Saxons, and also the Frieslanders, Belgæ, and other nations, to receive the light of Christianity ; but his ministry was attended with very little

Other apostles preach the gospel to the Germans.

[e] BARONIUS, *Annal. Eccles.* tom. viii. *ad An.* 716. sect. 10. CAR. MAICHELBECK, *Historiæ Friesingensis*, tom. i.

[f] HERM. BRUSHICHII *Chronologia Monaster. German.* p. 30. ANTON. PAGI *Critica in Annales Baronii*, tom. ii. *ad An.* 759. sect. ix. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 124.

O E N T. little fruit [g]. We passed over in silence several
VIII. apostles of less fame ; nor is it necessary to men-
PART I. tion WILLIBRORD, and others of superior repu-
 tation, who persisted now with great alacrity and
 constancy in the labours they had undertaken in
 the preceding century, in order to the propaga-
 tion of divine truth.

The expedi-
 tion of
 Charle-
 magne a-
 gainst the
 Saxons.

VI. A war broke out, at this time, between
 CHARLEMAGNE and the Saxons, which contri-
 buted much to the propagation of Christianity,
 though not by the force of a rational persuasion.
 The Saxons were, at this time, a numerous and
 formidable people, who inhabited a considerable
 part of *Germany*, and were engaged in perpetual
 quarrels with the Franks concerning their boun-
 daries, and other matters of complaint. Hence
 CHARLEMAGNE turned his arms against this power-
 ful nation, A. D. 772, with a design, not only to
 subdue that spirit of revolt with which they had so
 often troubled the empire, but also to abolish
 their idolatrous worship, and engage them to
 embrace the Christian religion. He hoped, by
 their conversion, to vanquish their obstinacy,
 imagining that the divine precepts of the gospel
 would assuage their impetuous and restless passions,
 mitigate their ferocity, and induce them to sub-
 mit more tamely to the government of the Franks.
 These projects were great in idea, but difficult
 in execution; accordingly, the first attempt to con-
 vert the Saxons, after having subdued them, was
 unsuccessful, because it was made, without the
 aid of violence or threats, by the bishops and
 monks, whom the victor had left among that con-
 quered people, whose obstinate attachment to ido-
 latry no arguments nor exhortations could over-
 come. More forcible means were afterwards used
 to

[g] HUCBAIDI *Vita S. LEBUINI* in LAUR. *SURII Vitæ Sanc-*
tor. d. 12. Nov. p. 277. JO. MOLLEII *Cimbria Litterata*, tom.
 ii. p. 464.

to draw them into the pale of the church, in the wars which CHARLEMAGNE carried on, in the years 775, 776, and 780, against that valiant people, whose love of liberty was excessive, and whose aversion to the restraints of sacerdotal authority was inexpressible [b]. During these wars, their attachment to the superstition of their ancestors was so warmly combated by the allurements of reward, by the terror of punishment, and by the imperious language of victory, that they suffered themselves to be baptised, though with inward reluctance, by the missionaries, which the emperor sent among them for that purpose [i]. These

P

sedi-

[b] It will be proper here to transcribe, from the epistles of the famous ALCUIN, once Abbot of *Canterbury*, a remarkable passage, which will shew us the reasons which contributed principally to give the Saxons an aversion to Christianity, and at the same time expose the absurd and preposterous manner of teaching used by the missionaries, who were sent to convert them. This passage, in the 104th epistle, and the 1647th page of his works, is as follows: "Si tanta instantia leve Christi jugum et onus ejus leve durissimo Saxonum populo prædicaretur, quanta Decimarum redditu vel legalis pro parvissimis quibuslibet culpis edictis necessitas exigebatur, forte baptismatis sacramenta non abhorrerent. Sint tandem aliquando DOCTORES FIDEI APOSTOLICIS ERUDITI EXEMPLIS: sint PRÆDICATORES NON PRÆDATORES." Here the reader may see a lively picture of the kind of apostles that flourished at this time; apostles who were more zealous in exacting tithes, and extending their authority, than in propagating the sublime truths and precepts of the gospel. And yet these very apostles are said to have wrought stupendous miracles.

[i] ALCUINUS apud WILHELMUM MAEMESBUR. *De gestis regum Anglorum*, lib. i. cap. iv. p. 23. inter *Rerum Anglicar. Scriptoris. Francofurti*, A. D. 1601. editos. In this work we find the following passage, which proves what we have said with respect to the unworthy methods that were used in converting the Saxons: "Antiqui Saxones et omnes Fresonum populi, instante Rege CAROLO, alios PRÆMIIS et alios MINIS sollicitantes ad fidem CHRISTI conversi sunt." See also two passages in the *Capitularia Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 246. and 252. From the first of these passages we learn, that those of the Saxons who abandoned the pagan superstitions

C E N T. seditions, indeed, were soon after renewed, and
 VIII. fomented by WIDEKIND and ALBION, two of the
 PART I. most valiant among the Saxon chiefs, who at-
 tempted to abolish the Christian worship by the
 same violent methods which had contributed to
 its establishment. But the courage and liberality
 of CHARLEMAGNE, alternately employed to sup-
 press this new rebellion, engaged these chiefs to
 make a public and solemn profession of Christia-
 nity in the year 785, and to promise an adherence
 to that divine religion for the rest of their days [k].
 To prevent, however, the Saxons from renoun-
 cing a religion which they had embraced with re-
 luctance, several bishops were appointed to reside
 among them, schools also were erected, and mo-
 nasteries founded, that the means of instruction
 might not be wanting. The same precautions
 were employed among the Huns in *Pannonia*, to
 maintain in the profession of Christianity that
 fierce people whom CHARLEMAGNE had convert-
 ed

tions were "restored to the liberty they had forfeited by the
 "fate of arms, and freed from the obligation of paying tri-
 "bute;" and, in the second, we find the following severe
 law, that "every Saxon who contemptuously refused to re-
 "ceive the sacrament of baptism, and persisted in his adhe-
 "rence to Paganism, was to be punished with death." While
 such rewards and punishments were employed in the cause of
 religion, there was no occasion for miracles to advance its
 progress, for these motives were sufficient to draw all man-
 kind to an hypocritical and external profession of the gospel;
 but it is easy to imagine what sort of Christians the Saxons
 must have been, who were dragooned into the church in this
 abominable manner. Compare with the authors mentioned in
 this note, LAUNOIS, *De veteri more baptizandi Judæos et Infideles*,
 cap. v. vi. p. 703. tom. ii. opp. part II. This author
 assures us, that ADRIAN, the first Roman pontif of that name,
 honoured with his approbation CHARLEMAGNE's method of con-
 verting the Saxons.

[k] EGINARTUS, *De vita Caroli M.* ADAM BREMENIS,
 lib. i. cap. viii. See also the writers of the history and ex-
 ploits of CHARLEMAGNE, which are mentioned by Jo. ALB.
 FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Latina mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p.
 952.

ed to the faith, when, exhausted and dejected by various defeats, they were no longer able to make head against his victorious arms, and chose rather to be Christians than *slaves* [1].

VII. Succeeding generations, filled with a grateful sense of the famous exploits which CHARLEMAGNE had performed in the service of Christianity, canonized his memory, and turned this bloody warrior into an eminent *saint*. In the twelfth century FREDERIC I. emperor of the Romans, ordered PASCHAL II. whom he had raised to the pontificate, to enrol the name of this mighty conqueror among the tutelary saints of the church [m]. And indeed CHARLEMAGNE merited this honour, according to the opinions which prevailed at that period of time; for to have enriched the clergy with large and magnificent donations [n], and to have extended the boundaries of the church, no matter by what methods, was then considered as the highest merit, and as a sufficient pretension to the honour of *sainthood*. But in the esteem of those, who judge of the nature and characters of *sanctity* by the decisions of the gospel upon that head, the *sainted* emperor will appear utterly unworthy of that ghostly dignity. For, not to enter into a particular detail of his vices, whose number counterbalanced that of his virtues, it is undeniably evident, that his ardent and ill-conducted zeal for the conversion of the Huns, Frieslanders, and Saxons, was more animated by the suggestions of ambition, than by a principle

P 2

of

[1] *Vita S. Rudberti* in HENRIC. CONISII *Lectonibus antiquis*, tom. iii. part II. p. 340. PAULI DEBRECENI *Historia Ecclesiæ Reformat. in Hungar. et Transilvania a LAMPIONA*, pars I. cap. ii. p. 10.

[m] Vid. HENR. CANISII *Lectones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. pars II. p. 207. WALCHII *Dissert. de Caroli Magni Canonizatione*.

[n] Vid. CAROLI *Testamentum* in STEPH. BALUSII *Capitulis Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 487.

C E N T of true piety; and that his main view in these
VIII. religious exploits was to subdue the converted
P A R T I. nations under his dominion, and to tame them to
 his yoke, which they supported with impatience,
 and shook off by frequent revolts. It is, more-
 over, well known, that this boasted saint made
 no scruple of seeking the alliance of the infidel
 Saracens, that he might be more effectually en-
 abled to crush the Greeks, notwithstanding their
 profession of the Christian religion [o].

And of the
 miracles
 which are
 said to have
 been per-
 formed in
 this centu-
 ry.

VIII. The many and stupendous miracles,
 which are said to have been wrought by the
 Christian missionaries, who were sent to convert
 the barbarous nations, have lost, in our times,
 the credit they obtained in former ages. The
 corrupt discipline that then prevailed, admitted
 of those fallacious stratagems, which are very im-
 properly called *pious* frauds; nor did the heralds
 of the gospel think it at all unlawful to terrify or
 allure to the profession of Christianity by fictitious
 prodigies, those obdurate hearts, which they could
 not subdue by reason and argument. It is not,
 however, to be supposed, that all those, who ac-
 quired renown by their miracles, were charge-
 able with this fanatical species of artifice and fraud.
 For as, on the one hand, those ignorant and su-
 perstitious nations were disposed to look upon, as
 miraculous, every event which had an unusual
 aspect; so, on the other, the Christian doctors
 themselves were so uninstructed and superficial,
 so little acquainted with the powers of nature,
 and the relations and connections of things in their
 ordinary course, that uncommon events, however
 natural, were considered by them as miraculous
 interpositions of the Most High. This will ap-
 pear obvious to such as, void of superstition and
 par-

'[o] See BASNAGE *Histoire des Juifs*, tom. ix. cap. ii. p.
 40.

partiality, read the *Acts of the saints* who flourished in this and the following centuries.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T I.
}

C H A P. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.

THE eastern empire had now fallen from its former strength and grandeur, through the repeated shocks of dreadful revolutions, and the consuming power of intestine calamities. The throne was now become the seat of terror, inquietude and suspicion ; nor was any reign attended with an uninterrupted tranquillity. In this century three emperors were dethroned, loaded with ignominy, and sent into banishment. Under Leo the Isaurian, and his son CONSTANTINE, surnamed COPRONYMUS, arose that fatal controversy about the worship of images, which proved a source of innumerable calamities and troubles, and weakened, almost incredibly, the force of the empire. These troubles and dissensions left the Saracens at liberty to ravage the provinces of *Asia* and *Africa*, to oppress the Greeks in the most barbarous manner, and to extend their territories and dominion on all sides, as also to oppose every where the progress of Christianity, and, in some places, to extirpate it entirely. But the troubles of the empire, and the calamities of the church did not end here: for about the middle of this century, they were assailed by new enemies, still more fierce and inhuman than those whose usurpations they had hitherto suffered. These were the Turks, a tribe of the Tartars, or at least their descendants, who, breaking forth from the inaccessible wilds about mount *Caucasus*, overspread *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, rushed from thence into *Armenia*.

The Saracens become masters in the east.

The incursion of the Turks.

C E N T. VII. *menia*, and, after having subdued the Saracens, turned their victorious arms against the Greeks, whom, in process of time, they reduced under their dominion.

Their progress in the west.

II. In the year 714, the Saracens crossed the sea, which separates *Spain* from *Africa*, dispersed the army of RODERIC king of the Spanish Goths, [p] whose defeat was principally due to the treachery of their general JULIAN, and made themselves masters of the greatest part of the territories of this vanquished prince. About the same time the empire of the Visigoths, which had subsisted in *Spain* above three hundred years, was totally overturned by these fierce and savage invaders, who also took possession of all the maritime coasts of *Gaul*, from the Pyrenean mountains to the river *Rhone*, from whence they made frequent excursions, and ravaged the neighbouring countries with fire and sword.

The rapid progress of these bold invaders was, indeed, checked by CHARLES MARTEL, who gained a signal victory over them in a bloody action near the city of *Poitiers*, A. D. 732 [q]. But the vanquished spoilers soon recovered their strength and their ferocity, and returned with new violence to their devastations. This engaged CHARLEMAGNE to lead a formidable army into *Spain*, with a design to deliver that whole country from the oppressive yoke of the Saracens: but this grand enterprize, though it did not entirely miscarry, was not, however, attended with the signal success that was expected from it [r].

The

[p] JO. MARIANA, *Rerum Hispanicarum*, lib. vi. cap. xxi. EUSEBE RENAUDOT. *Historia Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 253. JO. DE FERRERAS, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 425.

[q] PAULUS DIACONUS, *De gestis Longobard.* lib. vi. cap. xlvi. liii. JO. MARIANA, *Rerum Hispan.* lib. vii. cap. iii. BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article ABDERAMUS. FERRERAS, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 463.

[r] HENR. DE BUNAU, *Teutsche Keyser-und Reich's Histoire*, tom. ii. p. 392. FERRERAS, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 506.

The inroads of this warlike people were felt by many of the western provinces, besides those of *France* and *Spain*. Several parts of *Italy* suffered from their incursions ; the island of *Sardinia* was reduced under their yoke ; and *Sicily* was ravaged and oppressed by them in the most inhuman manner. Hence the Christian religion in *Spain* and *Sardinia* suffered inexpressibly under these violent usurpers.

In *Germany*, and the adjacent countries, the Christians were assailed by another sort of enemies ; for all such as adhered to the pagan superstitions beheld them with the most inveterate hatred, and persecuted them with the most unrelenting violence and fury [s]. Hence, in several places, castles and fortresses were erected to restrain the incursions of these Barbarian zealots.

[s] SERVATI LUPI *vita Wigberti*, p. 304.

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P T E R I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

C E N T. I.

VIII.

P A R T II.

The state
of learning
among the
Greeks.

THERE were not wanting among the Greeks men of genius and talents, who might have contributed to prevent the total decline of literature; but their zeal was damped by the tumults and desolations that reigned in the empire; and while both church and state were menaced with approaching ruin, the learned were left destitute of that protection which gives both vigour and success to the culture of the arts and sciences. Hence few or none of the Greeks were at all famous either for elegance of diction, true wit, copious erudition, or a zealous attachment to the study of philosophy, and the investigation of truth. Frigid homilies, insipid narrations of the exploits of pretended saints, vain and subtle disputes about unessential and trivial subjects, vehement and bombastic declamations for or against the erection and worship of images, histories composed without method or judgment; such were monuments of Grecian learning in this miserable age.

The progress of the
Aristotelian
philosophy.

II. It must, however, be observed, that the Aristotelian philosophy was taught every where in the public schools, and was propagated in all places with considerable success. The doctrine of PLATO had lost all its credit in the schools, after the repeated sentences of condemnation that had

had been passed upon the opinions of ORIGEN, C E N T. VIII. and the troubles which the Nestorian and Euty- P A R T II. chian controversies had excited in the church; so that Platonism now was almost confined to the solitary retreats of the monastic orders. Of all the writers in this century, who contributed to the illustration and progress of the Aristotelian philosophy, the most eminent was JOHN DAMASCENUS, who composed a concise, plain, and comprehensive view of the doctrines of the Stagirite, for the instruction of the more ignorant, and in a manner adapted to common capacities. This little work excited numbers, both in *Greece*, and *Syria*, to the study of that philosophy, whose proselytes increased daily. The Nestorians and Jacobites were also extremely diligent in the study of ARISTOTLE's writings, from whence they armed themselves with sophisms and quibbles, which they employed against the Greeks in the controversy concerning the nature and person of CHRIST.

III. The literary history of the Latins exhibits innumerable instances of the grossest ignorance, The revival of learning among the Latins by Charlemagne. [a], which will not, however, appear surprizing to such as consider, with attention, the state of *Europe* in this century. If we except some poor remains of learning, which were yet to be found at *Rome*, and in certain cities of *Italy*. [b], the sciences seemed to have abandoned the Continent, and fixed their residence in *Britain* and *Ireland* [c]. Those, therefore, of the Latin writers, who were distinguished by their learning and genius, were all (a few French and Italians excepted)

[a] Vid. STEPH. BALUZ. *Observat. ad Reginonem Prumien-*
sem. p. 540.

[b] LUD. ANT. MURATORI *Antiq. Italicæ mediæ ævi*, tom.
III. p. 811.

[c] JAC. USSERIUS, *Præf. ad Syllogem Epistolarum Hiber-*
nicarum.

C E N T.cepted) either British or Scotch, such as **ALCUIN**,
^{VIII.}
 P A R T II. **BEDE**, **EGBERT**, **CLEMENS**, **DUNGALLUS**, **ACCA**, and
 others. **CHARLEMAGNE**, whose political talents
 were embellished by a considerable degree of
 learning, and an ardent zeal for the culture of the
 sciences, endeavoured to dispel the profound ig-
 norance that reigned in his dominions ; in which
 excellent undertaking he was animated and direct-
 ed by the councils of **ALCUIN**. With this view he
 drew, first from *Italy*, and afterwards from *Bri-
 tain* and *Ireland*, by his liberality, eminent men,
 who had distinguished themselves in the various
 branches of literature ; and excited the several
 orders of the clergy and monks by various en-
 couragements, and the nobility, and others of
 eminent rank, by his own example, to the pur-
 suit of knowledge in all its branches, human and
 divine.

Cathedral
 and monas-
 tic schools
 erected.

IV. In the prosecution of this noble design,
 the greatest part of the bishops erected, by the
 express order of the emperor, cathedral schools
 (so called from their lying contiguous to the prin-
 cipal church in each diocese), in which the youth,
 which were set apart for the service of **CHRIST**,
 received a learned and religious education. Those
 also of the abbots, who had any zeal for the cause
 of Christianity, opened schools in their monaste-
 ries, in which the more learned of the fraternity
 instructed such as were designed for the monastic
 state, or the sacerdotal order, in the Latin lan-
 guage, and other branches of learning, suitable to
 their future destination. It was formerly believed,
 that the university of *Paris* was erected by **CHAR-
 LEMAGNE** ; but this opinion is rejected by such as
 have studied, with impartiality, the history of
 this age ; though it is undeniably evident, that
 this great prince had the honour of laying, in
 some measure, the foundation of that noble insti-
 tution, and that the beginnings from which it
 arose

arose were owing entirely to him [d]. However ^{C E N T,}
 this question be decided, it is undeniably certain, ^{VHL}
 that the zeal of this emperor for the propagation ^{P A R T II.}
 and advancement of letters, was very great, and
 manifested its ardour by a considerable number of
 excellent establishments: nor among others must
 we pass with silence the famous *Palatine* school,
 which he erected with a view to banish ignorance
 from his court; and in which the princes of the
 blood, and the children of the nobility, were e-
 ducated by the mos. learned and illustrious mas-
 ters of the times [e].

V. These excellent establishments were not, ^{But not at-}
 however, attended with the desired success; nor ^{tended with}
 was the improvement of the youth, in learning ^{the desired}
 and virtue, at all proportioned to the pains that ^{success.}
 were taken, and the bounty that was bestowed
 to procure them a liberal education. This, in-
 deed, will not appear surprising, when we con-
 sider that the most learned and renowned masters
 of these times were men of very little genius and
 abilities, and that their system of erudition and
 philosophy was nothing more than a lean and
 ghastly skeleton equally unfit for ornament and
 use. The whole circle of the sciences was com-
 posed of, what they called, the seven liberal arts,
 viz. grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geo-
 metry, music, and astronomy [f]; the three for-
 mer of which they distinguished by the title of
trivium,

[d] The reasons that have been used, to prove CHARLE-
 MAGNE the founder of the university of *Paris*, are accurately
 collected in DU BOULAY, *Historia Academiae Paris.* tom. i.
 p. 91. But they have been refuted by the following learned
 men in a victorious manner, viz. MABILLON, *Act. Sanct.*
Ord. Benedict. tom. v. *Præf.* sect. 181, 182. LAUNOY. CLAUD.
 JOLY, *De scholis.*

[e] BOULAY *Histor. Academ. Paris.* tom. i. p. 281. MA-
 BILLON, l. c. sect. 179.

[f] HERM. CONRINGII *Antiquitat. Academicæ Diss.* iii.
 p. 80. JAC. THOMASII *Programmata*, p. 386. *Observation.*
Halensium, tom. vi. *Observ.* xiv. p. 118.

C E N T. *trivium*, and the four latter by that of *quadrivium*.
 VIII. Nothing can be conceived more wretchedly bar-
 PART II. barous than the manner in which these sciences
 were taught, as we may easily perceive from AL-
 CUIN's treatise concerning them [g]; and the dis-
 sertations of St AUGUSTIN on the same subject,
 which were in the highest repute at this time.
 In the greatest part of the schools, the public
 teachers ventured no further than the *trivium*,
 and confined their instructions to grammar, rhe-
 toric, and logic: they, however, who, after pass-
 ing the *trivium* and also the *quadrivium*, were de-
 sirous of rising yet higher in their literary pur-
 suits, were exhorted to apply themselves to the
 study of CASSIODORE and BOETHIUS, as if the pro-
 gress of human knowledge was bounded by the
 discoveries of those two learned writers.

C H A P. II.

*Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church
 and its form of government during this century.*

The vices of
 the clergy.

I. **T**HAT corruption of manners, which dis-
 honoured the clergy in the former cen-
 tury, increased, instead of diminishing, in this,
 and discovered itself under the most odious cha-
 racters, both in the eastern and western provin-
 ces. In the east there arose the most violent dis-
 sensions and quarrels among the bishops and doc-
 tors of the church, who, forgetting the duties
 of their stations, and the cause of CHRIST in
 which they were engaged, threw the state into
 com-

[g] ALCUINI *Opera*, part II. p. 1245. edit. Quercetani-
 It is, however, to be observed, that the treatise of ALCUIN,
 here referred to, is not only imperfect, but is almost entirely
 transcribed from CASSIODORE.

combustion by their outward clamours, and their scandalous divisions; and even went so far as to embroil their hands in the blood of their brethren who differed from them in opinion. In the western world, Christianity was not less disgraced by the lives and actions of those who pretended to be the luminaries of the church, and who ought to have been so in reality, by exhibiting examples of piety and virtue to their flock. The clergy abandoned themselves to their passions without moderation or restraint: they were distinguished by their luxury, their gluttony, and their lust; they gave themselves up to dissipations of various kinds, to the pleasures of hunting, and, what was still more remote from their sacred character, to military studies [b] and enterprizes. They had also so far extinguished every principle of fear and shame, that they became incorrigible; nor could the various laws enacted against their vices by CARLOMAN, PEPIN, and CHARLEMAGNE, at all contribute to set bounds to their licentiousness, or to bring about their reformation [i].

II. It is, indeed, amazing, that, notwithstanding the shocking nature of such vices, especially in a set of men whose profession obliged them to display to the world the attracting lustre of virtuous example; and notwithstanding the perpetual troubles and complaints which these vices occasioned; the clergy were still held, corrupt as they were, in the highest veneration, and were honoured, as a sort of deities, by the submissive multitude. This veneration for the bishops and clergy, and the influence and authority it gave them over the people, were, indeed, carried much higher in the west than in the eastern provinces;

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

The veneration in which the clergy were held in the west.

[b] STEPH. BALUZIUS, *ad Reginon. Prumiensem*, p. 563. WILKINS, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 95.

[i] STEPH. BALUZ. *Capitular. regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 189. 208. 275. 493, &c.

C E N T. vinces; and the reasons of this difference will
 VIII.
 P A R T II. appear manifest to such as consider the customs
 and manners that prevailed among the barbarous
 nations, which were, at this time, masters of
Europe, before their conversion to Christianity! All these nations, during their continuance under the darkness of paganism, were absolutely enslaved to their priests, without whose counsel and authority they transacted nothing of the least importance either in civil or military affairs [k]. . Upon their conversion to Christianity, they, therefore, thought proper to transfer to the ministers of their new religion, the rights and privileges of their former

[k] JULIUS CÆSAR, *De bello Gallico*, lib. v. cap. 13.
 “ Druides magno sunt apud eos honore : nam fere de omnibus
 “ controversiis, publicis privatisque, constituunt ; et, si quod
 “ est admissum facinus, si cædes facta, si de hæreditate, si de
 “ finibus controversia est, iidem decernunt, præmia, pœnas-
 “ que constituunt : si qui aut publicus eorum decreto non
 “ stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt—Druides a bello abesse consue-
 “ verunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt : militum
 “ vacationem, omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tan-
 “ tis excitati præmiis, et sua sponte multi in disciplinam con-
 “ veniunt, et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur.” TA-
 CITUS (*De mor. Germanorum*, cap. 7. p. 384. edit. Gronov.)
 expresses also the power and authority of the priests or Druids
 in the following terms : “ Neque enim animadvertere, neque
 “ vincere, neque verberare quidem, nisi sacerdotibus permis-
 “ sum, non quasi in pœnam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut Deo
 “ imperante.” And again, cap. ii. “ Silentium per sacerdo-
 “ tes, quibus et tum coërcendi jus est, imperatur.” HEL-
 MOLDUS, *Cbron. Sclavorum*, lib. i. cap. xxxvi. p. 90. ex-
 presses himself to the same purpose, “ Major Flaminis, quam
 “ Regis, apud ipsos veneratio est.” And again, lib. ii.
 cap. xii. p. 235. “ Rex apud eos modicæ æstimationis est
 “ comparatione Flaminis. Ille enim responsa perquirat—Rex
 “ et populus ad illius nutum pendent.” This ancient custom
 of honouring their priests, and submitting, in all things, to
 their decisions, was still preserved by the Germans, and the
 other European nations, after their conversion to Christia-
 nity : and this furnishes a satisfactory answer to that question,
viz. How it came to pass that the Christian priesthood ob-
 tained in the west that enormous degree of authority, which
 is so contrary to the positive precepts of CHRIST, and the
 nature and genius of his divine religion.

former priests: and the Christian bishops, in their turn, were not only ready to accept the offer, but used all their diligence and dexterity to secure and assert to themselves and their successors, the dominion and authority which the ministers of paganism had usurped over an ignorant and brutish people.

III. The honours and privileges, which the western nations had voluntarily conferred upon the bishops, and other doctors of the church, were now augmented with new and immense accessions of opulence and authority. The endowments of the church and monasteries, and the revenues of the bishops, were hitherto considerable; but in this century a new and ingenious method was found out of acquiring much greater riches to the church, and of increasing its wealth through succeeding ages. An opinion prevailed universally at this time, though its authors are not known, that the punishment which the righteous judge of the world has reserved for the transgressions of the wicked, was to be prevented and annulled, by liberal donations to God, to the saints, to the churches and clergy. In consequence of this notion, the great and opulent, who were, generally speaking, the most remarkable for their flagitious and abominable lives, offered, out of the abundance which they had received by inheritance, or acquired by rapine, rich donations to departed saints, their ministers upon earth, and the keepers of the temples that were erected in their honour, in order to avoid the sufferings and penalties annexed by the priests to transgression in this life [/], and to escape the misery denounced

[/] The temporal penalties here mentioned were rigorous fasts, bodily pains and mortifications, long and frequent prayers, pilgrimages to the tombs of saints and martyrs, and such like austerities. These were the penalties which the priests

C E N T. ced against the wicked in a future state. This
 VIII. new and commodious method of making atone-
 PART II. ment for iniquity, was the principal source of
 those immense treasures, which, from this period, began to flow in upon the clergy, the churches, and monasteries, and continued to enrich them through succeeding ages down to the present time [m].

They are invested with principalities and royal domains.

IV. But here it is highly worthy of observation, that the donations which princes and persons of the first rank presented, in order to make expiation for their sins, and to satisfy the justice of God, and the demands of the clergy, did not only consist in those *private* possessions, which every citizen may enjoy, and with which the churches and convents were already abundantly enriched ; no : these donations were carried to a much more extravagant length, and the church was endowed with several of those *public* grants, which are peculiar to princes and sovereign states, and which are commonly called *regalia*, or royal domains. Emperors, kings, and princes, signalled their superstitious veneration for the clergy, by investing bishops, churches, and monasteries, in the possession of whole provinces, cities, castles, and fortresses, with all the rights and prerogatives of sovereignty that were annexed to them under the dominion of their former masters. Hence it came

priests imposed upon such as had confessed their crimes : and as they were singularly grievous to those who had led voluptuous lives, and were desirous of continuing in the same course of licentious pleasure, effeminacy, and ease ; the richer sort of transgressors embraced eagerly this new method of expiation, and willingly gave a part of their substance to avoid such severe and rigorous penalties.

[m] Hence, by a known form of speech, they who offered donations to the church or clergy were said to do this for *the redemption of their soul* ; and the gifts themselves were generally called *the price of transgression*. See LUD. ANT. MURATORI *Diss. de Redemptione Peccatorum*, in his *Antiquitates Italicae mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 712.

came to pass that they, who, by their holy profession, were appointed to proclaim to the world the vanity of human grandeur, and to inspire into the minds of men, by their instructions and their example, a noble contempt of sublunary things, became themselves scandalous spectacles of worldly pomp, ambition, and splendour; were created *dukes, counts, and marquises*, judges, legislators, and sovereigns; and not only gave laws to nations, but also, upon many occasions, gave battle to their enemies, at the head of numerous armies of their own raising. It is here that we are to look for the source of those dreadful tumults and calamities that spread desolation through *Europe* in after-times, particularly of those bloody wars concerning *investitures*, and those obstinate contentions and disputes about the *regalia*.

V. The excessive donations that were made to the clergy, and that extravagant liberality that augmented daily the treasures of the European churches (to which these donations and this liberality were totally confined) began in this century; nor do we find any examples of the like munificence in preceding times. From hence we may conclude, that these donations were owing to customs peculiar to the European nations, and to the maxims of policy that were established among those warlike people. The kings of these nations, who were employed either in usurpation or self-defence, endeavoured, by all means, to attach warmly to their interests those whom they considered as their friends and clients; and, for this purpose, they distributed among them extensive territories, cities, and fortresses, with the various rights and privileges belonging to them, reserving to themselves no more than the supreme dominion, and also the military service of their powerful vassals. This then being the method of governing

The causes
of this ex-
cessive li-
berality to
the clergy.

C E N T. governing customary in *Europe*, it was esteemed
 VHL. by princes a high instance of political prudence
 PART II: to distribute among the bishops, and other Chri-
 stian doctors, the same sort of donations that they
 had formerly made to their generals and clients; for it is not to be believed, that superstition alone was always the principle that drew forth their liberality. They expected more fidelity and loyalty from a set of men, who were bound by the obligations of religion; and consecrated to the service of God, than from a body of nobility, composed of fierce and impetuous warriors, and accustomed to little else than bloodshed and rapine. And they hoped also to check the seditious and turbulent spirits of their vassals, and maintain them in their obedience, by the influence and authority of the bishops, whose commands were highly respected, and whose spiritual thunderbolts, rendered formidable by ignorance struck terror into the boldest and most resolute hearts [n].

VI.


[n] The account here given of the rise of the clergy to such enormous degrees of opulence and authority, is corroborated by the following remarkable passage of WILLIAM of MALMESBURY (lib. v. *De rebus gestis regum Angliæ*), “ Carolus Magnus, pro contundenda gentium illarum ferocia, omnes, pene terras ecclesiis contulerat, consiliosissime perpendens, nolle sacri ordinis homines, tam facile quam Laicos, fidelitatem Domini rejicere: præterea si Laici rebellarent, illos posse excommunicationis auctoritate et potentie severitate compescere.” This is, doubtless, the true reason why CHARLEMAGNE, who was far from being a superstitious prince, or a slave to the clergy, augmented so vastly the jurisdiction of the Roman pontif in Germany, Italy, and the other countries, where he had extended his conquests, and accumulated upon the bishops such ample possessions. He expected more loyalty and submission from the clergy than from the laity; and he augmented the riches and authority of the former, in order to secure his throne against the assaults of the latter. As the bishops were universally held in the highest veneration, he made use of their influence in checking the rebellion

VI. This prodigious accession to the opulence CENT.
 and authority of the clergy in the west began at VII.
 their head, the Roman pontif, and spread gradu- PART II.
 ally from thence among the inferior bishops, and Particularly
 also among the sacerdotal and monastic or- to the Ro-
 ders. The barbarous nations, who received the man pontif.
 gospel, looked upon the bishop of *Rome* as the
 successor of their chief *druid*, or high priest. And
 as this tremendous druid had enjoyed, under the
 darkness of paganism, a boundless authority, and
 had been treated with a degree of veneration,
 that, through its servile excess, degenerated into
 terror; so the barbarous nations, upon their con-
 version to Christianity, thought proper to confer
 upon the chief of the bishops the same honours
 and the same authority that had formerly been
 vested in their *arch-druid* [o]. The Roman pon-
 tif

Q 2

bellious spirit of his dukes, counts, and knights, who were frequently very troublesome. CHARLEMAGNE, for instance, had much to fear from the dukes of *Benevento*, *Spoletto*, and *Capua*, when the government of the Lombards was overturned: he therefore made over a considerable part of *Italy* to the *Roman* pontif, whose ghostly authority, opulence, and threatnings were so proper to restrain those powerful and vindictive princes from seditious insurrections, or to quell such tumults as they might venture to excite. Nor was CHARLEMAGNE the only prince who honoured the clergy from such political views; the other kings and princes of *Europe* acted much in the same manner, and from the same principles, as will appear evident to all who consider, with attention, the forms of government, and the methods of governing, that took place in this century. So that the excessive augmentation of sacerdotal opulence and authority, which many look upon as the work of superstition alone, was, in many instances, an effect of political prudence. We shall consider, presently, the terrors of *excommunication*, which WILLIAM of MALMESBURY touches but cursorily in the latter words of the passage above quoted.

[o] CÆSAR speaks thus of the chief or arch-druid: "His
 "omnibus druidibus præest unus, qui SUMMAM inter eos
 " (Celtas) habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo, si qui ex reli-
 " quis excellit dignitate, succedit. At si sunt plures pares,
 " suffragio Druidum adlegitur: nonnunquam etiam armis
 " de principatu contendunt." Vide JUL. CÆSAR, *De bello*
Gallico, lib. vi. cap. xiii.

C E N T
 VIII.
 P A R T II.  tif received, with something more than a mere ghostly delight, these august privileges ; and lest, upon any change of affairs, attempts might be made to deprive him of them, he strengthened his title to these extraordinary honours, by a variety of passages drawn from ancient history, and, what was still more astonishing, by arguments of a religious nature. This conduct of a superstitious people swelled the arrogance of the Roman druid to an enormous size ; and gave to the see of *Rome* that high pre-eminence, and that despotic authority, in civil and political matters, that were unknown to former ages. Hence, among other unhappy circumstances, arose that most monstrous and most pernicious opinion, that such persons as were excluded from the communion of the church by the pontif himself, or any of the bishops, forfeited thereby not only their civil rights and advantages as citizens, but even the common claims and privileges of humanity. This horrid opinion, which was a fatal source of wars, massacres, and rebellions without number, and which contributed more than any thing else to augment and confirm the papal authority, was, unhappily for *Europe*, borrowed by Christians, or rather by the clergy, from the Pagan superstitions [*p*].

VII.

[*p*] Though *excommunication*, from the time of *CONSTANTINE* the Great, was, in every part of the Christian world, attended with many disagreeable effects, yet its highest terrors were confined to *Europe*, where its aspect was truly formidable and hideous. It acquired also, in the eighth century, new accessions of terror ; so that, from that period, the *excommunication* practised in *Europe* differed entirely from that which was in use in other parts of *Christendom*. Excommunicated persons were indeed considered, in all places, as objects of aversion both to God and men ; but they were not, on this account, robbed of the privileges of citizens, nor of the rights of humanity ; much less were those kings and princes, whom an insolent bishop had thought proper to exclude from the communion of the church, supposed to forfeit, on that account, their crowns or their territories. But, from this century,

VII. We see in the annals of the French nation C E N T.
the following remarkable and shocking instance P A R T II. ^{VIII.}
of the enormous power that was, at this time, ^{The Ro-}
vested in the Roman pontif. PEPIN, who was ^{man pontif}
mayor of the palace to CHILBERIC III. and who, in ^{obtains an}
the exercise of that high office, was possessed, in ^{addition to}
reality, of the royal power and authority, not ^{his autho-}
contented with this, aspired to the titles and ho- ^{rity by fa-}
nours of majesty, and formed the design of de- ^{vouring the}
throning his sovereign. For this purpose, the ^{ambition}
states of the realm were assembled by PEPIN, ^{of Pepin.}
A. D. 751 ; and though they were devoted to the
interests of this ambitious usurper, they gave it
as their opinion, that the bishop of *Rome* was
previously to be consulted, whether the execution

Q 3 of

to-ry, it was quite otherwise in *Europe* ; excommunication re-
ceived that infernal power which dissolved all connexions ; so
that those whom the bishops, or their chief, excluded from
church communion, were degraded to a level with the beasts.
Under this horrid sentence, the king, the ruler, the husband,
the father, nay, even the *man*, forfeited all their rights, all
their advantages, the claims of nature, and the privileges of
society. What then was the origin of this unnatural power
which excommunication acquired ? It was briefly as follows :
Upon the conversion of the barbarous nations to Christianity,
these new and ignorant proselytes confounded the *excommuni-*
cation in use among Christians, with *that* which had been
practised in the times of paganism by the priests of the gods,
and considered them as of the same nature and effect. The
Roman pontifs, on the other hand, were too artful not to
countenance and encourage this error ; and, therefore, em-
ployed all sorts of means to gain credit to an opinion so pro-
per to gratify their ambition, and to aggrandize, in general,
the episcopal order. That this is the true origin of the exten-
sive and horrid influence of the European and Papal excom-
munication, will appear evident to such as cast an eye upon
the following passage of CÆSAR, *De bello Gallico*, lib. vi.
cap. xiii. “ Si qui aut privatus aut publicus Druidum de-
“ creto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna est
“ apud eos gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero
“ impiorum et sceleratorum habentur, iis omnes decedunt
“ aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagi-
“ one incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus JUS RED-
“ DITUR, neque honos ullus communicatur.”

C E N T. of such a project was lawful or not. In consequence of this, ambassadors were sent by PEPIN to ZACHARY, the reigning pontif, with the following question: *Whether the divine law did not permit a valiant and warlike people to dethrone a pusillanimous and indolent monarch, who was incapable of discharging any of the functions of royalty, and to substitute in his place one more worthy to rule, and who had already rendered most important services to the state?* The situation of ZACHARY, who stood much in need of the succours of PEPIN against the Greeks and Lombards, rendered his answer such as the usurper desired. And when this favourable decision of the Roman oracle was published in France, the unhappy CHILDERIC was stripped of royalty without the least opposition; and PEPIN, without the smallest resistance from any quarter, stepped into the throne of his master and his sovereign. Let the abettors of the papal authority see, how they can justify in CHRIST's pretended vicegerent upon earth, a decision, which is so glaringly repugnant to the laws and precepts of the divine Saviour [q]. This decision was solemnly confirmed by STEPHEN II. the successor of

[q] See LE COINTE *Annal. Franciæ Eccles.* MEZERAY, DANIEL, and the other Gallic and German historians, concerning this important event; but particularly BOSSUET *Defens. declarationis Cleri Gallicani*, pars I. p. 225. PETR. RIVAL. *Dissertationes Histor. et Critiques sur divers sujets*, Diss. ii. p. 70. Diss. iii. p. 156. Lond. 1726, in 8vo. HENR. DE BUNAU, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. ii. p. 288. This remarkable event is not, indeed, related in the same manner by all historians, and it is generally represented under the falsest colours by those, who, from a spirit of blind zeal and excessive adulation, seize every occasion of exalting the dignity and authority of the bishops of Rome. Such writers assert that it was by ZACHARY's authority as pontif, and not in consequence of his opinion as a casuist or divine, that the crown was taken from the head of CHILDERIC, and placed upon that of PEPIN. But this the French absolutely and justly deny. Had it, however, been so, the crime of the pontif would have been much greater than it was in reality.

OF ZACHARY, who undertook a journey into CENT. VIII. PART II. *France*, in the year 754, in order to solicit assistance against the Lombards ; and who at the same time, dissolved the obligation of the oath of fidelity and allegiance which PEPIN had sworn to CHILDERIC, and violated by his usurpation, in the year 751. And to render his title to the crown as sacred as possible, STEPHEN anointed and crowned him, with his wife and two sons, for the second time [r].

VIII. This compliance of the Roman pontifs The advantages derived to the see of Rome from the attachments of its bishops to the kings of France. proved an abundant source of opulence and credit to the church, and to its aspiring ministers. When that part of *Italy*, which was as yet subject to the Grecian empire, was involved in confusion and trouble, by the seditions and tumults which arose from the imperial edicts [s] against the erection and worship of images; the kings of the Lombards employed the united influence of their arms and negotiations in order to terminate these

Q 4

contests,

[r] PEPIN had been anointed, by the legate BONIFACE at *Soissons*, soon after his election ; but thinking that ceremony performed by the pope, would recommend him more to the respect of his subjects, he desired that it should be performed anew by STEPHEN. PEPIN is the first French monarch who received this unction as a ceremony of coronation, at least according to the reports of the most credible historians. His predecessors were proclaimed by being lifted up on a shield, and the *holy phial* of CLOVIS is now universally regarded as fabulous. The custom of anointing kings at their coronation was, however, more ancient than the time of PEPIN, and was observed long before that period both in *Scotland* and *Spain*. See EDMUND MARTENE, *De Antiq. Eccles. Ritib.* tom. iii. cap. x. As also BUNAU, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. ii. p. 301. 366.

[s] The author has here in view the edicts of LEO ISAURICUS and CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS. The former published in the year 726, a famous edict against the worship of images, which occasioned many contests and much disturbance both in church and state ; and the latter assembled at *Constantinople*, in the year 754, a council of 338 bishops, who unanimously condemned, not only the *worship*, but also, the *use* of images.

C H N¹. contests. Their success, indeed, was only advan-
 VILL.
 PART II. tageous to themselves; for they managed mat-
 ters so as to become, by degrees, masters of the
 Grecian provinces in *Italy*, which were subject to
 the Exarch, who resided at *Ravenna*. Nay, one
 of these monarchs, named AISTULPHUS, carried
 his views still further. Elated with these new ac-
 cesses to his dominions, he meditated the con-
 quest of *Rome* and its territory, and formed the
 ambitious project of reducing all *Italy* under the
 yoke of the Lombards. The terrified pontif,
 STEPHEN II. addresses himself to his powerful pa-
 tron and protector PEPIN, represents to him his
 deplorable condition, and implores his assistance.
 The French monarch embarks, with zeal, in the
 cause of the suppliant pontif; crosses the *Alps*,
 A. D. 754, with a numerous army; and having
 defeated AISTULPHUS obliged him, by a solemn
 treaty, to deliver up to the see of *Rome*, the ex-
 archate of *Ravenna*, *Pentapolis*, and all the cities,
 castles, and territories which he had seized in
 the Roman dukedom. It was not, however, long
 before the Lombard prince violated, without re-
 morse, an engagement which he had entered into
 with reluctance. In the year 755 he laid siege to
Rome for the second time, but was again obliged
 to sue for peace by the victorious arms of PEPIN,
 who returned into *Italy*, and forcing the Lombard
 to execute the treaty he had so audaciously vio-
 lated, made a new grant of the exarchate [1], and
 of

The dona-
 tion of Pe-
 pin to that
 see.

[1] See CAR. SIGONIUS, *De regno Italiae*, lib. iii. p. 202.
 tom. ii. opp. BUNAU, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. ii.
 p. 301. 366. MURATORI *Annali d'Italiae*, tom. iv. p. 310.
 The real limits of the *exarchate*, granted by PEPIN to the Ro-
 man pontif, have been much controverted among the learned,
 and have, particularly in our times, employed the researches
 of several eminent writers. The bishops of *Rome* extend the
 limits of this *exarchate* as far as they can with any appearance
 of decency or probability; while their adversaries are as zeal-

of *Pentapolis* to the Roman pontif and his suc-^{C E N T.}
cessors in the apostolic see of St PETER. And thus^{VIII.}
was the bishop of *Rome* raised to the rank of a ^{P A R T II.}
temporal prince.

IX. After the death of PEPIN, a new attack^{Charle-}
was made upon the patrimony of St PETER, by^{magne's}
DIDERIC king of the Lombards, who invaded the^{grant to the}
territories that had been granted by the French^{see of}
monarch to the see of Rome. In this extremity,
ADRIAN I. who was pontif at that time, fled for
succour to CHARLES, the son of PEPIN, who, on
account of his heroic exploits, was afterwards
distinguished by the name of CHARLEMAGNE.
This prince, whose enterprising genius led him to
seize with avidity every opportunity of extending
his

ous in contracting this famous grant within narrower bounds.
See LUD. ANT: MURATOR. *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat.*
Ecclesiastique, cap. i, ii. As also his *Antiquitat. Ital. medi.*
evi, tom. i. p. 64. 68. 986. 987. The same author treats
the matter with more circumspection, tom. v. p. 790. This
controversy can only be terminated with facility by an inspec-
tion of PEPIN's grant of the territory in question. FONTA-
NINI, in his *First defence of the temporal jurisdiction of the see of*
Rome over the city of Commachio, written in Italian, intimates,
that this grant is still in being, and even makes use of some
phrases that are contained in it (see the pages 242, and 346 of
that work). This, however, will scarcely be believed. Were
it indeed true, that such a deed is yet in being, its being
published to the world, would be, undoubtedly, unfavourable,
to the pretensions and interests of the church of *Rome*. It is at
least certain, that in the recent dispute between the emperor
JOSEPH and the Roman pontif concerning the city of *Com-*
machio the partisans of the latter, though frequently called
upon by those of the emperor to produce this grant, refused
constantly to comply with this demand. On the other hand,
it must be confessed, that BLENCHINUS, in his *Prolegom. ad*
Anastasium de vitis pontif. Rom. p. 55. has given us, from a
Farnesian manuscript, a specimen of this grant, which seems
to carry the marks of remote antiquity. Be that as it may, a
multitude of witnesses unite in assuring us, that the remorse of
a wounded conscience was the source of PEPIN's liberality,
and that his grant to the Roman pontif was the superstitious
remedy by which he hoped to expiate his enormities, and
particularly his horrid perfidy to his master CHILDERIC.

C E N T. his conquests, and whose veneration for the Ro-
VIII. man see was carried very far, as much from the
P A R T II. dictates of policy as superstition, adopted imme-
 diately the cause of the trembling pontif. He
 passed the *Alps* with a formidable army A. D. 774,
 overturned the empire of the Lombards in *Italy*,
 which had subsisted above two hundred years,
 sent their exiled monarch into *France*, and pro-
 claimed himself king of the Lombards. These
 conquests offered to CHARLEMAGNE an occasion
 of visiting *Rome*, where he not only confirmed the
 grants which had been made by his father to that
 see, but added to them new donations, and made
 to the Roman pontifs a cession of several cities and
 provinces in *Italy*, which had not been contained
 in PEPIN's grant. What those cities and provin-
 ces were, is a question difficult to be resolved
 at this period of time, 'as it is perplexed with
 much obscurity, from the want of authentic re-
 cords, by which alone it can be decided with cer-
 tainty [*u*].

X. By

[*u*] See CAR. SIGONIUS, *De regno Italiae*, lib. iii. p. 223.
 tom. ii. opp. BUNAU, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom.
 ii. p. 368. PETR. de MARCA, *De concordia sacerdotii et imperii*,
 lib. i. cap. xii. p. 67. LUD. ANTON. MURATORI *Droits de*
l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique, cap. ii. p. 147. CONRIN-
 GIUS, *De Imperio Roman. German.* cap. vi. The extent of
 CHARLEMAGNE's grant to the see of *Rome* is as much disputed
 as that of PEPIN's, between the partisans of the pope, and
 those of the emperors. They who plead the cause of the Ro-
 man see, maintain that *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, the territory
 of *Sabino*, the dutchy of *Spoletto*, and several other places were
 solemnly granted, by CHARLEMAGNE, to St PETER and his
 successors. They, on the other hand, who assert the rights of
 the emperor, diminish as far as they can the munificence of
 CHARLES, and confine this new grant within narrow limits.
 The reader may consult upon this subject the authors of the
 present age, who have published their opinions concerning the
 pretensions of the emperors and the popes to the cities of *Com-*
machio and *Florence*, and the dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*;
 but above all, the learned BERRET's excellent treatise, in-
 titled,

X. By this act of liberality, which seems to carry in it the contradictory characters of policy and imprudence, CHARLEMAGNE opened for himself a passage to the empire of the west, and to the supreme dominion over the city of *Rome* and its territory, upon which the western empire seemed then to depend [*w*]. He had, no doubt, been

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.
The motives to which it is to be attributed.

titled, *Dissertatio Chorographica de Italia mediæ ævi*, f. 33. The spirit of party seems, in this controversy, as in many others, to have blinded the disputants on both sides of the question; and this, together with the difficulty of avoiding mistakes upon a point involved in such deep obscurity, has, in many cases rendered the truth invisible to both the contending parties. With respect to the motives that induced CHARLEMAGNE to make this grant, they are much less doubtful than the extent of the grant itself. ADRIAN affirms, that the monarch's view was to *atone for his sins* by this act of liberality to the church, as we see in a letter from that pontif to CHARLEMAGNE, which is published in MURATORI's *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* tom. iii. part II. p. 265. and of which the following passage is remarkable: "Venientes ad nos de Capua, quam beato Petro apostolorum principi PROMERCEDE ANIMÆ VESTRÆ atque sempiternæ memoria cum ceteris civitatibus obtulistis." It is not indeed unlikely, that CHARLEMAGNE, who affected that kind of piety which was the characteristic of this barbarous age, mentioned this superstitious motive in the act of cession by which he confirmed his donation to the church; but such as are acquainted with the character of this prince, and the history of this period, will be cautious in attributing his generosity to this religious principle alone. His grand motive was, undoubtedly, of an ambitious kind; he was obstinately bent upon adding the western empire to his dominions; and the success of this grand project depended much upon the consent and assistance of the Roman pontif, whose approbation, in those times, was sufficient to sanctify the most iniquitous projects; so that CHARLEMAGNE lavished gifts upon the bishops of *Rome*, that, by their assistance, he might assume, with a certain air of decency, the empire of the west, and confirm his new dominion in *Italy*. This policy we have taken notice of already, and it must appear manifest to all who view things with the smallest degree of impartiality and attention.

[*w*] CHARLES, in reality, was already emperor of the west, that is, the most powerful of the European monarchs. He wanted, therefore nothing more than the title of emperor, and the supreme dominion in *Rome* and its territory, both of which he obtained by the assistance of LEO III.

C E N T
 VIII.
 PART II. been meditating for a considerable time this ar-
 duous project, which his father PEPIN had pro-
 bably formed before him, but the circumstances
 of the times obliged him to wait for a favourable
 occasion of putting it in execution. This was
 offered him in the year 800, when the affairs of
 the Greeks were reduced to the utmost extremity
 after the death of LEO III. and the barbarous
 murder of his son CONSTANTINE, and while the
 impious IRENE held the reins of empire. This
 favourable opportunity was seized with avidity
 by CHARLES, who set out for *Rome*, where he was
 received with the utmost demonstrations of zeal
 by the sovereign pontif [x], who had entered into
 his views, and persuaded the people, elated at
 this time with high notions of their independ-
 ency and elective power, to unite their suffrages
 in favour of this prince, and to proclaim him em-
 peror of the west [y].

The nature
 and form of
 the Roman
 pontif's
 jurisdiction.

XI. CHARLES, upon his elevation to the em-
 pire of the west and the government of *Rome*,
 seems to have reserved to himself only the supreme
 dominion, and the unalienable rights of majesty,
 and to have granted to the church of *Rome* a sub-
 ordinate jurisdiction over that great city, and its
 annexed

[x] LEO III.

[y] See the historians who have transmitted to us accounts
 of this century, and more especially BUNAU, *Historia Imperii
 Romano German.* tom. ii. p. 537. The partisans of the Ro-
 man pontifs, generally maintain, that LEO III. by a *divine*
 right, vested in him as bishop of *Rome*, transported the western,
 empire from the Greeks to the Franks, and conferred it upon
 CHARLEMAGNE, the monarch of the latter. From hence they
 conclude, that the Roman pontif, as the vicar of CHRIST, is
 the supreme Lord of the whole earth, and, in a particular man-
 ner, of the Roman empire. The temerity of these pretensions,
 and the absurdity of this reasoning, are exposed with much
 learning and judgment by the celebrated FRED. SPANHEIM, *De
 ficta translatione imperii in Carolum M. per Leonem III.* tom.
 ii. opp. p. 557.

annexed territory [z]. This grant was undoubtedly suggested to him by the ambitious pontif as a matter of sacred and indispensable obligation, and many fictitious deeds were probably produced to make out the pretensions, and justify the

[z] That CHARLEMAGNE, in effect, preserved entire his supreme authority over the city of *Rome* and its adjacent territory, gave law to the citizens by judges of his own appointment, punished malefactors, enjoyed the prerogatives, and exercised all the functions of royalty, has been demonstrated by several of the learned in the most ample and satisfactory manner, and confirmed by the most unexceptionable and authentic testimonies. To be convinced of this it will be sufficient to consult MURATORI's *Droits de l' Empire sur l' Etat Ecclesiastique*, cap. vi. p. 77. And, indeed, they must have a strange power of resisting the clearest evidence, who are absurd enough to assert, as does FONTANINI, in his treatise, entitled, *Dominio della S. Sede sopra Commachio*, Diss. i. c. 95. 96. that CHARLES sustained at *Rome* the character of the *advocate* of the Roman church, and not that of its sovereign or its lord, the dominion of the pontif being unlimited and universal. On the other hand, we must acknowledge ingenuously, that the power of the pontif, both in the city of *Rome* and its annexed territory, was very great, and that, in several cases, he seemed to act with a princely authority. But the extent and the foundations of that authority are matters hid in the deepest obscurity, and have thereby given occasion to endless disputes. MURATORI maintains, in his work above cited, p. 102, that the bishop of *Rome* discharged the function of *exarch*, or *vicar*, to the emperor, an opinion which CLEMENT XI. rejected as injurious to the papal dignity, and which, indeed, does not appear to have any solid foundation. After a careful examination of all the circumstances that can contribute towards the solution of this perplexed question, the most probable account of the matter seems to be this: That the Roman pontif possessed the city of *Rome* and its territory by the same right that he held the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and the other lands of which he received the grant from CHARLEMAGNE; that is to say, that he possessed *Rome* as a feudal tenure, though charged with less marks of dependance than other fiefs generally are, on account of the lustre and dignity of a city which had been so long the capital of the empire. This opinion derives much strength from what we shall have occasion to observe in the following note, and it has the peculiar advantage of reconciling the jarring testimonies of ancient writers, and the various records of antiquity relating to this point.

C E N T. the claims of the church to this high degree of
VIII. temporal authority and civil jurisdiction. In or-
P A R T II. der to reconcile the new emperor to this grant, it
 was no doubt alleged, that **CONSTANTINE** the
GREAT, his renowned predecessor, when he re-
 moved the seat of the empire to *Constantinople*, de-
 livered up *Rome*, the old metropolis, with its ad-
 jacent territories, commonly called the Roman
 dukedom, to be possessed and governed by the
 church, and that with no other restriction, than
 that this should be no detriment to his supreme
 dominion; and it was insinuated to **CHARLES**,
 that he could not depart from the rule established
 by that pious emperor, without incurring the
 wrath of God, and the indignation of **St PETER** [a].

XII.

[a] Most writers are of opinion, that **CONSTANTINE**'s pre-
 tended grant was posterior to this period, and was forged in the
 tenth century. . It appears to me on the contrary, that this fic-
 titious grant was in being in the eighth century, and it is ex-
 tremely probable, that both **ADRIAN** and his successor **LEO III.**
 made use of it to persuade **CHARLEMAGNE** to that dona-
 tion. In favour of this opinion we have the unexceptionable
 testimony of **ADRIAN** himself in his letter to **CHARLEMAGNE**,
 which is published in **MURATORI**'s *Rerum Italicarum Scrip-
 tores*, tom. iii. part II. p. 194. and which is extremely
 worthy of an attentive perusal. In this letter, **ADRIAN**
 exhorts **CHARLES**, before his elevation to the empire, to or-
 der the restitution of all the grants and donations that had
 formerly been made to **St PETER**, and to the church of *Rome*.
 In this demand also he distinguishes, in the plainest manner,
 the donation of **CONSTANTINE** from those of the other princes
 and emperors, and, what is particularly remarkable, from the
exarchate which was the gift of **PEPIN**, and even from the ad-
 ditions that **CHARLES** had already made to his father's grant;
 from whence we may justly conclude, that by the *donation of*
CONSTANTINE, **ADRIAN** meant the city of *Rome*, and its an-
 nexed territory. He speaks first of this grant in the following
 terms; "Deprecamur vestram Excellentiam . . . pro Dei amore
 " et ipsius clavigeri regni cœlorum . . . ut secundum promissio-
 " nem quam polliciti estis eidem Dei apostolo PRO ANIMÆ
 " VESTRÆ MERCEDE et stabilitate regni vestri, omnia nostris
 " temporibus adimplere jubeatis . . . et sicut temporibus beati
 " **SILVESTRI**

XII. While the power and opulence of the CENT
VIII.
PART II.
Roman pontifs were rising to the greatest height The Gre-
by the events which we have now been relating, cian empe-
they received a mortifying check in consequence rors check
of a quarrel which broke out between these the ambi-
haughty pontifs and the Grecian emperors. tion of the
Leo the Isaurian, and his son CONSTANTINE COPRO- Roman
NYMUS, incensed at the zeal which GREGORY II. pontifs, and
and III. discovered for the worship of images, not diminish
only confiscated the treasures and lands which the their reve-
nues
church

“ SILVESTRI Romani pontificis, a sanctæ recordationis piissi-
“ mo CONSTANTINO M. Imperatore, PER EJUS LARGIT ATEM
“ (here CONSTANTINE’s donation is evidently mentioned)
“ sancta Dei catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia ele-
“ vata atque exaltata est, et POTESTATEM in his Hesperiar-
“ partibus LARGIRI dignatus est : ita et in his vestris felicissi-
“ mis temporibus atque nostris sancta Dei ecclesia germinet...
“ et amplius atque amplius exaltata permaneat . . . quia ecce
“ novus Christianissimus Dei gratiâ CONSTANTINUS imperator
“ (here we see CHARLES, who at that time was only a *king*,
“ styled *emperor* by the pontif, and compared with CONSTAN-
“ TINE) his temporibus surrexit, per quem omnia Deus sanctæ
“ ræ ecclesiæ . . . largiri dignatus est.” So much for that
part of the letter that relates to CONSTANTINE’s grant : as to
the other donations which the pontif evidently distinguishes
from it, observe what follows : “ SED ET CUNCTA ALIA quæ
“ per diversos Imperatores, Patricios, etiam et alios Deum
“ timentes, PRO EORUM ANIMÆ MERCEDE ET VENIA DE-
“ LICTORUM, in partibus Tusciæ, Spoletto, seu Benevento,
“ atque Corsica, simul et Pavinensi patrimonio, beato PETRO
“ apostolo concessa sunt, et per nefandam gentem Longobar-
“ dorum per annorum spatia abstracta et ablata sunt vestris
“ temporibus, restituantur.” (The pontif intimates further,
that all these grants were carefully preserved in the office of the
Lateran, and that he sends them to CHARLES by his legates.)
“ Unde et plures donationes in sacro nostro scrinio Lateran-
“ ensi reconditas habemus, tamen et pro satisfactione Christi-
“ anissimi regni vestri, per jam fatos viros, ad demonstrandum
“ eas vobis, direximus, et pro hoc petimus eximiam præcel-
“ lentiam vestram, ut in integro ipsa patrimonia beato PETRO
“ et nobis restituere jubeatis.” By this it appears that CON-
STANTINE’s grant was now in being among the archives of
the Lateran, and was sent to CHARLEMAGNE with the other
donations of kings and princes, whose examples were made
use of to excite his liberality to the church.

CEN T. church of *Rome* possessed in *Sicily*, *Calabria*, and
 VIII.
 PART II. *Apulia*, but moreover withdrew the bishops of
 these countries, and also the various provinces and
 churches of *Illyricum*, from the jurisdiction of the
 Roman see, and subjected them to the spiritual
 dominion of the bishop of *Constantinople*. And so
 inflexibly were the Grecian emperors bent upon
 humbling the arrogance of the Roman pontifs,
 that no intreaties, supplications, nor threats could
 engage them to abandon their purpose, or to re-
 store this rich and signal portion of St PETER's
 patrimony to his greedy successors [b]. It is here
 that we must look for the original source, and
 the principal cause of that vehement contest be-
 tween the Roman pontif and the bishop of *Con-
 stantinople*, which, in the following century, di-
 vided the Greek and Latin churches, and was so
 pernicious to the interests and advancement of
 true Christianity. These lamentable divisions,
 which wanted no new incident to foment them,
 were, nevertheless, augmented by a controver-
 sy which arose, in this century, concerning the
derivation of the Holy Spirit, which we shall have
 occasion to mention more largely in its proper
 place. But it is more than probable that this
 controversy would have been terminated with
 the utmost facility, had not the spirits of the con-
 tending parties been previously exasperated by
 disputes founded upon avarice and ambition, and
 carried on, without either moderation or decency,
 by the *holy* patriarchs of *Rome* and *Constantinople*,
 in defence of their respective pretensions.

The mona-
 stic disci-
 pline fallen
 into decay.

XIII. The monastic discipline was extremely
 relaxed at this time both in the eastern and wes-
 tern provinces, and, as appears by the concurring
 testimonies

[b] See MICH. LEQUIEN's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 96.
 Among the Greek writers also THEOPHANES and others ac-
 knowledge the fact; but they are not entirely agreed about
 the reasons to which it is to be attributed.

testimonies of the writers of this century, was C E N T. VIII. PART II. fallen into a total decay. The only monks who escaped this general corruption, were they who passed their days in the deserts of *Egypt, Syria,* and *Mesopotamia*, amidst the austerities of a wretched life, and remote from all the comforts of human society : yet the merit of having preserved their discipline was sadly counterbalanced by the gross ignorance, the fanatical madness, and the sordid superstition that reigned among these miserable hermits. Those of the monastic orders who lived nearer cities and populous towns, troubled frequently the public tranquillity by the tumults and seditions they fomented among the multitude, so that it became necessary to check their rebellious ambition by the severe laws that were enacted against them by CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS, and other emperors. The greatest part of the western monks followed, at this time, the rule of St BENEDICT ; though there were every where convents which adopted the discipline of other orders [c]. But as they increased in opulence they lost sight of all rules, and submitted, at length, to no other discipline than that of intemperance, voluptuousness, and sloth [d]. CHARLEMAGNE attempted, by various edicts, to put a stop to this growing evil ; but his efforts were attended with little success [e].

The origin
of the order
of canons.

XIV. This universal depravity and corruption of the monks gave rise to a new order of priests

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in

[c] See MABILLON, *Præf. ad acta SS. Ord. Benedicti*, Sæc. i. p. 24. and Sæc. iv. part I. p. 26.

[d] The author, mentioned in the preceding note, discourses with a noble frankness and courage concerning the corruption of the monks and its various causes, in the same work, *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. part I. p. 64.*

[e] See the *Capitularia Caroli*, published by BALUZIUS, tom. i. p. 148. 157. 237. 355. 366. 375. 503. Laws so severe, and so often repeated, shew evidently that the corruption of the monks must have been truly enormous.

C E N T. in the west, which was a sort of middle order be-
 VIII. tween the *monks* or *regulars*, and the *secular clergy*.
 P A R T II. This new species of ecclesiastics adopted the mo-
 nastic discipline and manner of life, so far as to
 have their dwelling and their table in common,
 and to assemble themselves at certain hours for
 divine service; but they entered not into the vows
 which were peculiar to the monks, and they were
 also appointed to discharge the ministerial func-
 tions in certain churches which were committed
 to their pastoral direction. These ecclesiastics
 were at first called *fratres dominici*, but soon after
 received the name of *canons* [*f*]. The common
 opinion attributes the institution of this order to
 CHRODEGANGUS, bishop of *Metz*; nor is this opi-
 nion destitute of truth [*g*]. For though before
 this time, there were in *Italy*, *Africa*, and other
 provinces, convents of ecclesiastics, who lived af-
 ter the manner of the *canons* [*b*]; yet CHRODE-
 GANGUS, who, towards the middle of this century,
 sub-

[*f*] See LE BEUF *Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. i. p. 174. the *Paris* edition, published in 1743, in 4to.

[*g*] See, for an account of CHRODEGANGUS, the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 128. CALMET, *Histoire de Lorraine*, tom. i. p. 513. *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. *Martii*, p. 452. The rule which he prescribed to his *canons*, may be seen in LE COINTE'S *Annales Francor. Eccles.* tom. v. ad A. 757. sect. 35; as also in the *Concilia Labbei*, tom. vii. 1444. He is not, however, the author of the rule which is published in his name, in the *Spicilegium veter. Scriptor.* tom. i. p. 565. LONGUEVAL, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. iv. p. 435. has given a neat and elegant abridgement of the rule of CHRODEGANGUS.

[*b*] See LUD. ANT. MURATOR. *Antiq. Italicor. mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 185; as also LUD. THOMASIN. *Disciplina Ecclesie Vet. et Nov.* part I. lib. iii. The design of this institution was truly excellent. The authors of it, justly shocked at the vicious manners of a licentious clergy, hoped that this new institution would have a tendency to prevent the irregularities of that order, by delivering them from the cares, anxieties, and occupations of this present life. But the event has shown how much these pious hopes have been disappointed.

subjected to this rule the clergy of *Matz*, not only added to their religious ceremonies the custom of singing hymns and anthems to God, at certain hours, and probably a variety of rites, but also, by his example, excited the Franks, the Italians, and the Germans, to distinguish themselves by their zeal in favour of the *canons*, to erect monasteries for them, and to introduce their rule into their respective countries.

XV. The supreme dominion over the church and its possessions was vested in the emperors and kings, both in the eastern and the western world. The sovereignty of the Grecian emperors, in this respect, has never been contested; and though the partizans of the Roman pontiffs endeavour to render dubious the supremacy of the Latin monarchs over the church, yet this supremacy is too manifest to be disputed by such as have considered the matter attentively [i], and it is acknowledged by the wisest and most candid writers, even of the Romish communion. ADRIAN I. in a council of bishops assembled at *Rome*, conferred upon CHARLEMAGNE, and his successors, the right of election to the see of *Rome* [k]; and though neither CHARLEMAGNE, nor his son LEWIS, were willing to exercise this power in all its extent, by naming and creating the pontif upon every vacancy, yet they reserved the right of approving and confirming the person that was elected to that high dignity by the priests and people: nor was the consecration of the elected pontif of the least validity, unless performed in presence of the emperor's

C E N T.
VII.
ART II.

[i] For an accurate account of the rights of the Grecian emperors in religious matters, we refer the reader to LEQUIEN'S *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 136.

[k] This *Act* is mentioned by ANASTASIUS: it has been preserved by YVO and GRATIAN, and has been the subject of a multitude of treatises.

C E N T. VIII. PART II.
 ror's ambassadors [l]. The Roman pontifs obeyed the laws of the emperors, received their judicial decisions as of indispensable obligation, and executed them with the utmost punctuality and submission [m]. The kings of the Franks appointed extraordinary judges, whom they called *envoys*, to inspect into the lives and manners of the clergy, superior and inferior, to take cognizance of their contests, to terminate their disputes, to enact laws concerning the public worship, and to punish the crimes of the sacred order, as well as those of the other citizens [n]. All churches also, and monasteries, were obliged to pay to the public treasury a tribute proportioned to their respective lands and possessions, except such as, by the pure favour of the supreme powers, were graciously exempted from this general tax [o].

Confined
within nar-
row limits.

XVI. It is true, indeed, that the Latin emperors did not assume to themselves the administration of the church, or the cognizance and decision of controversies that were purely of a religious nature. They acknowledged, on the contrary, that these matters belonged to the tribunal of the Roman pontif and of the ecclesiastical coun-

[l] See MABILLON, *Comm. in Ordinem Romanum, Musci Italici*, tom. ii. p. 113. MURATORI *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique*, p. 87.

[m] This has been amply demonstrated by BALUZIUS, in his *Præf. ad Capitularia Regum Francorum*, sect. 21.

[n] See MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. i. Diss. ix. p. 470. FRANC. de ROYE, *De Missis Dominicis*, cap. x. p. 44. cap. viii. p. 118. 134. 168. 195.

[o] See MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. i. Diss. xvii. p. 296. See also the collection of the various pieces that were published on occasion of the dispute between LEWIS XV. and clergy, relating to the immunities of that order in France. These pieces were printed at the Hague in the year 1751, in seven volumes, 8vo, under the following title: *Ecrits pour et contre les immunités prétendues par le Clergé de France*.

councils [p]. But this jurisdiction of the pontif^{C E N T.} was confined within narrow limits; he could de-^{VIII.}cide nothing by his sole authority, but was ob-^{P A R T II.}liged to convene a council when any religious differences were to be terminated by an authoritative judgment. Nor did the provinces, when any controversy arose, wait for the decision of the bishop of *Rome*; but assembled, by their own authority, their particular councils, in which the bishops gave their thoughts, with the utmost freedom, upon the points in debate, and voted often in direct opposition to what was known to be the opinion of the Roman pontif: all which is evident from what passed in the councils assembled by the Franks and Germans, in order to determine the celebrated controversy concerning the use and worship of images. It is further to be observed, that the power of convening councils, and the right of presiding in them, were the prerogatives of the emperors and sovereign princes in whose dominions these assemblies were held; and that no decrees of any council obtained the force of laws, until they were approved and confirmed by the supreme magistrate [q]. Thus was the spiritual authority of *Rome* wisely bounded by the civil power; but its ambitious pontifs fretted under the imperial curb, and eager to break loose their bonds, left no means unemployed for that purpose. Nay, they formed projects, which seemed less the effects of ambition than of phrenzy; for they claimed a supreme dominion, not only over the church, but also over kings themselves,

R 3 and

[p] See the Dissertation of CHARLEMAGNE, *De Imaginibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. p. 48. edit. *Heumann*.

[q] All this is fully and admirably demonstrated by BALUZIUS, in his Preface to the *Capitularia*, or laws of the kings of the Franks, and is also amply illustrated in that work. See also J. BASNAGE, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 270.

C E N T. and pretended to reduce the whole universe under
 V. II.
 P A R T II. their ghostly jurisdiction. However extravagant
 these pretensions were, they were followed by the
 most vigorous efforts, and the wars and tumults
 that arose in the following century, contributed
 much to render these efforts successful.

Grecian
 and eastern
 writers.

XVII. If we turn our eyes towards the writers
 of this century, we shall find very few that stand
 distinguished in the lists of fame, either on ac-
 count of erudition or genius. Among the Greeks,
 the following only seem worthy of mention.

GERMANUS, bishop of *Constantinople*, the great-
 est part of whose high renown was due to his vio-
 lent zeal for image worship [r].

COSMAS, bishop of *Jerusalem*, who acquired
 some reputation by his Lyriac vein, consecrated
 to the service of religion, and employed in compo-
 sing hymns for public and private devotion.

GEORGE SYNCELLUS and THEOPHANES, who
 are not the least considerable among the writers
 of the Buzantine history, though they be in all
 respects infinitely below the ancient Greek and
 Latin historians.

But the writer, who surpassed all his contempo-
 raries among the Greeks and Orientals, was JOHN
 DAMASCENUS, a man of genius and eloquence,
 who, in a variety of productions full of erudition,
 explained the Peripatetic philosophy, and illustra-
 ted the main and capital points of the Christian
 doctrine. It must, however, be acknowledged,
 that the eminent talents of this great man were
 tainted with that sordid superstition, and that ex-
 cessive veneration for the ancient fathers, that
 were the reigning defects of the age he lived in,
 not to mention his wretched method of explaining
 the

[r] See RICH. SIMON. *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclesi-
 astique de M. DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 270.

the doctrines of the gospel according to the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy [s].

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

XVII. The first place among the Latin writers is due to CHARLEMAGNE, whose love of letters was one of the bright ornaments of his imperial dignity. The laws which are known by the title of *Capitularia*, with several *Epistles*, and a *Book concerning Images*, are attributed to this prince; though it seems highly probable, that the most of these compositions were drawn up by other pens [t].

Western
and Latin
writers.

After this learned prince, we may justly place venerable BEDE, so called from his illustrious virtues [u]; ALCUIN [w], the preceptor of CHARLEMAGNE; PAULINUS of *Aquileia* [x], who were all distinguished by their laborious application, and their zeal for the advancement of learning and science, and who treated the various branches of literature, that were known in this century in such a manner as to convince us, that it was the infelicity of the times, rather than the want of genius, that hindered them from arising to higher degrees of perfection than what they attained to. Add to these, BONIFACE, of whom we

R 4

have

[s] BAYLE *Diction.* tom. ii. p. 950; as also the account of the writings of JOHN DAMASCENUS, which is published in I.E. QUIEN's edition of his works, and was composed by LEO ALLATIUS.

[t] See JO. A. FABRICII *Bibliotheca medii ævi Lat.* tom. i. p. 936. *Histoire Littéraire de France*, tom. iv. p. 378.

[u] See the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. April. p. 866. *Gen. Dictionary*, at the article BEDE. A list of the writings of this venerable Briton, composed by himself, is published by MURATORI, in his *Antiq. Italic. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 825.

[w] *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 295. *Gen. Dictionary*, at the article ALCUIN. CATELINOT, who has discovered the treatise of ALCUIN, *De Processione Spiritus S.* which has never been published, is preparing an edition of all the works of that learned writer. See the *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. *Præf.* p. 10.

[x] See *Hist. Littéraire, &c.* tom. iv. p. 286. *Acta Sanct.* tom. i. *Januar.* p. 713.

C E N T. have already spoken: EGINARD, the celebrated
^{VIII.}
 P A R T II. author of the *Life of Charlemagne*, and other pro-
 ductions; PAUL, the deacon, who acquired a con-
 siderable and lasting reputation by his *History of
 the Lombards*, his *Book of Homilies*, and his mis-
 cellaneous labours; AMBROSE AUTHPERT, who
 wrote a commentary on the *Revelations*; and
 THEODULPHUS, bishop of *Orleans*; and thus we
 shall have a complete list of all the writers who
 acquired any degree of esteem in this century
 by their literary productions, either sacred or pro-
 fane.

C H A P. III.

*Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church dur-
 ing this century.*

The Chris-
 tian doc-
 trine sadly
 corrupted.

I. **T**HE fundamental doctrines of Christianity
 were, as yet, respected and preserved in
 the theological writings both of the Greeks and
 Latins, as seems evident from the discourse of
 JOHN DAMASCENUS *concerning the orthodox faith*,
 and the confession of faith which was drawn up
 by CHARLEMAGNE [y]. The pure seed of celes-
 tial truth was, however, choked by a monstrous
 and incredible quantity of noxious weeds. Th
 rational simplicity of the Christian worship was
 corrupted by an idolatrous veneration for images,
 and other superstitious inventions, and the sacred
 flame

[y] See the treatise of this prince, *Concerning images*,
 book III. p. 259. ed. Heumanni. Of the Greek writers, the
 reader may consult MICH. SYNCELLUS's *Confession of faith*,
 published by MONTEFAUCON, in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*,
 p. 95: and among the Latins, *An exposition of the principal
 doctrine of the Christian religion*, composed by BENEDICT,
 abbot of *Aniane*, and published by BALUZIUS, in his *Mis-
 cellanea*, tom. v. p. 56; as also the *Creed* of LEO III. publish-
 ed in the same work, tom. vii. p. 18.

flame of divine charity was extinguished by the violent contentions and animosities which the progress of these superstitions occasioned in the church. All acknowledged the efficacy of our Saviour's merits: and yet all, one way or another, laboured, in effect, to diminish the persuasion of this efficacy in the minds of men, by teaching, that Christians might appease an offended deity by voluntary acts of mortification, or by gifts and oblations lavished upon the church, and by exhorting such as were desirous of salvation to place their confidence in the works and merits of the saints. Were we to enlarge upon all the absurdities and superstitions which were invented to flatter the passions of the misguided multitude, and to increase, at the expence of reason and Christianity, the opulence and authority of a licentious clergy; such an immense quantity of odious materials would swell this work to an enormous size.

II. The piety in vogue during this and some succeeding ages consisted in building, and embellishing churches and chapels, in endowing monasteries, erecting basilics, hunting after the relics of saints and martyrs, and treating them with an excessive and absurd veneration, in procuring the intercession of the saints by rich oblations or superstitious rites, in worshipping images, in pilgrimages to those places which were esteemed holy, and chiefly to *Palestine*, and such like absurd and extravagant practices and institutions. The pious Christian, and the profligate transgressor, shewed equal zeal in the performance of these superstitious services, which were looked upon as of the highest efficacy in order to the attainment of eternal salvation; they were performed by the latter as an expiation for their crimes, and a mean of appeasing an offended deity; and by the former with a view to obtain, from above, the good things

The piety
and morals
of this age.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

C E N T. things of this life, and an easy and commodious
VIII. passage to life eternal. The true genuine religion
P A R T II. of JESUS, if we except a few of its doctrines con-
 tained in the *Creed*, was utterly unknown in this
 century, not only to the multitude in general, but
 also to the doctors of the first rank and eminence
 in the church, and the consequences of this cor-
 rupt ignorance were fatal to the interests of
 virtue. All orders of men, regardless of the ob-
 ligations of morality, of the duties of the gospel,
 and of the culture and improvement of their
 minds, rushed headlong with a perfect security
 into all sorts of wickedness, from the delusive
 hopes, that by the intercession and prayers of the
 saints, and the credit of the priests at the throne
 of God, they would easily obtain the remission of
 their enormities, and render the Deity propitious.
 This dismal account of the religion and morals of
 the eighth century, is confirmed by the unani-
 mous testimony of all the historians who have
 written concerning that period.

**Exegetical
 or explana-
 tory theo-
 logy.**

III. The Greeks were of opinion, that the holy
 scriptures had been successfully interpreted and
 explained by the ancient commentators, and
 therefore imagined, that they rendered a most
 important service to the students in divinity,
 when, without either judgment or choice, they
 extracted or compiled from the works of these
 admired sages their explanatory observations on
 the sacred writings. The commentary of JOHN
 DAMASCENUS upon the epistles of St PAUL, which
 was taken from the writings of CHRYSOSTOM
 is alone sufficient to serve as a proof of the
 little discernment with which these compilations
 were generally made.

The Latin expositors may be divided into two
 classes, according to the different nature of their
 productions. In the first, we place those writers
 who, after the example of the Greeks, employed
 their

their labour in collecting into one body the inter-^{C E N T.}pretations and commentaries of the ancients.^{VIII.} ^{P A R T II.} BEDE distinguished himself among the expositors of this class by his explications of the epistles of St PAUL, drawn from the writings of AUGUSTIN and others [z]. Still more estimable are the writers of the second class, who made use of their own penetration and sagacity in investigating the sense of the holy scriptures. Such as ALCUIN, AMBROSE AUTHPERT, the expositors of the *Revelation*, nay, and BEDE also, who belongs, in reality, to both classes. It must, however, be acknowledged, that all these commentators were destitute of the qualities that are essential to the sacred critic; for we find them in their explications neglecting entirely the natural sense of the words of scripture, and running blindfold after a certain hidden and mystical meaning, which, to use their jargon, they usually divided into *allegorical, anagogical, and tropological* [a]; and thus they delivered their own rash fictions and crude fancies, as the true and genuine sentiments of the sacred writers. Of this we are furnished with many examples in ALCUIN's *commentary on St John*; BEDE's *allegorical illustrations of the books of Samuel*; and CHARLEMAGNE's *book concerning images*, in which various passages of the holy scriptures are occasionally explained according to the taste of the times [b].

IV. The veneration of CHARLEMAGNE for the sacred writings was carried to such an excessive length,<sup>Charle-
magne's
zeal for the
study of the
scriptures.</sup>

[z] See, for an account of the commentaries of BEDE, RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclesiast. de M DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 280. See also BEDÆ *Explicatio Genescos ex patribus* in MARTENE's *Tbesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 111. 116. 140. and his interpretation of *Habakkuk*, *ibid.* p. 295.

[a] See CAROLUS MAGNUS *De Imaginibus*, lib. i. p. 138.

[b] See the same imperial author, book 1. p. 84. 91. 123. 127. 131. 133. 136. 138. 145. 160. 164, 165, &c.

C E N T. length [c], as to persuade that monarch, that they
 VIII.
 PART II. contained the latent seeds and principles of all
 arts and sciences; an opinion, no doubt, which
 he early imbibed from the lessons of his pre-
 ceptor ALCUIN, and the other divines who fre-
 quented his court [d]. Hence the zeal with
 which that prince excited and encouraged the
 more learned among the clergy to direct their
 pious labours towards the illustration of the holy
 scriptures. Several laws which he published to
 encourage this species of learning are yet extant,
 as also various monuments of his deep solicitude
 about the advancement and propagation of Chris-
 tian knowledge [e]. And lest the faults that were
 to be found in several places of the Latin tran-
 slation of the scriptures should prove an obstacle
 to the execution and accomplishment of his pious
 views, he employed ALCUIN in correcting these
 errors, and is said, in the last years of his life, to
 have spent a considerable part of his time in the
 same learned and pious work [f]. It is also to
 his encouragement and direction, that some wri-
 ters attribute the first German translation of the
 sacred writings, though others contend, that this
 honour is due to his son and successor LEWIS, sur-
 named the MEEK.

Misses its
 aim by
 some im-
 prudent ap-
 point-
 ments of
 that empe-
 ror.

V. This zeal and industry of the emperor con-
 tributed, no doubt, to rouse from their sloth a
 lazy and ignorant clergy, and to raise up a spirit
 of application to literary pursuits. We cannot,
 however, help observing, that this laborious prince
 imprudently established certain customs, and con-
 firmed others, which had a manifest tendency to
 defeat, in a great measure, his laudable designs
 of

[c] See CAROLUS MAGNUS, *De Imagin.* lib. i. p. 231. 236.

[d] JO. FRICKIUS, *De Canone Scripturæ Sacræ*, p. 184.

[e] BARONIUS *Annal. ad A. DCCCLXXVIII. n. XXVII.* JO.
 A. FABRICIUS, *Biblioth. Lat. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 950.
 JAC. USSERIUS, *De sacris et scripturis vernacul.* p. 110.

[f] J. A. FABRICII *Bibl. Lat. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 950.
 USSERIUS, *De sacris et scripturis vernacul.* p. 110.

of promoting Christian knowledge. He con-^{C E N T}
 firmed the practice already in use, of reading and ^{VIII.}
 explaining to the people, in the public assemblies, ^{P A R T II.}
 certain portions only of the scriptures; and re-
 duced the different methods of worship followed
 in different churches into one fixed rule, which
 was to be observed with the most perfect unifor-
 mity in all [g]. Persuaded also that few of the
 clergy

[g] They who imagine that the portions of scripture which
 are still explained, every year, to Christians in their religious
 assemblies, were selected for that purpose by the order of
 CHARLEMAGNE, are undoubtedly mistaken; since it is mani-
 fest, that in the preceding ages there were certain portions of
 scripture set apart for each day of worship in the greatest part
 of the Latin churches. See JO. HENRI. THAMERI *Schediasma*
de origine et dignitate pericoparum quæ Evangelia et Epistolæ
pulgo vocantur. See also J. FRANC. BUDDEI *Isagoge ad Theo-*
logiam, tom. ii. p. 1640. It must, however, be confessed, that
 CHARLEMAGNE introduced some new regulations into this
 part of divine service; for whereas, before his time, the Latin
 churches differed from each other in several instances of
 the public worship, and particularly in this, that the same
 portions of scripture were not read and explained in them all,
 he published a solemn edict, commanding all the religious
 assemblies within his territories to conform themselves to the
 rule of worship and divine service established in the *church of*
Rome. With respect to the portions of scripture which we call
 the *epistles* and *gospels*, and which, from the time of CHARLE-
 MAGNE down to us, continue to be used in divine worship,
 it is certain that they were read in the church of *Rome* so
 early as the sixth century. It is also certain, that this prince
 was extremely careful in reforming the service of the Latin
 churches, and appointed the form of worship used at *Rome* to
 be observed in them all. Hence the churches, which did not
 adopt the Roman ritual, have different *epistles* and *gospels* from
 those which are used by us and the other western churches,
 who were commanded by CHARLEMAGNE to imitate the
 Roman service. The church of *Corbetta* is an example of
 this, as may be seen in MURATORI'S *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iv.
 p. 836; and also the church of *Milan*, which follows the rite
 of St AMBROSE. If any are desirous to know what *epistles*
 and *gospels* were used by the Franks and other western churches
 before the time of CHARLEMAGNE, they have only to con-
 sult the *Calendars* published by MARTENE, in his *Thesaur.*
Anecd. tom. v. p. 66. the *Discourses* of BEDE, published
 in the same work, tom. v. p. 339. and MABILLON, *De An-*
tiqua Liturgia Gallicana; to all which may be added FEYRAT,
Antiquités de la Chapelle de Roi de France, p. 566.

C E N T. VIII. clergy were capable of explaining with perspi-
 P A R T II. cuity and judgment the portions of scripture
 which are distinguished in the ritual by the name
 of epistle and gospel, he ordered PAUL DEACON
 and ALCUIN to compile, from the ancient doctors
 of the church, *homilies*, or discourses upon the
 epistles and gospels, which a stupid and igno-
 rant set of priests were to commit to memory, and
 recite to the people. This gave rise to that fa-
 mous collection, which went by the title of the
homiliarium of Charlemagne [*b*], and which being
 followed as a model by many productions of the
 same kind, composed by private persons from a
 principle of pious zeal, contributed much to nou-
 rish the indolence, and to perpetuate the igno-
 rance of a worthless clergy [*i*]. The zeal and ac-
 tivity of this great prince did not stop here; for
 he ordered the lives of the principal saints to be
 written in a moderate volume, of which copies
 were dispersed throughout his dominions, that the
 people might have in the dead, examples of piety
 and virtue, which were no where to be found
 among the living. All these projects and designs
 were certainly formed and executed with upright
 and pious intentions, and, considering the state
 of

[*b*] See, for an account of this book of *Homilies*, the learn-
 ed SEELEN'S *Selecta Litteraria*, p. 252.

[*i*] ALAN, abbot of *Farfa* and *Italy*, wrote in this century
 an enormous *Book of Homilies*, the preface to which is pub-
 lished by BERNARD PEZIUS, in the *Thesaur. Anecdot.* tom. vi.
 part I. p. 83. In the following age several works under the
 same title were composed by learned men; one by HAGMO,
 of *Halberstadt*, which is still extant; another by RABANUS
 MAURUS, at the request of the emperor LOTHAIRE; and a
 third by HERICUS, mentioned by PEZIUS in the work above
 quoted, p. 93. All these were wrote in Latin. The famous
 OTTFRID, of *Weissenbourg*, was the first who composed a
Book of Homilies in the Teutonic language; for an account
 of this work, which was written in the ninth century, see
 LAMBECIUS, *De Bibliotheca Vindobon. Augusta*, tom. ii. cap.
 v. p. 419.

of things in this century, were, in several respects, both useful and necessary; they, however, contrary to the emperor's intention, contributed, undoubtedly, to encourage the priests in their criminal sloth, and their shameful neglect of the study of the scriptures. For the greatest part of them employed their time and labour only upon those parts of the sacred writings, which the emperor had appointed to be read in the churches, and explained to the people; and never attempted to exercise their capacities upon the rest of the divine word. The greatest part of the clergy also, instead of composing themselves the discourses they recited in public, confined themselves to their book of homilies, that was published by the authority of their sovereign, and thus let their talents lie uncultivated and unemployed.

VI. None of the Latins carried their theological enterprizes so far as to give a complete, connected, and accurate system of the various doctrines of Christianity. It would be absurd to comprehend, under this title, the various discourses concerning the person and nature of CHRIST, which were designed to refute the errors of FELIX [k] and ELIPAND, or to combat the opinions which were now spread abroad concerning the origin of the Holy Ghost [l], and several other points; since these discourses afford no proofs either of precision or diligence in their authors.

[k] The doctrine taught by FELIX, bishop of *Urgella*, and his disciple ELIPAND, archbishop of *Toledo*, was, that JESUS CHRIST was the Son of God, not by *nature*, but by *adoption*. This doctrine was also intimately connected with the Nestorian hypothesis, and was condemned, in this century, by the synod of *Ratisbon*, and the councils of *Francfort* and *Frioul*.

[l] The error now published relating to the *Holy Ghost* was, that it proceeded from the father *only*, and not from the father and the son.

C E N T. authors. The labours and industry of the di
 V I I I.
 P A R T II. vines of this age were totally employed in col
 lecting the opinions and authorities of the *fatbers*
 by whom are meant the theological writers of th
 first six centuries; and so blind and servile wa
 their veneration for these doctors, that they re
 garded their dictates as infallible, and thei
 writings as the boundaries of truth, beyon
 which reason was not permitted to push its re
 searches. The Irish or Hibernians, who in thi
 century were known by the name of *Scots*, wer
 the only divines who refused to dishonour thei
 reason by submitting it implicitly to the dictate
 of authority. Naturally subtile and sagacious
 they applied their philosophy, such as it was, t
 the illustration of the truth and doctrines of re
 ligion; a method which was almost generally ab
 horred and exploded in all other nations [m].

Th

[m] That the Hibernians, who were called *Scots* in thi
 century, were lovers of learning, and distinguished themselve
 in these times of ignorance, by the culture of the sciences be
 yond all the other European nations, travelling through th
 most distant lands, both with a view to improve and to com
 municate their knowledge, is a fact with which I have lon
 been acquainted, as we see them, in the most authentic r
 cords of antiquity, discharging, with the highest reputati
 and applause, the function of doctor in *France, Germany, an*
Italy, both during this and the following century. But tha
 these Hibernians were the first teachers of the *scholastic theo*
logy in *Europe*, and so early as the eighth century illustrate
 the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy, I
 learned but lately from the testimony of BENEDICT, abbot of
Aniane, in the province of *Languedoc*, who lived in this period,
 and some of whose productions are published by BALUZIUS,
 in the fifth volume of his *Miscellanea*. This learned abbot,
 in his *Letter to Guarmanius*, p. 54. expresses himself thus:
 “ Apud modernos scholasticos (*i. e.* public teachers, or school-
 “ masters) maxime apud SCOTOS est syllogismus delusionis
 “ ut dicant, Trinitatem, sicut personarum, ita esse substantia-
 “ rum;” (by this it appears that the Irish divines made use of
 a certain syllogism, which BENEDICT calls *delusive*, *i. e.* falla-
 cious and sophistical, to demonstrate that the *persons* in the God-
 head

The Greeks were not so destitute of systematical divines as the Latins. JOHN DAMASCENUS composed a complete body of the Christian doctrine in a scientific method, under the title of *Four Books concerning the Orthodox Faith*. The two kinds of *Theology*, which the Latins termed *scholastic* and *didactic*, were united in this laborious performance, in which the author not only explains the doctrines he delivers by subtile and profound reasoning, but also confirms his explanations by the authority of the ancient doctors. This book was received among the Greeks with the highest applause, and was so excessively admired, that at length it came to be acknowledged among that people as the only rule of divine truth. Many, however, complain of this applauded writer, as having consulted more, in his theological system, the conjectures of human reason

head were *substances*: a captious syllogism this, as we may see from what follows, and also every way proper to throw the ignorant into the greatest perplexity) “*quatenus si adsenserit ille lectus auditor, Trinitatem esse trium substantiarum Deum, trium derogetur cultor Deorum: si autem abnuerit, personarum denegator culpetur.*” It was with this miserable piece of sophistry, that these subtile divines puzzled and tormented their disciples and hearers, accusing those of *Tritheism* who admitted their argument, and casting the reproach of *Sabellianism* upon those who rejected it. For thus they reasoned, or rather quibbled; “You must either affirm or deny that the three Persons in the Deity are three substances. If you affirm it, you are undoubtedly a *Tritheist*, and worship three Gods: if you deny it, this denial implies that they are not three distinct persons, and thus you fall into *Sabellianism.*” BENEDICT condemns this Hibernian subtilty, and severely animadvertes upon the introduction of it into theology; he also recommends in its place that amiable simplicity that is so conformable to the nature and genius of the gospel: “*Sed hæc de fide (says he) et omnis caliditis versutia simplicitate fidei catholicæ est puritate vitanda, non captiosa interjectione linguarum, scæva impactione interpolanda.*” From hence it appears, that the philosophical or scholastic theology among the Latins, is of more ancient date than is commonly imagined.

C E N T. son, and the opinions of the ancients, than the
 VIII. genuine dictates of the sacred oracles, and
 PART II. having, in consequence of this method, deviated
 from the true source and the essential principles
 of theology [n]. To the work of DAMASCENUS now
 mentioned, we may add his *Sacred Parallels*,
 which he has collected, with uncommon care and
 industry, the opinions of the ancient doctors con-
 cerning the various points of the Christian religion.
 We may, therefore, look upon this writer as
 THOMAS and LOMBARD of the Greeks.

Moral writ-
 ters.

VII. None of the moral writers of this century
 attempted forming a complete system of the duties
 and virtues of the Christian life. JOHN, surnamed
 CARPATHIUS, a Greek writer, composed
 some *exhortatory discourses*, in which there are
 scarcely any marks of judgment or genius. Among
 the monastic orders nothing was relished but the
 enthusiastic strains of the Mystics, and the doc-
 trines of DIONYSIUS the Areopagite, their pre-
 tended chief, whose supposititious writings were
 interpreted and explained by JOHANNES DARELL
 out of complaisance to the monks [o]. The Latin
 writers confined their labours in morality to
 some general precepts concerning virtue and vice,
 that seemed rather destined to regulate the exte-
 rnal actions of Christians, than to purify their in-
 ward principles, or to fix duty upon its proper
 foundations. Their precepts also, such as they
 were, and their manner of explaining them, had
 now imbibed a strong tincture of the Peripatetic
 philosophy, as appears from certain treatises of
 BEDE, and the *treatise of ALCUIN, concerning vi-*

[n] JO. HENR. HOTTINGER. *Bibliothecar. Quadripart.* l.
 iii. cap. ii. sect. iii. p. 372. MART. CHEMNITIUS, *De usu
 utilitate Locor. Commun.* p. 26.

[o] JOS. SIMON ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* to-
 m. ii. p. 129.

tue and vice [p]. That the people, however, might be animated to the pursuit of virtue by the commanding power of example, BEDE, FLORUS, ALCUIN, MARCELLINUS, AMBROSE AUTHPERT, and others, employed their pious industry in writing the lives of such as had been eminent for their piety; and worthy deeds.

VIII. The controversies that turned upon the main and essential points of religion were, during this century, few in number, and scarcely any of them managed with tolerable sagacity or judgment. The greatest part of the Greeks were involved in the dispute concerning images. in which their reasonings were utterly destitute of precision and perspicuity; while the Latins employed their chief zeal and industry in confuting and extirpating the doctrine of ELIPAND concerning the person of CHRIST. JOHN DAMASCENUS exposed the errors of all the different sects in a short, but useful and interesting treatise; he also attacked the Manichæans and Nestorians with a particular vehemence, and even went so far in his polemic labours, as to combat the erroneous doctrine of the Saracens. In these compositions we find several proofs of subtilty and genius, but very little of that clearness and simplicity that constitute the chief merit of polemic writings. The Jews were left almost unmolested, as the Christians were sufficiently employed by the controversies that had arisen among themselves: ANASTASIUS, abbot of *Palestine*, made, however, some attempts to subdue the infidelity of that obstinate people.

IX. Of all the controversies which agitated and perplexed the Christian church during this century, that which arose concerning the worship of images

S 2

images

The origin of the dispute concerning the worship of images.

[p] This treatise is extant in the works of ALCUIN, published by QUERCETANUS, tom. ii. p. 1218.

C E N T. images in *Greece*, and was carried from then
 VIII.
 P A R T II. into both the eastern and western provinces, w
 the most unhappy and pernicious in its con
 quences. The first sparks of this terrible fl
 that had like to have proved fatal both to the i
 terests of religion and government, had alrea
 appeared under the reign of PHILLIPICUS BA
 DANES, who was created emperor of the Gree
 a little after the commencement of this centu
 This prince, with the consent of JOHN patriarch
 of *Constantinople*, ordered a picture, which rep
 sented the sixth general council, to be pull
 down from its place in the church of *St Soph*
 A. D. 712; because this council had condemn
 the Monothelites, whose cause the emperor
 spoused with the greatest ardor and vehemen
 Nor did BARDANES stop here; but sent imme
 ately an order to *Rome* to remove all images
 that nature from the churches and other plac
 of worship. His orders, however, were far fr
 being received with submission, or produci
 their designed effect; on the contrary, CONSTA
 TINE, the Roman pontif, not only rejected, by
 formal protest, the imperial edict, but resolv
 to express his contempt of it by his actions as w
 as his words: He ordered six pictures, represen
 ing the six general councils, to be placed in t
 porch of *St Peter's* church; and, that no act
 rebellion or arrogance might be left unemploye
 he assembled a council at *Rome*, in which he cau
 ed the emperor himself to be condemned as an
 postate from the true religion. These first t
 mulds were quelled by a revolution, which, th
 year following, deprived BARDANES of the im
 perial throne [q].

X. Th

[q] See FRED. SPANHEMII *Historia imaginum restituta*
 which is published in the second volume of his works, and
 also printed apart. MAINBOURG'S History of this contr
 versy, which is full of the most absurd and malignant fiction
 MURATORI *Annali d'Italia*, tom. iv. p. 221.

X. The dispute, however, broke out with redoubled fury under LEO the Isaurian, a prince of the greatest resolution and intrepidity, and the new tumults it excited were both violent and durable. LEO, unable to bear any longer the excessive height to which the Greeks carried their superstitious attachment to the worship of images, and the sharp raileries and serious reproaches which this idolatrous service drew upon the Christians from the Jews and Saracens, determined, by the most vigorous proceedings, to root out at once this growing evil. For this purpose he issued out an edict, A. D. 726, by which it was ordered, not only that the worship of images should be abrogated and relinquished, but also that all the images, except that of CHRIST's crucifixion, should be removed out of the churches [r]. In this proceeding the emperor acted more from the impulse of his natural character, which was warm and vehement, than from the dictates of prudence, which avoids precipitancy where prejudices are to be combated, and destroys and mines inveterate superstitions rather by slow and imperceptible attacks, than by open and violent assaults. The imperial edict produced such effects as might have been expected from the frantic enthusiasm of a superstitious

S 3

[r] In this account of the imperial edict, Dr MOSHEIM follows the opinion of BARONIUS, FLEURY, and LE SUER. Others affirm, with more probability, that this famous edict did not enjoin the pulling down images every where, and casting them out of the churches, but only prohibited the paying to them any kind of adoration or worship. It would seem as if LEO was not, at first, averse to the use of images, as ornaments, or even as helps to devotion and memory; for at the same time that he forbid them to be worshipped, he ordered them to be placed higher in the churches, say some, to avoid this adoration; but afterwards finding that they were the occasion of idolatry, he had them removed from the churches and broken.

C E N T. tious people. A civil war broke out in the islands
 of the Archipelago, ravaged a part of *Asia*, and
 afterwards reached *Italy*. The people, partly
 from their own ignorance, but principally in consequence of the perfidious suggestions of the priests and monks, who had artfully rendered the worship of images a source of opulence to their churches and cloisters, were led to regard the emperor as an apostate, and hence they considered themselves as freed from their oath of allegiance, and from all the obligations that attach subjects to their lawful sovereign.

The contests between the partisans of images who were called I-conoduli, and their opposers, who were called I-conoclastæ.

XI. The Roman pontifs, GREGORY I. and II. were the authors and ringleaders of these civil commotions and insurrections in *Italy*. The former, upon the emperor's refusing to revoke his edict against images, declared him, without hesitation, unworthy of the name and privileges of a Christian, and thus excluded him from the communion of the church; and no sooner was this formidable sentence made public, than the Romans, and other Italian provinces, that were subject to the Grecian empire, violated their allegiance, and rising in arms, either massacred or banished all the emperor's deputies and officers. LEO, exasperated by these insolent proceedings, resolved to chastise the Italian rebels, and to make the haughty pontif feel, in a particular manner, the effects of his resentment; but he failed in the attempt. Doubly irritated by this disappointment, he vented his fury against images and their worshippers, in the year 730, in a much more terrible manner than he had hitherto done; for, in a council assembled at *Consantinople*, he degraded from his office GERMANUS, the bishop of that imperial city, who was a patron of images put ANASTASIUS in his place, ordered all the images to be publicly burnt, and inflicted a variety of severe punishments upon such as were attached

attached to that idolatrous worship. These rigorous measures divided the Christian church into two violent factions, whose contests were carried on with an ungoverned rage, and produced nothing but mutual invectives, crimes, and assassinations. Of these factions, the one adopted the adoration and worship of images, and were on that account called *Iconoduli* or *Iconolatræ*; while the other maintained that such worship was unlawful, and that nothing was more worthy of the zeal of Christians, than to demolish and destroy those statues and pictures that were the occasions and objects of this gross idolatry, and hence they were distinguished by the titles of *Iconomachi* and *Iconoclastæ*. The furious zeal which GREGORY II. had shewn in defending the odious superstition of image-worship, was not only imitated, but even surpassed by his successor, who was the third pontif of that name; and though, at this distance of time, we are not acquainted with all the criminal circumstances that attended the intemperate zeal of these insolent prelates, yet we know with the utmost certainty, that it was owing to their extravagant attachment to image-worship that the Italian provinces were torn from the Grecian empire [s].

XII.

[s] The Greek writers tell us, that both the GREGORIES carried their insolence so far as to excommunicate LEO and his son CONSTANTINE, to dissolve the obligation of the oath of allegiance, which the people of *Italy* had taken to these princes, and to prohibit their paying tribute to them, or shewing them any marks of submission and obedience. These facts are also acknowledged by many of the partisans of the Roman pontiffs, such as BARONIUS, SIGONIUS *De Regno Italie*, and their numerous followers. On the other hand, some learned writers, particularly among the French, alleviate considerably the crime of the GREGORIES, and positively deny that they either excommunicated the emperors above mentioned, or called off the people from their duty and allegiance. See LAUNOIUS, *Epistolar.* lib. vii. *Ep.* vii. p. 456. tom. v. opp. par.

CENT.

VIII.

PART II.

Their progress under
Constantine
Copronymus.

XII. CONSTANTINE, to whom the furious tribe of the image worshippers had given by way of derision the name of COPRONYMUS [*t*], succeeded his father LEO in the empire A. D. 741, and, animated with an equal zeal and ardour against the new idolatry, employed all his influence in extirpating and abolishing the worship of images, in opposition to the vigorous efforts of the Roman pontiffs, and the superstitious monks. His manner of proceeding was attended with greater marks of equity and moderation, than had appeared in the measures pursued by LEO; for, knowing the respect which the Greeks had for the decisions of general councils, whose authority they considered as supreme and unlimited in religious matters, he assembled at *Constantinople*, A. D. 754, a council composed of the eastern bishops, in order to have this important question examined with the utmost care, and decided with wisdom, seconded by a just and lawful authority. This assembly,

par. II. NAT. ALEXANDER, *Select. Histor. Ecclesiast. Capit. Sæc. viii. Dissert. i. p. 456.* PETR. de MARCA, *Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. iii. cap. xi. BOSSUET, *Defens. Declarationis Cleri Gallic, de potestate Eccles.* par. I. lib. vi. cap. xii. p. 197. GIANNONE, *Histoire Civile de Naples*, tom. i. p. 400. All these found their opinions, concerning the conduct of the GREGORIES, chiefly upon the authority of the Latin writers, such as ANASTASIUS, PAUL DEACON, and others, who seem to have known nothing of that audacious insolence, with which these pontiffs are said to have opposed the emperors, and even represent them as having given several marks of their submission and obedience to the imperial authority. Such are the contrary accounts of the Greek and Latin writers; and the most prudent use we can make of them is, to suspend our judgment with respect to a matter, which the obscurity that covers the history of this period renders it impossible to clear up. All that we can know with certainty is, that the zeal of the two pontiffs above mentioned for the worship of images, furnished to the people of *Italy* the occasion of falling from their allegiance to the Grecian emperors.

✠ [*t*] This nick-name was given to CONSTANTINE, from his having defiled the sacred font at his baptism.

assembly, which the Greeks regard as the *seventh* C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.
œcumenical council, gave judgment, as was the
custom of those times, in favour of the opinion
embraced by the emperor, and solemnly con-
demned the worship and also the use of images[u].
But this decision was not sufficient to vanquish
the blind obstinacy of superstition; many adhered
still to their idolatrous worship, and none made a
more turbulent resistance to the wise decree of
this council than the monks, who still continued
to excite commotions in the state, and to blow
the flames of sedition and rebellion among the
people. Their malignity was, however, chastised
by CONSTANTINE, who filled with a just indigna-
tion at their seditious practices, punished several
of them in an exemplary manner, and by new
laws set bounds to the violence of monastic rage.
LEO IV. who, after the death of CONSTANTINE,
was declared emperor, A. D. 775, adopted the
sentiments of his father and grandfather, and pur-
sued the measures which they had concerted for
the extirpation of idolatry out of the Christian
church; for having perceived that the worshippers
of images could not be engaged by mild and
gentle proceedings to abandon this superstitious
practice, he had recourse to the coercive influence
of penal laws.

XIII. A cup of poison, administered by the Under
Irene.
impious counsel of a perfidious spouse, deprived
LEO IV. of his life A. D. 780, and rendered the
idolatrous cause of images triumphant. The pro-
fligate IRENE, after having thus accomplished
the death of her husband, held the reins of em-
pire during the minority of her son CONSTAN-
TINE; and, to establish her authority on more
solid

[u] The authority of this council is not acknowledged
by the Roman catholics, no more than the obligation of the
second commandment, which they have prudently struck out of
the decalogue.

C E N T. solid foundations, entered into an alliance with
VIII.
PART II. **ADRIAN**, bishop of *Rome*, A. D. 786. and summoned a council at *Nice* in *Bythinia*, which is known by the title of the *second Nicene council*. In this assembly the imperial laws concerning the new idolatry were abrogated, the decrees of the council of *Constantinople* reversed, the worship of images and of the cross restored, and severe punishments denounced against such as maintained that God was the only object of religious adoration. It is impossible to imagine any thing more ridiculous and trifling than the arguments upon which the bishops, assembled in this council, founded their decrees [w]. The authority, however, of these decrees was held sacred by the Romans, and the Greeks considered in the light of parricides and traitors all such as refused to submit to them. The other enormities of the flagitious **IRENE**, and her deserved fate, cannot, with propriety, be treated of here.

The council of
 Francfort.

XIV. In these violent contests, the most of the Latins, such as the Britons, Germans, and Gauls, seemed to steer a middle way between the opposite tenets of the contending parties. They were of opinion that images might be lawfully preserved, and even placed in the churches, but, at the same time, they looked upon all worship of them as highly injurious and offensive to the Supreme Being [x]. Such, particularly, were the sentiments of **CHARLEMAGNE**, who distinguished himself in this important controversy. By the advice of the French bishops, who were no friends to this second council of *Nice*, he ordered some learned

[w] **MART. CHEMNITIUS**, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, par. iv. loc. ii. cap. v. p. 52. **LENFANT**, *Preservatif contre la Reunion avec le Siege de la Rome*, par. iii. lettre xvii. p. 446.

[x] The aversion the Britons had to the worship of images may be seen in **SPELMAN** *ad Concilia Magnæ Brianniae*, tom. i. p. 73.

learned and judicious divine to compose *Four Books concerning images*, which he sent, in the year 790, to ADRIAN, the Roman pontif, with a view to engage him to withdraw his approbation of the decrees of that council. In this performance the reasons alleged by the *Nicene* bishops to justify the worship of images, are refuted with great accuracy and spirit [y]. They were not, however, left without defence; ADRIAN, who was afraid of acknowledging even an emperor for his master, composed an answer to the *Four Books* mentioned above, but neither his arguments, nor his authority, were sufficient to support the superstition he endeavoured to maintain; for, in the year 794, CHARLEMAGNE assembled, at *Francfort* on the *Mein*, a council of three hundred bishops, in order to re-examine this important question; in which the opinion contained in the *Four Books* was solemnly confirmed, and the worship of images unanimously condemned [z]. From hence we may conclude, that in this century the Latins deemed

[y] The books of CHARLEMAGNE concerning *Images*, which deserve an attentive perusal, are yet extant; and when they were become extremely scarce, were republished at *Hanover*, in 8vo, in 1731, by the celebrated CHRISTOPHER. AUG. HEUMAN, who enriched this edition with a learned Preface. These books are adorned with the venerable name of CHARLEMAGNE; but it is easy to perceive that they are the production of a scholastic divine, and not of an emperor. Several learned men have conjectured, that CHARLEMAGNE composed these books with the assistance of his preceptor ALCUIN; see HEUMANNI *Præf.* p. 51. and BUNAU *Historia Imperii German.* tom. i. p. 490. This conjecture, though far from being contemptible, cannot be admitted without hesitation; since ALCUIN was in *England* when these books were composed. We learn from the history of his life, that he went into *England* A. D. 789, and did not return from thence before 792.

[z] This event is treated with a degree of candour not more laudable, than surprising, by MABILLON, in *Præf. ad Sæculum* iv. *Actorum SS. Ord. Benedict.* part V. See also JO. GEORG. DORSCHÆUS, *Collat. ad Concilium Francofordiense*, *Argentor.* 1649, in 4to.

CONT
VIII
PART II.

deemed it neither impious, nor unlawful, to dissent from the opinion of the Roman pontif, and even to charge that prelate with error.

The controversy about the derivation of the Holy Ghost.

XV. While the controversy concerning images was at its height, a new contest arose among the Latins and Greeks about the source from whence the Holy Ghost *proceeded*. The Latins affirmed, that this divine Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son: the Greeks, on the contrary, asserted, that it proceeded from the Father only. The origin of this controversy is covered with perplexity and doubt. It is, however, certain, that it was agitated in the council of *Gentilli*, near *Paris*, A. D. 767, in presence of the emperor's legates [a], and from this we may conclude, with a high degree of probability, that it arose in *Greece* at that time when the contest about images was carried on with the greatest vehemence. In this controversy the Latins alleged, in favour of their opinion, the creed of *Constantinople*, which the Spaniards and French had successively corrupted (upon what occasion is not well known), by adding the words *filioque* in that part of it which contained the doctrine concerning the Holy Ghost. The Greeks, on the other hand, made loud complaints of this criminal attempt of the Latins to corrupt by a manifest interpolation a creed, which served as a rule of doctrine for the church universal, and declared this attempt impudent and sacrilegious. Thus the dispute changed at length its object, and was transferred from the matter to the interpolated word above mentioned [b]: in the following century it was carried

[a] See LE COINTE *Annales Eccles. Francorum*, tom. v. p. 698.

[b] Learned men generally imagine that this controversy began about the word *filioque*, which some of the Latins had added to the Creed that had been drawn up by the council of *Constantinople*.

carried on with still greater vehemence, and added C B N T. VIII. PART II.
 new fuel to the dissensions which already por-
 tended a schism between the eastern and western
 churches [c].

C H A P. IV.

*Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church
 during this century.*

I. **T**HE religion of this century consisted al-Ceremonies multiplied.
 most entirely in a motley round of ex-
 ternal rites and ceremonies. We are not, there-
 fore, to wonder that more zeal and diligence were
 employed in multiplying and regulating these out-
 ward marks of a superstitious devotion, than in
 correcting

Constantinople, and that from the word the dispute proceeded
 to the doctrine itself; see MABILLON, *Act. Sanctor. Ord. Be-*
ned. Sac. iv. par. I. *Præf.* p. iv. who is followed by many
 in this opinion. But this opinion is certainly erroneous. The
 doctrine was the first subject of controversy, which afterwards
 extended to the word *filioque*, considered by the Greeks as a
 manifest interpolation. Among other proofs of this, the
 council of *Gentilli* shews evidently, that the doctrine concern-
 ing the Holy Spirit had been, for a considerable time, the
 subject of controversy, when the dispute arose about the word
 now mentioned. PAGI, in his *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iii.
 p. 323. is of opinion, that this controversy had both its date
 and its occasion from the dispute concerning images: for
 when the Latins treated the Greeks as heretics, on account of
 their opposition to image worship, the Greeks, in their
 turn, charged the Latins also with heresy, on account of
 their maintaining that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the
 Father and the Son. The learned critic has, however, advan-
 ced this opinion without sufficient proof, and we must there-
 fore consider it as no more than a probable conjecture.

[c] See PITHOEI *Hist. controuv. de processione Spiritus S.*
 at the end of his *Codex Canon. Eccles. Roman.* p. 355. LE
 QUIEN, *Oriens Christian.* tom. iii. p. 354. GER. J. VOSSIUS,
De Tribus Symbolis, Diss. iii. p. 65: and above all, JO.
 GEORG. WALCHIUS, *Histor. Controuv. de Processione Spiritus*
S. published in 8vo, at Jena, in 1751.

C E N T. correcting the vices and follies of men, in en-
 lightening their understandings, and forming their
 hearts. The administration of the sacrament of
 the Lord's supper, which was deemed the most
 solemn and important branch of divine worship;
 was now every where embellished, or rather de-
 formed, with a variety of senseless fopperies,
 which destroyed the beautiful simplicity of that
 affecting and salutary institution. We also find
 manifest traces in this century, of that superstiti-
 ous custom of celebrating what were called *solitary masses* [d], though it be difficult to decide
 whether they were instituted by a public law, or
 introduced by the authority of private persons [e].
 Be that as it may, this single custom is sufficient
 to give us an idea of the superstition and darkness
 that sat brooding over the Christian church in
 this ignorant age, and renders it unnecessary to
 enter into a further detail of the absurd rites with
 which a designing priesthood continued to dis-
 figure the religion of Jesus.

Charle-
 magne's
 zeal for the
 rites of the
 church of
 Rome.

II. CHARLEMAGNE seemed disposed to stem
 this torrent of superstition, which gathered force
 from day to day; for not to mention the zeal
 with which he opposed the worship of images,
 there are other circumstances that bear testimony
 to his intentions in this matter, such as his pre-
 venting the multiplication of festivals, by re-
 ducing them to a fixed and limited number, his
 prohibiting the ceremony of consecrating the
 church

[d] *Solitary or private masses* were those that were ce-
 lebrated by the priest alone in behalf of souls detained in
 purgatory, as well as upon some other particular occasions.
 These masses were prohibited by the laws of the church, but
 they were a rich source of profit to the clergy. They were
 condemned by the canons of a synod assembled at *Mentz* un-
 der CHARLEMAGNE, as criminal innovations, and as the fruits
 of avarice and sloth.

[e] See CHARLEMAGNE's book *concerning Images*, p. 245;
 as also GEORGE CALIXTUS, *De missis Solitariis*, sect. 12.

church bells by the rite of holy aspersion, and other ecclesiastical laws of his enacting, which redound to his honour. Several circumstances, however, concurred to render his designs abortive, and to blast the success of his worthy purposes, and none more than his excessive attachment to the Roman pontifs, who were the patrons and protectors of those who exerted themselves in the cause of ceremonies. This vehement passion for the lordly pontif was inherited by the great prince of whom we are now speaking, from his father PEPIN, who had already commanded the manner of singing, and the kind of church-music in use at *Rome*, to be observed every where in all Christian churches. It was in conformity with his example, and in compliance with the repeated and importunate solicitation of the pontif ADRIAN, that CHARLEMAGNE laboured to bring all the Latin churches to follow, as their model, the church of *Rome*, not only in the article now mentioned, but also in the whole form of their worship, in every circumstance of their religious service [f]. Several churches however, among which those of *Milan* and *Corbetta* distinguished themselves eminently, absolutely rejected this proposal, and could neither be brought, by persuasion nor violence, to change their usual method of worship.

C H A P.

[f] See CHARLEMAGNE'S *Treatise concerning Images*, book I. p. 52. EGINARD, *De vita Caroli Magni*, cap. 26. p. 94. edit. Besseli.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.

C E N T. I. **T**HE Arians, Manicheans, and Marcion-
 VIII. ites, though often depressed by the force
 P A R T II. of penal laws and the power of the secular arm,
 The an- gathered strength in the east, amidst the tumults
 cient sects and divisions with which the Grecian empire was
 recover strength. perpetually agitated, and drew great numbers
 into the profession of their opinions [g]. The
 Monothelites, to whose cause the emperor PHIL-
 LIPPICUS, and many others of the first rank and
 dignity were most zealous well-wishers, regained
 their credit in several places. The condition also
 of both the Nestorians and Monophysites was easy
 and agreeable under the dominion of the Ara-
 bians; their power and influence was considerable;
 nor were they destitute of means of weakening the
 Greeks, their irreconcilable adversaries, and of
 spreading their doctrines, and multiplying every
 where the number of their adherents.

Clemens
 and Adal-
 bert.

II. In the church which BONIFACE had newly
 erected in *Germany*, he himself tells us, that there
 were many perverse and erroneous reprobates,
 who had no true notion of religion, and his friends
 and adherents confirm this assertion. But the
 testimony both of the one and the others is un-
 doubtedly partial, and unworthy of credit; since
 it appears from the most evident proofs, that the
 persons here accused of errors and heresies were
 Irish and French divines, who refused that blind
 submission to the church of *Rome*, which BONI-
 FACE was so zealous to propagate every where.

ADALBERT

[g] In *Europe* also Arianism prevailed greatly among the
 barbarous nations that embraced the Christian faith.

ADALBERT a Gaul, and CLEMENT, a native of *Ireland*, were the persons whose opposition gave the most trouble to the ambitious legate. The former got himself consecrated bishop, without the consent of BONIFACE, excited seditions and tumults among the eastern Franks, and appears, indeed, to have been both flagitious in his conduct, and erroneous in his opinions; among other irregularities, he was the forger [b] of a letter to the human race, which was said to have been written by JESUS CHRIST, and to have been carried from heaven by the arch-angel MICHAEL [i]. As to CLEMENT, his character and sentiments were maliciously misrepresented, since it appears, by the best and most authentic accounts, that he was much better acquainted with the true principles and doctrines of Christianity than BONIFACE himself; and hence he is considered by many as a confessor and sufferer for the truth in this barbarous age [k]. Be that as it will, both ADALBERT and CLEMENT were condemned, at the instigation of BONIFACE, by the pontif ZACHARY, in a council assembled at *Rome*. A. D. 748 [l], and in consequence

[b] See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 82.

[i] There is an edition of this letter published by the learned STEPHEN BALUZIUS, in the *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, tom. ii. p. 1396.

[k] We find an enumeration of the erroneous opinions of CLEMENT in the letters of BONIFACE *Epistol.* cxxxv. p. 189. See also USSERI *Sylloge Epistolarum Hibernicarum*, p. 12. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. Critic.* tom. i. p. 133. The zealous BONIFACE was too ignorant to be a proper judge of heresy, as appears by his condemning VIRGILIUS for believing that there were antipodes. The great heresy of CLEMENT seems to have been his preferring the decisions of scripture to decrees of councils and the opinions of the fathers, which he took the liberty to reject when they were not conformable to the word of God.

[l] This is the true date of the council assembled by ZACHARY for the condemnation of ADALBERT and CLEMENT,

C E N T. sequence thereof were committed to prison,
 VIII. where, in all probability, they concluded their
 P A R T II. days.

Felix and
 Elipand.

III. Religious discord ran still higher in *Spain*, *France*, and *Germany*, towards the conclusion of this century; and the most unhappy tumults and commotions were occasioned by a question proposed to FELIX bishop of Urgella, by ELIPAND, archbishop of Toledo, who desired to know in what sense CHRIST was the Son of God? The answer which the former gave to this question, was, that CHRIST, considered in his divine nature, was *truly* and *essentially* the Son of God; but that, considered as a man, he was only so, *nominally* and *by adoption*. This doctrine was spread abroad by the two prelates; ELIPAND propagated it in the different provinces of *Spain*, and FELIX throughout *Septimania*, while the pontif ADRIAN, and the greatest part of the Latin doctors, looked upon this opinion as a renovation of the Nestorian heresy, by its representing CHRIST as divided into two distinct persons. In consequence of this, FELIX was successively condemned by the councils of *Narbonne*, *Ratisbon*, *Francfort on the Maine*, and *Rome*; and was finally obliged, by the council of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, to retract his error, and to change his opinion [m]. The change he made was, however, rather nominal than real, the common

and not the year 745, as FLEURY * and MABILLON † have pretended, in which error they are followed by Mr BOWER, in the third volume of his *History of the Popes*, p. 325. The truth is, that the letter of BONIFACE, in consequence of which this council was assembled, must have been wrote in the year 748; since he declares in that letter, that he had been near thirty years legate of the holy see of *Rome*, into which commission he entered, as all authors agree, about the year 719.

[m] The council of *Narbonne* that condemned FELIX, was held in the year 788, that of *Ratisbon* in 792. that of *Francfort* in 794. that of *Rome* in 795.

* Hist Ecclesiast. tom. ix. p. 29.
 xxii. n. 8.

† Annal. Ord. Benedict. lib. •

common shift of temporising divines ; for he still CENT.
VIII
PART II. retained his doctrine, and died in the firm belief of it at *Lyons*, where he had been banished by CHARLEMAGNE [n]. ELIPAND, on the contrary, lived secure in *Spain* under the dominion of the Saracens, far removed from the thunder of synods and councils, and out of the reach of that coercive power in religious matters, whose utmost efforts can go no further than to make the erroneous, hypocrites or martyrs. Many are of opinion, that the disciples of FELIX, who were called *Adoptians*, departed much less from the doctrine generally received among Christians, than is commonly imagined ; and that what chiefly distinguished their tenets was the term they used, and their manner of expression, rather than a real diversity of sentiments [o]. But as this sect, together with their chief, thought proper to make use of singular, and sometimes of contradictory expressions ; this furnished such as accused them of Nestorianism, with very plausible reasons to support their charge.

[n] The authors, who have written concerning the sect of FELIX, are mentioned by J. ALB. FABRICIUS *Biblioth. Lat. Græc.* tom. ii. p. 482. Add to these PETRUS de MARCA. in his *Marca Hispanica*, lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 368. JO. de FERRERAS, *Histoire Generale d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 518. 523. 528. 535. 560. JO. MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Actor. Ord. Benedicti*, part ii. There are also very particular accounts given of FELIX by DOM. COLONIA, *Histoire Litteraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 70. and by the Benedictine monks in their *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 434. [o] JO. GEORGE DORSCHÆUS, *Collat. ad Concilium Francofurt.* p. 101. WERENFELS, *De Logomachiis Eruditor.* p. 459. Opp. JAC. BASNAGIUS *Præf. ad Etherium in HENR. CXXXII Lectio antiquis*, tom. ii. part I. p. 284. GEORGE CALIXTUS, *Singul. Diss.*

THE
NINTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External History of the Church.

CHAPTER I

*Concerning the prosperous events which happened to
the church during this century.*

CENT. I.
IX.
PART I.
The Swedes, Danes, and Cimbrians converted.

THE reign of CHARLEMAGNE had been singularly auspicious to the Christian cause; the life of that great prince was principally employed in the most zealous efforts to propagate and establish the religion of JESUS among the Huns, Saxons, Frieslanders, and other unenlightened nations; but his piety was mixed with violence, his spiritual conquests were generally made by the force of arms, and this impure mixture tarnishes the lustre of his noblest exploits. His son LEWIS, undeservedly surnamed the *Miserable*, inherited the defects of his illustrious father without his virtues, and was his equal in violence and cruelty, but vastly his inferior in all worthy and valuable accomplishments. Under his reign a very favourable opportunity was offered of propagating the gospel among the northern nations, and particularly among the inhabitants of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. A petty king of *Futland*, named HARALD KLACK, being driven from both his kingdoms.

kingdom and country, in the year 826, by REG-CENT.
 NER LODBROCK, threw himself at the emperor's ^{IX.}
 feet, and implored his succours against the usur- ^{PART I.}
 per. LEWIS granted his request, and promised
 the exiled prince his protection and assistance, on
 condition, however, that he would embrace
 Christianity, and admit the ministers of that reli-
 gion to preach in his dominions. HARALD sub-
 mitted to these conditions, was baptized with his
 brother at *Mentz*, A. D. 827, and returned into
 his country attended by two eminent divines,
 ANSGAR OF ANSCHAIRE and AUTHBERT; the for-
 mer a monk of *Corbey* in *Westphalia*, and the lat-
 ter belonging to a monastery of the same name in
France. These venerable missionaries preached
 the gospel with remarkable success, during the
 space of two years, to the inhabitants of *Cymbria*
 and *Jutland*.

II. After the death of his learned and pious ^{The pro-}
 Companion AUTHBERT, the zealous and indefa- ^{motion and}
 tigable ANSGAR made a voyage into *Sweden*, ^{labours of}
 A. D. 828, where his ministerial labours were also ^{Ansgar.}
 crowned with a distinguished success. As he re-
 turned from thence into *Germany* in the year 831,
 he was loaded by LEWIS the MEEK with ecclesi-
 astical honours, being created archbishop of the
 new church at *Hamburg*, and also of the whole
 north, to which dignity the superintendence of
 the church of *Bremen* was afterwards added in the
 year 844. The profits attached to this high and
 honourable charge were very inconsiderable; while
 the perils and labours, in which it involved the
 pious prelate, were truly formidable. Accordingly
 ANSGAR travelled frequently among the Danes,
 Cimbrians, and Swedes, in order to promote the
 cause of CHRIST, to form new churches, and to
 confirm and establish those which he had already
 gathered together; in all which arduous enter-
 prises he passed his life in the most imminent
 dangers,

C E N T. dangers, until he concluded his glorious course
 IX. A. D. 865 [a].

PART I.

Conversion
 of the Bul-
 garians,
 Bohemians
 and Mora-
 vians.

III. About the middle of this century the
 Mœsians [b], Bulgarians, and Gazarians, and
 after them the Bohemians and Moravians, were
 converted to Christianity by METIHODIUS and
 CYRIL, two Greek monks, whom the empress
 THEODORA had sent to dispel the darkness of these
 idolatrous nations [c]. The zeal of CHARLES
 MAGNE, and his pious missionaries, had been for-
 merly exerted in the same cause, and among the
 same people [d], but with so little success, that
 any faint notions which they had received of the
 Christian doctrine were entirely effaced. The in-
 structions of the Grecian doctors had a much bet-
 ter, and also a more permanent effect; but as
 they recommended to their new disciples the
 forms of worship, and the various rites and cere-
 monies used among the Greeks [e], this was the
 occasion of much religious animosity and conten-
 tion

[a] The writers to whom we are indebted for accounts
 of this pious and illustrious prelate, the founder of the Danish,
 Danish, and Swedish churches, are mentioned by JO. AB-
 BERT FABRICIUS, in his *Biblioth. Latin. mediæ ævi*, tom.
 p. 292: as also in his *Lux Evangelii orbi terrarum exortus*,
 p. 425. Add to these the Benedictine monks, in their *Histoire
 Lit. de la France*, tom. v. p. 277: *Acta Sanctor. Mens Fe-
 bruar.* tom. i. p. 391. ERICI PONTOPPIDANI *Annales Ecclesie
 Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. i. p. 18. JO. MOELLERUS, *Cimbri
 Litterata*, tom. iii. p. 8. These writers give us also circum-
 stantial accounts of EBO, WITHMAR, REMBERT, and others
 who were either the fellow-labourers or successors of ANSGAR.

[b] We have translated thus the term *Mysi*, which is an
 error in the original. Dr MOSHEIM, like many others, has
 confounded the Mysians with the inhabitants of *Mæsia*, by
 giving the latter, who were Europeans, the title of the for-
 mer, who dwelt in *Asia*.

[c] JO. GEORGE STREDOWSKY, *Sacra Moraviæ Historia*
 lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 94. compared with PET. KOHLII *Intro-
 duc. in Historiam et rem Litter. Slavorum*, p. 124.

[d] STREDOWSKY, *loc. cit.* lib. i. cap. ix. p. 55.

[e] LENFANT, *Histoire de la guerre des Hussites*, livr. i. ch.
 i. p. 2.

tion in after-times, when the lordly pontiffs exerted all their vehemence, and employed every means, though with imperfect success of reducing these nations under the discipline and jurisdiction of the Latin church.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T I.
Of the Slavonians and Russians.

IV. Under the reign of BASILIUS, the Macedonian, who ascended the imperial throne of the Greeks in the year 867, the Slavonians, Arentani, and certain provinces of *Dalmatia*, sent a solemn embassy to *Constantinople* to declare their resolution of submitting to the jurisdiction of the Grecian empire, and of embracing, at the same time, the Christian religion. This proposal was received with admiration and joy, and it was also answered by a suitable ardour and zeal for the conversion of a people, which seemed so ingenuously disposed to embrace the truth: accordingly, a competent number of Grecian doctors were sent among them to instruct them in the knowledge of the gospel, and to admit them by baptism into the Christian church [*f*]. The warlike nation of the Russians were converted under the same emperor, but not in the same manner, nor from the same noble and rational motives. Having entered into a treaty of peace with that prince they were engaged by various presents and promises to embrace the gospel, in consequence of which they received not only the Christian ministers that were appointed to instruct them, but also an archbishop, whom the Grecian patriarch IGNATIUS had sent among them, to perfect their conversion and establish their church,

T 4

[*f*] We are indebted for this account of the conversion of the Slavonians to the treatise *De administrando imperio*, composed by the learned emperor CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGEN, which is published by BANDURIUS in *Imperium Orientale*, tom. i. p. 72, 73. CONSTANTINE gives the same account of this event in the life of his grandfather BASILIUS, the Macedonian, sect. 54. published in the *Corpus Byzantinum*, tom. xvi. p. 133, 134.

C E N T church [g]. Such were the beginnings of Christi-
 IX.
 P A R T I. anity among the bold and warlike Russians, who
 were inhabitants of the *Ukraine*, and who, a little
 before their conversion, fitted out a formidable
 fleet, and setting sail from *Kiovia* for *Constanti-*
nople, spread terror and dismay through the whole
 empire [b].

The nature
 of these
 conver-
 sions.

V. It is proper to observe, with respect to the
 various conversions which we have now been re-
 lating, that they were undertaken upon much
 better principles, and executed in a more pious
 and rational manner, than those of the preceding
 ages. The ministers, who were now sent to in-
 struct and convert the barbarous nations, em-
 ployed not, like many of their predecessors, the
 terror of penal laws, to affright men into the pro-
 fession of Christianity; nor, in establishing churches
 upon the ruins of idolatry, were they principally
 attentive

[g] CONSTANTINUS Porph. *Vita Basilii Macedonis*, sect. 9
 p. 157. *Corp. Byzant* See also the *Narratio de Rubenorum*
Conversione, published both in Greek and Latin by BANDUR-
 US, in his *Imperium Orientale, notis ad Porphyrogenetam de*
ministrando imperio, p. 62. tom. ii.

[b] The learned LEQUIEN, in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom.
 p. 1257. gives a very inaccurate account of these Russians who
 were converted to Christianity under the reign of BASILII
 the Macedonian, and in this he does no more than adopt the
 errors of many who wrote before him upon the same subject.
 Nor is he consistent with himself, for in one place he affirms
 that the people here spoken of were the Russians that lived in
 the neighbourhood of the Bulgarians; while in another he
 maintains, that by these Russians we are to understand the Ga-
 zarians. The only reasons he alleges to support this latter o-
 pinion is, that among the Christian doctors sent to instruct the
 Russians, mention is made of CYRIL, who converted the Ga-
 zari to Christianity. This reason shews, that the learned writ-
 ter had a most imperfect knowledge both of these Russians and
 the Gazari. He is also guilty of other mistakes upon the same
 subject. There is a much better explanation of this matter gi-
 ven by the very learned THEOPH. SIGIFRED. BAYER, *Dissert.*
de Russorum prima expeditione Constantinopolitana, which is
 published in the sixth volume of the *Comentaria Acad. Scienti-*
ar. Petropolitanae.

attentive to promote the grandeur and extend the C E N T. IX. PART I. authority of the Roman pontiffs: their views were more noble, and their conduct more suitable to the genius of the religion they professed. They had principally in view the happiness of mankind, endeavoured to promote the gospel of truth and peace by methods of a rational persuasion, and seconded their arguments by the victorious power of exemplary lives. It must, however, be confessed, that the doctrine they taught was far from being conformable to that pure and excellent rule of faith and practice laid down by our divine Saviour, and his holy apostles; their religious system was, on the contrary, corrupted with a variety of superstitious rites, and a multitude of absurd inventions. It is further certain, that there remained among these converted nations too many traces of the idolatrous religion of their ancestors, notwithstanding the zealous labours of their Christian guides; and it appears also, that these pious missionaries were contented with introducing an external profession of the true religion among their new proselytes. It would be, however, unjust to accuse them on this account of negligence or corruption in the discharge of their ministry, since, in order to gain over these fierce and savage nations to the church, it may have been absolutely necessary to indulge them in some of their infirmities and prejudices, and to connive at many things, which they could not approve, and which, in other circumstances, they would have been careful to correct.

C H A P. II.

*Concerning the calamitous events that happened
the church during this century.*

C E N T. I. **T**HE Saracens had now extended the
IX. usurpations with an amazing success
P A R T I. Masters of *Asia*, a few provinces excepted, they
The progress of the Saracens towards universal empire. pushed their conquests to the extremities of *India* and obliged the greatest part of *Africa* to receive their yoke; nor were their enterprises in the west without effect, since *Spain* and *Sardinia* submitted to their arms, and fell under their dominion. But their conquests did not end here: for in the year 827, by the treason of EUPHEMIUS, they made themselves masters of the rich and fertile island of *Sicily*; and towards the conclusion of the century the Asiatic Saracens seized upon several cities of *Calabria*, and spread the terror of their victorious arms even to the very walls of *Rome* while *Crete*, *Corsica*, and other adjacent islands were either joined to their possessions, or laid waste by their incursions. It is easy to comprehend that this overgrown prosperity of a nation accustomed to bloodshed and rapine, and which also beheld the Christians with the utmost aversion, must have been every where detrimental to the progress of the gospel, and to the tranquillity of the church. In the east, more especially, a prodigious number of Christian families embraced the religion of their conquerors, that they might live in the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions. Many, indeed, refused this base and criminal compliance, and with a pious magnanimity adhered to their principles in the face of persecution; but such were gradually reduced to a miserable condition, and were not only robbed of the best part of their wealth, and deprived of their

their worldly advantages, but, what was still more C E N T.
deplorable, they fell by degrees into such incre-^{IX.}
dible ignorance and stupidity, that, in process of ^{P A R T L}
time, there were scarcely any remains of Christi-
anity to be found among them, besides the mere
name, and a few external rites and ceremonies.
The European Saracens, particularly those who
were settled in *Spain*, were of a much milder dis-
position, and seemed to have put off the greatest
part of their native ferocity; so that the Christi-
ans, generally speaking, lived peaceably under
their dominion, and were permitted to observe
the laws, and to enjoy the privileges of their holy
profession. It must, however, be confessed, that
this mild and tolerating conduct of the Saracens
was not without some few exceptions of cruel-
ty [1].

11. The European Christians had the most cru-^{The Nor-}
el sufferings to undergo from another quarter, e-^{mans.}
ven from the insatiable fury of a swarm of bar-
barians that issued out from the northern pro-
vinces. The Normans, under which general term
are comprehended the Danes, Norwegians, and
Swedes, whose habitations lay along the coasts of
the Baltic sea, were a people accustomed to car-
nage and rapine. Their petty kings and chiefs,
who subsisted by piracy and plunder, had already,
during the reign of CHARLEMAGNE, infested with
their fleets the coasts of the German ocean, but were
restrained by the opposition they met with from
the vigilance and activity of that warlike prince.
In this century, however, they became more bold
and enterprising, made frequent irruptions into
Germany, Britain, Friesland, and the Gauls, and
carried

[1] See, for example, the account that is given of EULO-
GIUS, who suffered martyrdom at *Cordoua*, in the *Acta*
Sanctorum ad d. xi. Martii, tom. ii. p. 88; as also of RODE-
RICK and SALOMON, two Spanish martyrs of this century.
Ibid. ad d. xiii. Martii, p. 238.

C E N T. carried along with them, wherever they went
 IX. fire and sword, desolation and horror. The im-
 PART I. petuous fury of these savage barbarians not only
 spread desolation through the *Spanish* province
 [k], but even penetrated into the very heart of
Italy; for in the year 857, they sacked and pil-
 laged the city of *Luca* in the most cruel manner
 and about three years after *Pisa*, and several other
 cities of *Italy*, met with the same fate [l]. The
 ancient histories of the Franks abound with the
 most dismal accounts of their horrid exploits.

Form new
 settlements.

III. The first views of these savage invaders ex-
 tended no further than plunder; but charmed at
 length with the beauty and fertility of the pro-
 vinces, which they were so cruelly depopulating,
 they began to form settlements in them; nor were
 the European princes in a condition to oppose
 their usurpations. On the contrary, CHARLES
 the BALD was obliged, in the year 850, to resign
 a considerable part of his dominions to this pow-
 erful banditti [m]; and a few years after, under
 the reign of CHARLES the GROSS, emperor and
 king of *France*, the famous Norman chief GODO-
 FRED entered with an army into *Friesland*, and
 obstinately refused to sheath his sword before he
 was

[k] JO. DE FERRERAS, *Histoire Gener. d'Espagne*, tom. ii.
 p. 583. Piracy was esteemed among the northern nations a
 very honourable and noble profession; and hence the sons of
 kings, and the young nobility, were trained up to this spe-
 cies of robbery, and made it their principal business to per-
 fect themselves in it. Nor will this appear very surprising
 to such as consider the religion of these nations, and the bar-
 barism of the times. See JO. LUD. HOLBERG. *Historia Dan-
 morum et Norvegorum Navalis*, in *Scriptis Societatis Scientiarum
 Hafniensis*, tom. iii. p. 349. in which there are a multitude
 of curious and interesting relations concerning the ancient
 piracies, drawn from the Danish and Norwegian annals.

[l] See the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, published by
 MURATORI.

[m] *Annale. incerti Auctoris*, in PITHOEI *Scriptor. Francic*
 46

was master of the whole province [n]. Such, CENT.
however, of the Normans as settled among the IX.
Christians, contracted a gentler turn of mind, and PART I.
gradually departed from their primitive brutality.
Their marriages with the Christians contributed
no doubt, to civilize them; and engaged them to
abandon the superstition of their ancestors with
more facility, and to embrace the gospel with
more readiness, than they would have otherwise
done. Thus the proud conqueror of *Friesland*
solemnly embraced the Christian religion after
that he had received in marriage, from CHARLES
the GRÖSS, GISELA, the daughter of LOTHAIR
the younger.

[*] REGINONIS PRUMIENSIS *Annal.* lib. ii. f. 60. in PIS
Scriptor. German.

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy in this century.

C E N T.

IX.

P A R T II.

The state
of letters
among the
Greeks.

THE Grecian empire, in this century in circumstances every way proper to distinguish all taste for letters and philosophy all zeal for the cultivation of the sciences. liberality, however, of the emperors, some of whom were men of learning and taste, and wise precautions taken by the patriarchs of *Constantinople*, among whom *Papirius* deserves the rank in point of erudition, contributed to attract a certain number of learned men to that impetuosity, and thus prevented the total decline of letters. Accordingly we find in *Constantinople* this time, several persons who excelled in eloquence and poetry; some who displayed, in their writings against the Latins, a considerable knowledge in the art of reasoning, and a high degree of dexterity in the management of controversy and others who composed the history of their times with accuracy and with elegance. The controversy with the Latins, when it grew more keen and animated, contributed in a particular manner to excite the literary emulation of the disputants, rendered them studious to acquire new ideas, and a rich and copious elocution adorned with the graces of elegance and wit; thus roused and invigorated talents that were ready to perish in indolence and sloth.

II.

II. We learn from the accounts of ZONARAS, C E N T. that the study of philosophy lay for a long time ^{IX.} neglected in this age ; but it was revived, with a ^{P A R T I.} zeal for the sciences in general, under the emperor THEOPHILUS, and his son MICHAEL III. This revival of letters was principally owing [o] to the encouragement and protection which the learned received from BARDAS, who had been declared CÆSAR, himself a weak and illiterate man, but a warm friend of the celebrated PHOTIUS, the great patron of science, by whose counsel he was, undoubtedly, directed in this matter. At the head of all the learned men to whom BARDAS committed the culture of the sciences, he placed LEO, surnamed the WISE, a man of the most profound and uncommon erudition, and who afterwards was consecrated bishop of *Thessalonica*. PHOTIUS explained the *Categories* of ARISTOTLE, while MICHAEL PSELLUS gave a brief exposition of the other works of that great philosopher.

III. The Arabians, who, instead of cultivating ^{The state} the arts and sciences, had thought of nothing ^{of learning} hitherto but of extending their territories, were ^{among the} now excited to literary pursuits by ALMAMUNIS, otherwise called ABU GAAFAR ABDALLAH, whose zeal for the advancement of letters was great, and whose munificence towards men of learning and genius was truly royal. Under the auspicious protection of this celebrated caliph of *Babylon* and *Egypt*, the Arabians made a rapid and astonishing progress in various kinds of learning. This excellent prince began to reign about the time of the death of CHARLEMAGNE, and died in the year 833. He erected the famous schools of *Bagdad*, *Cufa*, and *Basora*, and established seminaries of learning in several other cities ; he drew to his court men of eminent parts by his extraordinary libe-

[o] *Annalium*, tom. ii. lib. xvi. p. 126. tom. x. *Corporis Byzantin.*

C E N T. liberality, set up noble libraries in various pla
 VIII. had translations made of the best Grecian
 PART II. ductions into the Arabic language at a vast
 pence, and employed every method of promotion
 the cause of learning, that became a great
 generous prince, whose zeal for the sciences
 attended with knowledge [p]. It was under
 reign of this immortal caliph, that the Arab
 began to take pleasure in the Grecian learning
 and to propagate it, by degrees, not only in *Syria*
 and *Africa*, but also in *Spain* and *Italy*; and from
 this period they give us a long catalogue of cele-
 brated philosophers, physicans, astronomers, and
 mathematicians, who were ornaments to their
 nation through several succeeding ages [q]. And
 in this certainly they do not boast without reason,
 though we are not to consider, as literally true,
 all the wonderful and pompous things which
 more modern writers of the Saracen history tell
 us of these illustrious philosophers.

After this period, the European Christians profi-
 tited much by the Arabian learning, and were
 highly indebted to the Saracens for the improve-
 ment they made in the various sciences. For in
 mathematics, astronomy, physic, and philosophy
 that were taught in *Europe* from the tenth centu-
 ry, for the most part, drawn from the Arabian
 schools that were established in *Spain* and *Italy*,
 or from the writings of the Arabian sages. And
 from hence the Saracens may, in one respect, be ju-
 stly considered as the restorers of learning in *Euro-*

The state of
 letters un-
 der Charle-
 magne, and
 his succes-
 sors.

IV. In that part of *Europe*, that was subject
 the dominion of the Franks, CHARLEMAGNE
 bound

[p] ABULPHARAIUS, *Historia Dynastiar.* p. 246. GEO-
 ELMACIN, *Histor. Saracen.* lib. ii. p. 139. BARTHOL. H-
 BELOT, *Biblioth. Orient.* Article MAMUN, p. 545.

[q] See the treatise of LEO AFRICANUS, *De Medicis*
Philosophis Arabibus, published a second time by FABRICI-
 in the twelfth volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca*, p. 259.

boured with incredible zeal and ardour for the C E N T.
 advancement of useful learning, and animated ^{IX.} _{P A R T II.}
 his subjects to the culture of the sciences in all
 their various branches. So that, had his succes-
 sors been disposed to follow his example, and ca-
 pable of acting upon the noble plan he formed,
 the empire, in a little time, would have been en-
 tirely delivered from barbarism and ignorance.
 It is true, this great prince left in his family a
 certain spirit of emulation, which animated his
 immediate successors to imitate, in some mea-
 sure, his zeal for the prosperity of the republic of
 letters. LEWIS the MEEK both formed and exe-
 cuted several designs that were extremely condu-
 cive to the progress of the arts and sciences [r];
 and his zeal, in this respect, was surpassed by the
 ardour with which his son CHARLES the BALD ex-
 erted himself in the propagation of letters, and
 in exciting the emulation of the learned by the
 most alluring marks of his protection and favour.
 This great patron of the sciences drew the *lite-
 rati* to his court from all parts, took a particular
 delight in their conversation, multiplied and em-
 bellished the seminaries of learning, and protect-
 ed, in a more especial manner, the Aulic school,
 of which mention has been formerly made, and
 which was first erected in the seventh century, in
 order to the education of the royal family, and
 the first nobility [s]. His brother LOTHAIRE en-
 deavoured to revive in *Italy* the drooping sciences,
 and to restore them from that state of languor
 and decay into which the corruption and indo-
 lence of the clergy had permitted them to fall.

VOL. II.

U

For

[r] See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 583.

[s] HERMAN. CONRINGII *Antiquit. Academicæ*, p. 320.
 CÆS. EG. DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 178. LAU-
 NOUS, *De Scholis Caroli M.* cap. xi. xii. p. 47. *Histoire Li-
 ter: de la France*, tom. v. p. 483.

C E N T
IX.
P A R T II.

For this purpose he erected schools in the eight principal cities of *Italy*, A. D. 823 [t], but with little success, since it appears that that country was entirely destitute of men of learning and genius during the ninth century [u].

In *England* learning had a better fate under the auspicious protection of King ALFRED, who has acquired an immortal name, not only by the admirable progress he made in all kinds of elegant and useful knowledge [w], but also by the care he took to multiply men of letters and genius in his dominions, and to restore to the sciences, sacred and profane, the credit and lustre they so eminently deserve [x].

Impediments to the progress of learning.

V. But the infelicity of the times rendered the effects of all this zeal and all these projects for the advancement of learning much less considerable than might have otherwise been expected. The pro—

[t] See the edict for that purpose among the *Capitularia* in MURATORI *Rerum Italicar.* tom. i. part II. p. 151.

[u] See MURATORI's *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 829.

[w] See ANT. WOOD. *Hist. et Antiquit. Academ. Oxoniens.* lib. i. p. 13. BOULEY, *Hist. Acad Paris.* tom. i. p. 211. *General Dictionary*, at the article ALFRED. (This prince among other pious and learned labours, translated the *Pastoral* of GREGORY I. BOETIUS, *De Consolatione*, and BEDE's *Ecclesiastical History*).

[x] This excellent prince not only encouraged by his protection and liberality such of his own subjects as made any progress in the liberal arts and sciences, but invited over from foreign countries men of distinguished talents, whom he fixed in a seminary at *Oxford*, and, of consequence, may be looked upon as the founder of that noble university. JOHANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA, who had been in the service of CHARLES the BALD, and GRIMBALD, a monk of *St Bertin* in *France*, were the most famous of those learned men who came from abroad; ASSERIUS, WEREFRID, PLEGMUND, DUNWUF, WULFSIG, and the abbot of *St Neot's*, deserve the first rank among the English *Literati*, who adorned the age of ALFRED. See COLLIER's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. I. book iii. p. 165. 166. &c. RAPIN THOYRAS, in the reign of this illustrious monarch.

protectors and patrons of the learned were themselves learned; their authority was respectable, and their munificence was boundless; and yet the progress of science towards perfection was but slow, because the interruptions arising from the troubled state of *Europe* were frequent. The discords that arose between LEWIS the MEEK and his sons, which were succeeded by a rupture between the latter, retarded considerably the progress of letters in the empire; and the incursions and victories of the Normans, which afflicted *Europe* during the whole course of this century, were so fatal to the culture of the arts and sciences, that, in most of the European provinces, and even in *France*, there remained but a small number who truly deserved the title of learned men [y]. The wretched and incoherent fragments of erudition that yet remained among the clergy were confined to the monasteries, and to the episcopal schools; but the zeal of the monkish and priestly orders for the improvement of the mind, and the culture of the sciences, diminished in proportion as their revenues increased, so that their indolence and ignorance grew with their possessions.

VI. It must, however, be confessed, that several examples of learned men, whose zeal for the sciences was kindled by the encouragement and munificence of CHARLEMAGNE, shone forth with a distinguished lustre through the darkness of this barbarous age. Among these, the first rank is due to RABANUS MAURUS, whose fame was great through all *Germany* and *France*, and to whom the youth resorted, in prodigious numbers, from all parts, to receive his instructions in the liberal arts and sciences. The writers of history, whose works have deservedly preserved their

Examples
of learned
men who
flourished

U 2

names

[y] SERVATI LUPI *Epistolæ* xxiv. p. 69. CONRINGII *Antiq. Acad.* p. 322. *Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 251.

C E N T. names from oblivion, are EGINHARD, FRECU^{LPH},
 IX. THEGAN, HAMO, ANASTASIUS, ADO, and others of
 PART II. less note. FLORUS, WALAFRIDUS STRABO, BERTHARIUS, and RABANUS, excelled in poetry. SMARAGDUS and BERTHARIUS were eminent for their skill in grammar and languages, as was also the celebrated RABANUS already mentioned, who acquired a very high degree of reputation by a learned and subtile treatise concerning the causes and the rise of languages. The Greek and Hebrew erudition was cultivated with considerable success by WILLIAM, SERVATUS LUPUS, SCOTUS, and others. EGINHARD, AGOBARD, HINCMAR, and SERVATUS LUPUS, were much celebrated for the eloquence which appeared both in their discourses and in their writings [z].

Johannes
 Scotus
 Erigena.

VII. The philosophy and logic that were taught in the European schools during this century, scarcely deserved such honourable titles, and were little better than an empty jargon. There were, however, to be found in various places, particularly among the Irish, men of acute parts, and extensive knowledge, who were perfectly well entitled to the appellation of philosophers. The chief of these was JOHANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA [a], a native of *Ireland*, the friend and companion of CHARLES the BALD, who delighted so much in his conversation as to honour him with a place at his table. SCOTUS was endowed with an excellent

[z] Such as are desirous of a more circumstantial account of these writers, and of their various productions, may consult the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 251. to 271. Or the more ample account given of them by the celebrated LE BEUF, in his *Etat des Sciences en France depuis CHARLEMAGNE jusqu' au Roi ROBERT*, which is published in his *Recueil de divers écrits pour servir d' Eclaircissement à l' Histoire de France*, tom. ii. p. 1. Paris 1738, en 8vo.

[a] ERIGEN signifies properly a native of *Ireland*, as *Erin*, or *Irin*, was the ancient name of that kingdom.

gent and truly superior genius, and was consider-^{C E N T.}
 ably versed both in Greek and Latin erudition.^{IX.}
 He explained to his disciples, the philosophy of ^{P A R T II.}
 ARISTOTLE, for which he was singularly well qua-
 lified by his thorough knowledge of the Greek
 language ; but as his genius was too bold and as-
 pirring to confine itself to the authority and deci-
 sions of the Stagirite, he pushed his philosophical
 researches yet farther, dared to think for himself,
 and ventured to pursue truth without any other
 guide than his own reason. We have yet extant
 of his composition, *Five books concerning the divi-
 sion of nature*, an intricate and subtile production,
 in which the causes and principles of all things
 are investigated with a considerable degree of saga-
 city, and in which also the precepts of Christia-
 nity are allegorically explained, yet in such a
 manner as to shew, that their ultimate end is the
 union of the soul with the Supreme Being. He
 was the first who blended the *scholastic theology*
 with the mystic, and formed them into one system.
 It has also been imagined, that he was far from
 rejecting the opinions of those who consider the
 union of God and nature, as similar to the union
 that subsists between the soul and the body, a no-
 tion much the same with that of many ancient
 philosophers, who looked upon the Deity as the
 soul of the world. But it may, perhaps, be al-
 leged, and not without reason, that what SCOTUS
 said upon this subject amounted to no more than
 what the *Realists* [b], as they are called, maintain-
 ed

[g] The *Realists*, who followed the doctrine of ARI-
 STOTLE with respect to *universal ideas*, were so called in op-
 position to the *Nominalists*, who embraced the hypothesis of
 ZENO and the Stoics upon that perplexed and intricate subject.
 ARISTOTLE held, against PLATO, that previous to, and inde-
 pendent on matter, there were no *universal ideas* or *essences* ;
 and that the ideas, or exemplars, which the latter supposed to
 have existed in the divine mind, and to have been the *models*

C E N T. IX. ed afterwards, though it must be allowed that he
 P A R T II. has expressed himself in a very perplexed and
 obscure manner [c]. This celebrated philosopher
 formed no particular sect, at least as far as is
 come to our knowledge ; and this will be consi-
 dered, by those who are acquainted with the spi-
 rit of the times he lived in, as a proof that his
 immense learning was accompanied with meek-
 ness and modesty.

About this time there lived a certain person
 named MACARIUS, a native of *Ireland*, who pro-
 pagated in *France* that enormous error, which was
 afterwards adopted and professed by AVERROES,
 that one individual intelligence, one soul, per-
 formed the spiritual and rational functions in all
 the human race. This error was confuted by
 RATRAM, a famous monk of *Corbey* [d]. Before
 these writers flourished DUNGAL, a native of
Ireland also, who left his country, and retired into
 a French monastery, where he lived during the
 reigns of CHARLEMAGNE and LEWIS the MEK,
 and taught philosophy and astronomy with the
 greatest reputation [e]. HERIC, a monk of *Aux-*
erre,

of all created things, had been eternally impressed upon mat-
 ter, and were coeval with, and inherent in, their objects-
 ZENO and his followers, departing both from the Platonic and
 Aristotelian systems, maintained that these pretended univer-
 sals had neither *form* nor *essence*, and were no more than mere
 terms and *nominal* representations of their particular objects-
 The doctrine of ARISTOTLE prevailed until the eleventh cen-
 tury, when ROSCELINUS embraced the Stoical system, and
 founded the sect of the *Nominalists*, whose sentiments were pro-
 pagated with great success by the famous ABELARD. These
 two sects differed considerably among themselves, and ex-
 plained, or rather obscured, their respective tenets in a varie-
 ty of ways.

[c] The work here alluded to was published at *Oxford* by
 Mr THOMAS GALE, in 1681. The learned HEUMAN has
 made several extracts from it, and given also an ample and
 learned account of SCOTUS, in his *Acts of the Philosophers*,
 written in *German*, tom. iii. p. 858.

[d] MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc.* part II. *Actor. SS. Or d.*
Benedicti. sect. 156. p. 53.

[e] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 493.

erre, made likewise an eminent figure among the C E N T. IX. P A R T II. learned of this age; he was a man of uncommon sagacity, was endowed with a great and aspiring genius, and is said, in many things, to have anticipated the famous DESCARTES in the manner of investigating truth [*f*].

C H A P. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government during this century.

THE impiety and licentiousness of the The corruption of the clergy. greatest part of the clergy arose, at this time, to an enormous height, and stand upon record, in the unanimous complaints of the most candid and impartial writers of this century [*g*]. In the east, tumult, discord, conspiracies, and treason, reigned uncontrouled, and all things were carried by violence and force. These abuses appeared in many things, but particularly in the election of the patriarchs of *Constantinople*. The favour of the court was become the only step to that high and important office; and as the patriarch's continuance in that eminent post depended upon such an uncertain and precarious foundation, nothing was more usual than to see a prelate pulled down from his episcopal throne by an imperial decree. In the western provinces, the bishops were become voluptuous and effeminate to a very high degree. They passed their lives amidst the splendour of courts, and the pleasures

U 4

[*f*] LE BEUF *Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 481. *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. iv. *M. Junii ad d. xxiv.* p. 829. *ad d. xxxi. Jul.* p. 249. For this philosopher has obtained a place among the saintly order.

[*g*] See AGOBARDUS, *De privilegiis et jure Sacerdotii*, sect. 13. p. 137. tom. i. opp. ed. Baluzi.

C E N T. sures of a luxurious indolence, which corrupted
 IX. their taste, extinguished their zeal, and rendered
 PART II. them incapable of performing the solemn duties
 of their function [b]; while the inferior clergy
 were sunk in licentiousness, minded nothing but
 sensual gratifications, and infected with the most
 heinous vices the flock, whom it was the very
 business of their ministry to preserve, or to deli-
 ver from the contagion of iniquity. Besides, the
 ignorance of the sacred order was, in many pla-
 ces, so deplorable, that few of them could either
 read or write; and still fewer were capable of ex-
 pressing their wretched notions with any degree
 of method or perspicuity. Hence it happened,
 that when letters were to be penned, or any mat-
 ter of consequence was to be committed to wri-
 ting, they had commonly recourse to some person
 who was supposed to be endowed with superior
 abilities, as appears in the case of SERVATUS
 LUPUS [i].

The causes
 of this cor-
 ruption.

II. Many circumstances concurred, particu-
 larly in the European nations, to produce and
 augment this corruption and licentiousness, so
 shameful in an order of men, who were set apart
 to exhibit examples of piety to the rest of the
 world. Among these we may reckon, as the
 chief sources of the evil under consideration, the
 calamities of the times, even the bloody and per-
 petual wars that were carried on between LEWIS
 the MEEK and his family, the incursions and con-
 quests of the barbarous nations, the gross and
 incre-

[b] The reader will be convinced of this by consulting
 AGOBARD, *passim*, and by looking over the laws enacted in
 the Latin councils for restraining the disorders of the clergy.
 See also SERVATUS LUPUS, *Epist.* xxxv. p. 73. 281. and
 STEPH. BALUZ. in *Adnot.* p. 378.

[i] See the works of SERVATUS LUPUS, *Epist.* xcvi. xcix.
 p. 126. 142. 148. as also his Life. See also RODOLPHI Ba-
 turicensis *Capitula ad clerum suum*, in BALUZII *Miscellaneis*,
 tom. vi. p. 139. 148.

incredible ignorance of the nobility, and the affluence and riches that flowed in upon the churches and religious seminaries from all quarters. Many other causes also contributed to dishonour the church, by introducing into it a corrupt ministry. A nobleman, who, through want of talents, activity, or courage, was rendered incapable of appearing with dignity in the cabinet, or with honour in the field, immediately turned his views towards the church, aimed at a distinguished place among its chiefs and rulers, and became, in consequence, a contagious example of stupidity and vice to the inferior clergy [k]. The patrons of churches, in whom resided the right of election, unwilling to submit their disorderly conduct to the keen censure of zealous and upright pastors, industriously looked for the most abject, ignorant, and worthless ecclesiastics, to whom they committed the cure of souls [l]. But one of the circumstances, which contributed in a particular manner to render, at least, the higher clergy wicked and depraved, and to take off their minds from the duties of their station, was the obligation they were under of performing certain services to their sovereigns, in consequence of the possessions they derived from the royal bounty. The bishops and heads of monasteries held many lands and castles by a feudal tenure; and being thereby bound to furnish their princes with a certain number of soldiers in time of war, were obliged also to take the field themselves at the head of these troops [m],
and

[k] HINC MARUS, *Oper. Posterior. contra Godeschalcum*, cap. xxxvi. tom. i. Opp. p. 318. SERVATUS LUPUS, *Epist. lxxix.* p. 120.

[l] AGOBARDUS, *De privilegiis et jure Sacerdotum*, cap. xi. p. 341. tom. i. Opp.

[m] STEPH. BALUZII *Appendix Actor. ad Servatum*, p. 508. MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 446. MABILLON. *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 587. FRESNE, *ad Joinvillii Hist. Ludovici S.* p. 75. 76.

C E N T. and thus to act in a sphere that was utterly incon-
 IX.
 PART II. sistent with the nature and duties of their sacred
 character. Besides all this, it often happened
 that rapacious princes, in order to satisfy the
 craving wants of their soldiers and domestics,
 boldly invaded the possessions of the church,
 which they distributed among their armies;
 in consequence of which the priests and monks,
 in order to avoid perishing through hunger, aban-
 doned themselves to the practice of violence,
 fraud, and all sorts of crimes, which they looked
 upon as the only means, they had left, of pro-
 curing themselves a subsistence [n].

The Roman
 pontifs.

III. The Roman pontifs were raised to that
 high dignity by the suffrages of the sacer-
 dotal order, accompanied by the voice of the
 people; but, after their election, the appro-
 bation of the emperor was necessary, in order
 to their consecration [o]. There is indeed, yet
 extant, an edict, supposed to have been published
 in the year 817, by LEWIS the MEEK, in which
 he abolishes this imperial right, and grants to the
 Romans, not only the power of electing their pon-
 tif, but also the privilege of installing and conse-
 crating him when elected, without waiting for
 the consent of the emperor [p]. But this grant
 will deceive none who enquire into this matter
 with any degree of attention and diligence, since
 several

[n] AGOBARDUS, *De dispens. rerum Ecclesiast.* sect. 4. p. 270. tom. i. Opp. FLODOARDUS, *Histor. Eccles. Rbemensis*, lib. iii. cap. ix. SERVATUS LUPUS, *Epist.* xlv. p. 87. 437, &c. MURATORI, tom. vi. *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, p. 302. LUD. THOMASSIN, *Disciplina Ecclesiæ vet. et novæ circa beneficia*, part II. lib. iii. cap. xi. These corrupt measures prevailed also among the Greeks and Lombards, as may be seen in the *Oriens Christianus* of LEQUIEN, tom. i. p. 142.

[o] See DE BUNAU, *Histor. Imper. German.* tom. iii. p. 28. 32.

[p] HARDUINI, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1236. LE COINTE, *Annales Eccles. Francor.* tom. vii. ad A. 817. sect. 6. BALUZII *Capitular. Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 591.

several learned men have proved it spurious by ^{C E N T,} the most irresistible arguments [q]. It must, ^{IX.} however, be confessed, that, after the time of ^{P A R T II.} CHARLES the BALD, a new scene of things arose; and the important change above mentioned was really introduced. That prince having obtained the imperial dignity by the good offices of the bishop of *Rome*, returned this eminent service by delivering the succeeding pontiffs from the obligation of waiting for the consent of the emperors, in order to their being installed in their office. And thus we find, that from the time of EUGENIUS III. who was raised to the pontificate A. D. 884. the election of the bishops of *Rome* was carried on without the least regard to law, order, and decency, and was generally attended with civil tumults and dissensions, until the reign of ORTHO the GREAT, who put a stop to these disorderly proceedings.

IV. Among the prelates that were raised to the pontificate, in this century, there were very few ^{The frauds practised by the Roman pontiffs to increase their power.} who distinguished themselves by their learning, prudence, and virtue, or who were at all careful about acquiring those particular qualities that are essential to the character of a Christian bishop. On the contrary, the greatest part of them are only known by the flagitious actions that have transmitted their names with infamy to our times; and they all, in general, seem to have vied with each other in their ambitious efforts to extend their authority, and render their dominion unlimited and universal. It is here that we may place, with propriety, an event, which is said to have

[q] MURATORI *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiast.* p. 54. and *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 29. 30. in which that learned man conjectures, that this edict was forged in the eleventh century. BUNAU, *Hist. Imper. German.* tom. iii. p. 34. The partisans, however, of the papal authority, such as Fontanani and others, plead strenuously, though ineffectually, for the authenticity of the edict in question.

C E N T. have interrupted the much vaunted succession of
 IX.
 P A R T II. regular bishops in the see of *Rome*, from the first
 foundation of that church to the present times. Between the pontificate of LEO IV. who died in the year 855, and that of BENEDICT III. a certain woman, who had the art to disguise her sex for a considerable time, is said, by learning, genius, and dexterity, to have made good her way to the papal chair, and to have governed the church with the title and dignity of pontif about two years. This extraordinary person is yet known by the title of POPE JOAN. During the five succeeding centuries this event was generally believed, and a vast number of writers bore testimony to its truth ; nor before the reformation undertaken by LUTHER, was it considered by any, either as incredible in itself, or as ignominious to the church [r]. But in the last century, the elevation, and indeed the existence of this female pontif, became the subject of a keen and learned controversy ; and several men of distinguished abilities, both among the Roman catholics and protestants, employed all the force of their genius and erudition to destroy the credit of this story, by invalidating, on the one hand, the weight of the testimonies on which it is founded, and by shewing, on the other, that it was inconsistent with the most accurate chronological computations [s]. Between the contending parties, some of

[r] The arguments of those who maintain the truth of this extraordinary event are collected in one striking point of view, with great learning and industry, by FRED. SPANHEIM, in his *Exercitatio de Papa Fæmina*, tom. ii. Opp. p. 577. This dissertation was translated into French by the celebrated L'ENFANT, who digested it into a better method, and enriched it with several additions.

[s] The arguments of those who reject the story of POPE JOAN as a fable, have been collected by DAVID BLONDEL, and after him with still more art and erudition by BAYLE, in the

of the wisest and most learned writers have judi-
 ciously steered a middle course : they grant that
 many fictitious and fabulous circumstances have
 been interwoven with this story ; but they deny
 that it is entirely destitute of all foundation, or
 that the controversy is yet ended, in a satisfacto-
 ry manner, in favour of those who dispute the
 truth. And, indeed, upon a deliberate and impar-
 tial view of this whole matter, it will appear
 more than probable, that some unusual event
 must have happened at *Rome*, from which this
 story derived its origin ; because it is not at all
 credible, from any principles of moral evidence,
 that an event should be universally believed and
 related in the same manner by a multitude of
 historians, during five centuries immediately suc-
 ceeding its supposed date, if that event was ab-
 solutely destitute of all foundation. But what it
 was that gave rise to this story is yet to be dis-
 covered, and is likely to remain so [1].

V. The

the third volume of his *Dictionary*, at the article *PAPESSE*.
 Add to this JO. GEORG. ECCARD, *Histor. Franciæ Oriental.*
 tom. ii. lib. xxx. sect. 119. p. 436. which author has adopted
 and appropriated the sentiments of the great LEIBNITZ, upon
 the matter in question. See also LEQUIEN's *Oriens Christian.*
 tom. ii. p. 777. and HEUMAN's *Sylloge Dissert. Sacr.* tom. i.
 part II. p. 352. The very learned JO. CHRISTOPH. WAGEN-
 SELIUS has given a just and accurate view of the arguments on
 both sides, which may be seen in the *Amœnitates Litterariæ* of
 SCHELHORNIIUS, part I. p. 146. and the same has been done by
 BASNAGE, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 408. A list
 of the other writers, who have employed their labours upon this
 intricate question, may be seen in CASP. SAGITTARIUS's *Introd.*
in Hist. Eccles. tom. i. cap. xxv. p. 676. and in the *Biblioth.*
Bremens. tom. viii. part V. p. 935.

[1] Such is the opinion of PAUL SARPI, in his *Lettere Ita-
 liane*, Lett. lxxxii. p. 452 ; of LENFANT *Biblioth. Germanique*,
 tom. x. p. 27 ; of THEOD. HASÆUS, *Biblioth. Bremens.* tom.
 viii. part V. p. 935 ; and of the celebrated PFAFF *Instit.*
Histor. Eccles. p. 401 ; to whom we might add WERNSDORF,
 BOECLER, HOLBERG, and many others, were this enume-
 ration

C E N T. V. The enormous vices, that must have co-
 IX. vered so many pontifs with infamy in the judg-
 PART II. ment of the wise, formed not the least obstacle
 Their zeal-
 ous attach-
 ment to the
 kings of
 France, by
 whom they
 are favour-
 ed.
 to their ambition in these miserable times, nor
 hindered them from extending their influence,
 and augmenting their authority, both in church
 and state. It does not, indeed, appear from any
 authentic records, that their possessions augmen-
 ted in proportion to the progress of their authori-
 ty; nor that any new grants of land were added
 to what they had already obtained from the libe-
 rality of the kings of *France*. The donations,
 which LEWIS the MEEK is reported to have made
 to them, are mere inventions, equally destitute of
 truth and probability [*u*]; and nothing is more
 groundless than the accounts of those writers who
 affirm that CHARLES the BALD divested himself;
 in the year 875, of his right to the city of *Rome*;
 and its territory, in favour of the pontifs, whom
 he, at the same time, enriched with a variety of
 noble and costly presents, in return for the good
 services of JOHN VIII. by whose succours he was
 raised to the empire. But be that as it may, it
 is certain, that the authority and affluence of the
 bishops of *Rome* increased greatly from the time
 of LEWIS the MEEK, but more especially from
 the accession of CHARLES the BALD to the impe-
 rial throne, as all the historical records of that
 period abundantly testify [*w*].

They gain
 by the trou-
 bles that a-
 rise in the
 empire.

VI. After the death of LEWIS II. a fierce and
 dreadful war broke out between the posterity of
 CHAR-
 ration necessary. Without assuming the character of a judge
 in this intricate controversy, concerning which so many false
 decisions have been pronounced, I shall only take the liberty to
 observe, that the matter in debate is as yet dubious, and has not,
 on either side, been represented in such a light as to bring con-
 viction.

[*u*] See above, sect. 3.

[*w*] BUNAU *Histor. Imperii Rom. German.* tom. ii. p. 482.
 JO. GEORGE ECCARD, *Histor. Franciæ Orient.* tom. ii. lib.
 xxxi. p. 606.

CHARLEMAGNE, among which there were several competitors for the empire. This furnished the Italian princes, and the Roman pontif JOHN VIII. with a favourable opportunity of assuming to themselves the right of nominating to the imperial throne, and of excluding from all parts in this election the nations who had formerly the right of suffrage; and if the opportunity was favourable, it was seized with avidity, and improved with the utmost dexterity and zeal. Their favour and interest was earnestly solicited by CHARLES the BALD, whose intreaties were rendered effectual by rich presents, prodigious sums of money, and most pompous promises, in consequence of which he was proclaimed, A. D. 876, by the pontif JOHN VIII. and by the Italian princes assembled at *Pavia*, king of *Italy* and emperor of the Romans. CARLOMAN and CHARLES the GROSS, who succeeded him in the kingdom of *Italy*, and in the Roman empire, were also elected by the Roman pontif, and the Italian princes. After the reigns of these princes the empire was torn in pieces; the most deplorable tumults and commotions arose in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, which were governed, or rather subdued and usurped, by various chiefs, and in this confused scene of things, the highest bidder was, by the succour of the greedy pontifs, generally raised to the government of *Italy*, and to the imperial throne [x].

VII. Thus the power and influence of the pontifs, in civil affairs, arose in a short time to an enormous height through the favour and protection of the princes, in whose cause they had employed the influence which superstition had given them over the minds of the people. The increase of their authority, in religious matters, was not less

The emperors divested of their ecclesiastical authority, and the power of the councils and of the bishops diminished.

[x] This matter is amply illustrated by SIGONIVS, in his famous book *De Regno Italia*, and by the other writers of German and Italian history.

C E N T. less rapid, nor less considerable, and it arose from
 IX. the same causes. The wisest and most impartial
 PART II. among the Roman Catholic writers not only ac-
 knowledge, but are even at pains to demonstrate;
 that, from the time of LEWIS the MEER, the ancient
 rules of ecclesiastical government were gradually
 changed in *Europe* by the counsels and instigation
 of the court of *Rome*, and new laws substituted
 in their place. The European princes suffered
 themselves to be divested of the supreme authori-
 ty in religious matters, which they had derived
 from CHARLEMAGNE; the power of the bishops
 was greatly diminished, and even the authority of
 both provincial and general councils began to de-
 cline. The Roman pontifs, elated with their
 overgrown prosperity, and become arrogant, be-
 yond measure by the daily accessions that were
 made to their authority, were eagerly bent upon
 persuading all, and had, indeed, the good fortune
 to persuade many, that the bishop of *Rome* was
 constituted and appointed by JESUS CHRIST, su-
 preme legislator and judge of the church univer-
 sal; and that, therefore, the bishops derived all
 their authority from the Roman pontif, nor could
 the councils determine any thing without his per-
 mission and consent [y]. This opinion, which
 was inculcated by the pontifs with the utmost
 zeal and ardour, was opposed by such as were
 acquainted with the ancient ecclesiastical consti-
 tutions, and the government of the church in the
 earlier ages; but it was opposed in vain.

VIII. In

[y] See the excellent work of an anonymous and unknown
 author, who signs himself D. B. and whose book is entitled,
Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique public Francois, published first
 at *London*, in 2 volumes 8vo, in the year 1737, and lately re-
 published in a larger and more splendid edition. The author
 of this performance shews, in a judicious and concise manner,
 the various steps by which the papal authority arose to such a
 monstrous height. His account of the ninth century may be
 seen in the first volume of his work, at the 160th page.

VIII. In order to gain credit to this new ecclesiastical system, so different from the ancient rules of church government, and to support the haughty pretensions of the pontifs to supremacy and independence, it was necessary to produce the authority of ancient deeds, to stop the mouths of such as were disposed to set bounds to their usurpations. The bishops of *Rome* were aware of this; and as those means were looked upon as the most lawful that tended best to the accomplishment of their purposes, they employed some of their most ingenious and zealous partizans in forging conventions, acts of councils, epistles, and such like records, by which it might appear, that, in the first ages of the church, the Roman pontifs were cloathed with the same spiritual majesty and supreme authority which they now assumed [z]. Among these fictitious supports of the papal dignity, the famous *Decretal Epistles*, as they are called, said to have been written by the pontifs of the primitive times, deserve chiefly to be stigmatized. They were the production of an obscure writer, who fraudulently prefixed to them

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.
Forged memorials and acts procured by the pontifs to establish their supremacy.

VOL. II.

X

the

[z] There is just reason to imagine, that these *Decretals*, and various other acts, such as the grants of CHARLEMAGNE and LEWIS the MEEK, were forged with the knowledge and consent of the Roman pontifs; since it is utterly incredible, that these pontifs should, for many ages, have constantly appealed, in support of their pretended rights and privileges, to acts and records that were only the fictions of private persons, and should, with such weak arms, have stood out against kings, princes, councils, and bishops who were unwilling to receive their yoke. Acts of a private nature would have been useless here, and public deeds were necessary to accomplish the views of papal ambition. Such forgeries were, in this century esteemed lawful, on account of their supposed tendency to promote the glory of God, and to advance the prosperity of the church: and therefore, it is not surprising, that the good pontifs should feel no remorse in imposing upon the world frauds and forgeries, that were designed to enrich the patrimony of St PETER, and to aggrandize his successors in the apostolic see.

C E N T. the name of ISIDORE, bishop of *Seville* [a], to
 IX. make the world believe they had been collected
 PART II. by that illustrious and learned prelate. Some of
 them had appeared in the eighth century [b], but
 they were now entirely drawn from their obscuri-
 ty, and produced, with an air of ostentation and
 triumph, to demonstrate the supremacy of the
 Roman pontiffs [c]. The decisions of a certain
 Roman council, which is said to have been held
 during the pontificate of SYLVESTER, were like-
 wise alleged in behalf of the same cause; but this
 council had never been so much as heard of be-
 fore the present century, and the accounts now
 given of it proceeded from the same source with
 the *decretals*, and were equally authentic. Be-
 that as it may, the decrees of this pretended coun-
 cil contributed much to enrich and aggrandize the
 Roman

[a] It is certain that the forger of the *decretals* was extreme-
 ly desirous of persuading the world that they were collected by
 ISIDORE, the celebrated bishop of *Seville*, who lived in the
 sixth century. See FABRICI *Bibliob. Latin. mediæ ævi*, tom.
 v. p. 561. It was a custom among the bishops to add, from a
 principle of humility the epithet *Peccator*, i. e. *sinner*, to their
 titles; and, accordingly, the forger of the *Decretals* has added
 the word *Peccator* after the name of ISIDORE: but this some
 ignorant transcribers have absurdly changed into the word
Mercator; and hence it happens, that one ISIDORUS MER-
 CATOR passes for the fraudulent collector, or forger of the *de-
 cretals*.

[b] See DON CALMET, *Histoire de Lorraine*, tom. i. p. 528.
 B. JUST. HEN. BOHMER. *Præf. ad novum Ed. t. Juris Canon.*
 tom. i. p. x. xix. *Not.*

[c] Beside the authors of the *Centurie Magdeburgen* is and
 other writers, the learned BLONDEL has demonstrated, in an am-
 ple and satisfactory manner, the spuriousness of the *decretals*,
 in his *Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes*; and in our
 time the cheat is acknowledged even by the Roman Catholics,
 at least by such of them as are possessed of any tolerable degree
 of judgment and impartiality. See RUDDEUS's *Isagoge in The-
 ologiam*, tom. ii. p. 762; as also PETR. COUSTANTIUS's *Pro-
 legom. ad Epistolas Pontificum*, tom. i. p. 130; and a *Dissert-
 ation of FLEURY*, prefixed to the sixteenth volume of his *Ec-
 clestiasical History*.

Roman pontifs, and exalt them above all human authority and jurisdiction [*d*].

IX. There were not, however, wanting among the Latin bishops men of prudence and sagacity, who saw through these impious frauds, and perceived the chains that were forging both for them and for the church. The French bishops distinguished themselves, in a particular and glorious manner, by the zeal and vehemence with which they opposed the spurious *decretals*, and other like fictitious monuments and records, and protested against their being received among the laws of the church. But the obstinacy of the pontifs, and particularly of NICHOLAS I. conquered this opposition, and reduced it to silence. And as the empire, in the periods that succeeded this contest, fell back into the grossest ignorance and darkness, there scarcely remained any who were capable of detecting these odious impostors, or disposed to support the expiring liberty of the church. The history of the following ages shews, in a multitude of deplorable examples, the disorders and calamities that sprung from the ambition of the aspiring pontifs; it represents these despotic lords of the church, labouring by the aid of their impious frauds, to overturn its ancient government, to undermine the authority of its bishops, to engross its riches and revenues into their own hands; nay, what is still more horrible, it represents them aiming perfidious blows at the thrones of princes, and endeavouring to lessen their power, and to set bounds to their dominion. All this is unanimously acknowledged by such as have looked, with attention and impartiality, into the history of the times of which we now write, and is

X 2 ingenuously

[*d*] See JO. LAUNOIUS, *De cura Ecclesiæ erga pauperes et miseræ*, cap. i. Observat. i. p. 576. tom. ii. part II. Opp.

C E N T. ingenuously confessed by men of learning and
 IX. probity, that are well affected to the Romish
 P A R T II. church and its sovereign pontif [e].

The mona-
 stic life in
 high re-
 pute.

X. The monastic life was now universally in the highest esteem, and nothing could equal the veneration that was paid to such as devoted themselves to the sacred gloom and indolence of a convent. The Greeks and orientals had been long accustomed to regard the monkish orders and discipline with the greatest admiration ; but it was only since the beginning of the last century, that this holy passion was indulged among the Latins to such an extravagant length. In the present age it went beyond all bounds : kings, dukes, and counts, forgot their true dignity, even the fulfilling with zeal the duties of their high stations, and affected that contempt of the world and its grandeur, which they took for magnanimity, though it was really nothing else but the result of a narrow and superstitious spirit. They abandoned their thrones, their honours, and their treasures, and shut themselves up in monasteries with a view of devoting themselves entirely to God. Several examples of this fanatical extravagance were exhibited in *Italy, France, Germany* and *Spain*, both in this and the preceding century. And if the allurements of worldly pleasures and honours had too much power over the minds of many, to permit their separating themselves from human society, during their lives, such endeavoured to make amends for this in their last hours ; for when they perceived death approaching, they demanded the monastic habit, and actually put it on before their departure, that they might

[e] See the above-mentioned author's treatise, intituled *Regia Potestas in Causis Matrimonial.* tom. i. part II. Opp. p. 964 ; as also PETR. CŒVSTANTIUS, *Præf. ad Epist. Romanor. Pontif.* tom. i. p. 127.

might be regarded as of the fraternity, and be of consequence entitled to the fervent prayers and other spiritual succours of their ghostly brethren.

But nothing affords such a striking and remarkable proof of the excessive and fanatical veneration that was paid to the Monastic order, as the treatment they received from several kings and emperors, who drew numbers of monks and abbots from their cloisters, and placed them in stations entirely foreign to their vows and their character, even amidst the splendour of a court, and at the head of affairs. The transition, indeed, was violent from the obscurity of a convent and the study of a liturgy, to sit at the helm of an empire, and manage the political interests of nations. But such was the case; and pious princes alleged as a reason for this singular choice, that the government of a state could never be better placed than in the hands of such holy men, who had subdued all irregular appetites and passions, and were so divested of the lust of pleasure and ambition, as to be incapable of any unworthy designs, any low, sordid, or selfish views. Hence we find in the history of these times frequent examples of monks and abbots performing the functions of ambassadors, envoys, and ministers of state, and displaying their talents with various success in these high and eminent stations.

XI. The morals, however, of the monks, were far from being so pure as to justify the reason alleged above for their promotion. Their patrons and protectors, who loaded them with honours and preferment, were sensible of the irregular and licentious lives that many of them led, and used their utmost efforts to correct their vices, and to reform their manners. LEWIS the MEEK distinguished his zeal in the execution of this virtuous and noble design; and, to render it more effectual, he employed the pious labours of BENE-

Monks and abbots employed in civil affairs, and called to the courts of princes.

A reformation of the monastic order attempted.

CEN T. DICT, abbot of *Aniane*, in reforming the monas-
 IX. teries first in *Aquitaine*, and afterwards throughout
 PART II. the whole kingdom of *France*, and in restoring,
 by new and salutary laws, the monastic discipline,
 which was absolutely neglected and fallen into
 decay. This worthy ecclesiastic presided, in the
 year 817, in the council of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where
 several wise measures were taken for removing the
 disorders that reigned in the cloisters; and in
 consequence of the unlimited authority he had re-
 ceived from the emperor, he subjected all the
 monks, without exception, to the rule of the fa-
 mous BENEDICT abbot of *Mount Cassin*, annulled
 that variety of rites and customs that had obtained
 in the different monasteries, prescribed to them
 all one uniform method of living, and thus united,
 as it were, into one general body or society, the
 various orders which had hitherto been connected
 by no common bond [*f*]. This admirable dis-
 cipline, which acquired to BENEDICT of *Aniane*,
 the highest reputation, and made him be revered
 as the second father of the western monks, flou-
 rished during a certain time, but afterwards de-
 clined through various causes, until the conclu-
 sion of this century, when, under the calamities
 that oppressed both the church and the empire,
 it almost entirely disappeared.

Canons and
 canonesses. XII. The same emperor, who had appeared
 with such zeal both in protecting and reforming
 the monks, gave also distinguished marks of his
 favour to the order of canons, which CHRODE-
 GANGUS had introduced in several places during
 the

[*f*] JO. MABILLON, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. iv.*
 part I. *Præf.* p. xxvii. and *Præf. ad Sæc. v.* p. xxv. EJUS-
 DEM, *Annales Ordin. S. Benedict.* tom. ii. 430. CALMET,
Hist. de Lorraine, tom. i. p. 596. For a particular account
 of BENEDICT of *Aniane*, and his illustrious virtues, see the
Acta Sanctor. tom. ii. *Febr.* p. 606: and the *Histoire Lite-
 raire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 447.

the last century. He distributed them through C E N T. all the provinces of the empire, and instituted also IX. an order of *canonesses*, which was the first female P A R T II. convent known in the Christian world [g]. For each of these orders the zealous emperor had a rule drawn up, A. D. 817, in the council of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which he substituted in the place of that which had been appointed by CHRODEGAN-GUS, and this new rule was observed in most of the monasteries and convents of the canons and canonesses in the west until the twelfth century, notwithstanding that it was disapproved of by the court of *Rome* [h]. The author of the rule that was appointed for the *canons* was, undoubtedly, AMALARIUS, a presbyter of *Metz*; but it is not so certain whether that which was drawn up for the *canonesses* was composed by the same hand [i]. Be that as it may, the *canonical* order grew into high

X 4

[g] See MABILLON, *Annal. Ordin. S. Benedicti*, tom. ii. p. 428.

[h] This rule was condemned in a council held at *Rome*, A. D. 1059, under the pontif NICHOLAS II. The pretexts used by the pontif and the assembled prelates, to justify their disapprobation of this rule, were, that it permitted the canons to enjoy the possessions they had before their vows, and allowed to each of them too large a portion of bread and wine; but the true reason was, that this order had been instituted by an emperor without either the consent, or knowledge, of the Roman pontif. For an account of the rule and discipline of these *canons*, see FLEURY'S *Eccles. Hist.* tom. x. p. 163, 164, &c. *Brussels* edition in 12mo.

[i] LUD. THOMASSIN, *Disciplin. Eccles. Vet. et Novæ*, part. lib. iii. cap. xlii. xliii. MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 189. 540. No accounts of the *Canons* are less worthy of credit, than those that are given by writers, who have been themselves members of that order, such as RAYMOND CHAPPONEL'S *Histoire des Chanoines*, published at *Paris* in 8vo. in the year 1699; for these writers, from fond prejudices in favour of their institution, and an ambitious desire of enhancing its merit and rendering it respectable, derive the origin of *canonical order* from CHRIST and his apostles, or trace it up, at least, to the first ages of the Christian church.

C E N T. high repute; and from this time a great number
 of convents, were erected for them through all
 the western provinces, and were richly endowed
 by the liberality of pious and opulent Christians.
 But this institution degenerated in a short time,
 like all others, from its primitive purity, and
 ceased to answer the laudable intention and design
 of its worthy founders [k].

The princi-
 pal Greek
 writers.

XIII. Of the theological writers that flourished
 among the Greeks, the following are the most re-
 markable :

PHOTIUS, patriarch of *Constantinople*, a man of
 most profound and universal erudition, whose
Bibliotheca [l], *Epistles*, and other writings, are
 yet valuable on many accounts.

NICEPHORUS, also a patriarch of the above men-
 tioned city, who, among other productions, pub-
 lished a warm defence of the worship of images
 against the enemies of that idolatrous service [m].

THEODORUS STUDITES, who acquired a name
 chiefly by his warm opposition to the *Iconoclasts*,
 and by the zeal with which he wrote in favour
 of image worship [n].

The same cause has principally contributed to
 transmit to after-ages the names of THEODORUS
 GRAPTUS, METHODIUS, who obtained the title
 of *Confessor* for his adherence to image-worship in
 the

[k] CALMET, *Hist. de Lorraine*, tom. i. p. 591. *Hist. Lit-
 teraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 536.

[l] See CAMUSAT, *Histoire des Journaux*, tom. i. p. 87.

[m] *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. *Martii ad d. xiii.* p. 293.
 OUDINUS, *Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 2.

[n] THEODORE STUDITES was one of the most volumi-
 nous writers of this century, and would certainly have been
 known as a man of genius and learning in after-ages, though
 the controversy concerning images had never existed. There
 are of his writings, yet extant, 265 letters, several treatises
 against the *Iconoclasts*, 124 epigrams in lambics, and a large
 manuscript, which contains a course of catechetical instruction
 concerning the duties of the monastic life.

the very face of persecution, THEODORUS ABU-CEN T. CARA, [o], PETRUS SICULUS, NICETAS DAVID, ^{IX.} PART II. and others, who would probably have been long since buried in oblivion, had not the various contests between the Greek and Latin churches, and the divisions of the former among themselves upon the question concerning images excited the vehemence of these inconsiderable writers, and furnished them with an occasion of making some noise in the world.

MOSES BARCEPHA, a Syrian bishop, surpassed by far all whom we have now been mentioning, and deserved the shining reputation which he has obtained in the republic of letters, as what we have yet extant of his works discover several marks of true genius, and an uncommon acquaintance with the art of writing [p]

XIV. RABANUS MAURUS, archbishop of *Mentz*, ^{Latin} ^{writers.} is deservedly placed at the head of the Latin writers of this age; the force of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the multitude of productions that flowed from his pen, entitle him to this distinguished rank, and render improper all comparison between him and his contemporaries. He may be called the great light of *Germany* and *France*, since it was from the prodigious fund of knowledge he possessed, that these nations derived principally their religious instruction. His writings were every where in the hands of the learned [q], and were held in such veneration, that, during four centuries, the most eminent of the Latin divines appealed to them as authority in religious

[o] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, vol. i. at the article ABU-CARA.

[p] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 127.

[q] See, for a particular account of the life and writings of RABANUS MAURUS, the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 151; as also the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i: *Fabr.* p. 500.

C E N T. religious matters, and adopted almost universally
 IX. the sentiments they contained. After this illus-
 PART II. trious prelate, the writers that are most worthy of
 mention are,

AGOBARD, archbishop of *Lyons*, a man of wisdom and prudence, and far from being destitute of literary merit; but whose reputation has deservedly suffered by his justifying and even fomenting the rebellion of *LOTHAIRE* and *PEPIN* against *LEWIS the MEEK*, their father and their sovereign [*r*].

HILDUIN, abbot of *St Dennis*, who acquired no small reputation by a work entitled, *Areopagitica* [*s*].

EGINHARD, abbot of *Selingestat*, the celebrated author of the *Life of Charlemagne*, remarkable for the beauty of his diction, the perspicuity and elegance of his style, and a variety of other literary accomplishments [*t*].

CLAUDIUS, bishop of *Turin*, whose *Exposition* of several books of scripture [*u*], as also his *Chronology*, gained him an eminent and lasting reputation [*w*].

FRECULF,

[*r*] See *COLONIA, Hist. Litter. de la ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 93. *General Dictionary*, at the article *AGOBARD. Hist. Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 567. [*AGOBARD* opposed with great zeal both the worship and the use of images, in his famous book, *De picturis et imaginibus*, a work which has greatly embarrassed the doctors of the Romish church.]

[*s*] *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 607.

[*t*] *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 550. See also the *Life of Charlemagne*, of which the best of fourteen editions is that published by *SCHMINKIUS*, at *Utrecht*, in the year 1711.

[*u*] This prelate, who was famous for his knowledge of the holy scriptures, composed 111 books of commentaries upon *Genesis*, 4 upon *Exodus*, and several upon *Leviticus*. He wrote also a commentary upon the *Gospel of St Matthew*, in which there are many excellent things, and an exposition of all the *Epistles of St Paul*. His commentary on the *Epistle to the Galatians* is printed, but all the rest are in manuscript.]

[*w*] See *SIMON, Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 284.

FRECULF, bishop of *Lysieux*, whose *Chronicle*,^{C E N T.} which is no more than a heavy compilation, is yet^{IX.} extant.^{P A R T II.}

SERVATUS LUPUS, of whose composition we have several epistles and treatises; and who, though a copious and subtile writer, is yet defective in point of elegance and erudition [x].

DREPANIUS FLORUS, who left behind him several *Poems*, *An' exposition of certain books of scripture*, and other performances less worthy of attention [y].

CHRISTIAN DRUTHMAR, the author of *A commentary upon St Matthew's Gospel* [z].

GODESCHALC, a monk of *Orbais*, who rendered his name immortal by the controversy which he set on foot concerning *Predestination and Free Grace*.

PASCHASIUS RADBERT [a], a name famous in the contests concerning *The real presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist*; and who, to pass in silence his other writings, composed a book upon this very subject, which furnished abundant matter of dispute throughout this century.

BERTRAMN, or RATRAMN, a monk of *Corby*, who deserves the first rank among the writers that refuted the doctrine of RADBERT; and whose book concerning *The sacrament of the Lord's supper*, which was composed by the order of CHARLES the BALD, gave also occasion to many contests among learned divines [b].

HAYMO, bishop of *Halberstadt*, the laborious author of several treatises upon various subjects,
and

[x] *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 255.

[y] COLONIA, *Histoire Litter. de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 135.
Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. v. p. 213.

[z] *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. v. p. 84.

[a] For an account of RADBERT, see the *Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom. v. p. 287.

[b] We shall have occasion to speak more particularly of BERTRAMN, and his book, in the following chapter.

C E N T. and who is more to be esteemed for his industry
 IX. and diligence, than for his genius and learn-
 P A R T II. ing [c].

WALAFRIDUS STRABO, who acquired no mean reputation by his *Poems*, his *Lives of the Saints*, and his *Explications* of many of the more difficult passages of scripture [d].

HINCMAR, archbishop of *Rheims*, a man of an imperious and turbulent spirit; but who deserves, notwithstanding, a distinguished place among the Latin writers of this century, since his works discover an aspiring genius, and an ardent zeal in the pursuit of truth, and tend, moreover, in a singular manner, to throw light both upon the civil and ecclesiastical history of the age in which he lived [e].

JOHANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA, the friend and companion of CHARLES the BALD, an eminent philosopher, and a learned divine, whose erudition was accompanied with uncommon marks of sagacity and genius, and whose various performances, as well as his translations from the Greek, gained him a shining and lasting reputation [f]:

It is sufficient barely to name REMIGIUS BERTHARIUS, ADO, AMOIN HERIC, REGINO, abbot of *Prum*, and others, of whom the most common writers of ecclesiastical history give ample accounts.

CHAP.

[c] It is proper to observe, that a great part of the writings that are attributed to HAYMO, bishop of *Halberstadt*, were composed by REMI, or REMIGIUS, of *Auxerre*. See CASSI. MIR OUDINUS, *Comment. Scriptor. de Eccles.* tom. p. 330. *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 111. tom. vi. p. 106. LE BEUF, *Recueil de Diss. sur l'Histoire de la France.* tom. i. p. 278.

[d] See the *Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom. v. p. 554.


[e] *Ibid.* tom. v. p. 416.

[f] See HERM. CONRINGIUS. *Antiq. Academicæ*, p. 309. *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. v. p. 416.

C H A P. III.

*Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church
during this century.*

I. **T**HE zeal of CHARLEMAGNE for the in-^{C E N T.}
terests of Christianity, and his liberality ^{IX.}
to the learned, encouraged many to apply them- ^{P A R T II.}
selves diligently to the study of the scriptures, and ^{The mis-}
to the pursuit of religious truth ; and as long as ^{erable state}
this eminent set of divines remained, the western ^{of Christi-}
provinces were happily preserved from many re-
rors, and from a variety of superstitious practices.
Thus we find among the writers of this age several men of eminent talents, whose productions shew that the lustre of true erudition and theology was not, as yet, totally eclipsed. But these illustrious luminaries of the church disappeared one after the other, and barbarism and ignorance, encouraged by their departure, resumed their ancient seats, and brought, in their train, a prodigious multitude of devout follies, odious superstitions, and abominable errors. Nor did any encourage and propagate with more zeal and ardour these superstitious innovations, than the sacerdotal orders, the spiritual guides of a deluded people. And if we enquire how it came to pass, that the clergy were so zealous in such an inglorious cause, we shall find that this zeal was, in some, the effect of ignorance, and, in others, the fruit of avarice and ambition ; since much was to be gained both in point of authority and opulence from the progress of superstition. Christianity among the Greeks and Orientals was almost in the same declining and deplorable state ; though there arose, from time to time, in the eastern provinces, men of superior abilities, who endeavoured

C E N T. voured to support the cause of true religion, and
 IX. to raise it from the pressures under which it la-
 P A R T II. boured.

The causes
 to which it
 was owing.

II. The causes of this unhappy revolution, that covered the Christian church with superstition and darkness, will appear evident to such as are at all acquainted with the history of these times. The Oriental doctors, miserably divided among themselves, and involved in the bitterest contentions and quarrels with the western churches, lost all notion of the true spirit and genius of Christianity, and, corrupted and biassed by the prejudices and passions that are generally excited and nourished by ill-managed controversy, became incapable of promoting the true and essential interests of religion. Intent also upon defending the excellence and divine authority of their doctrine and discipline against the Latin doctors, and in maintaining among themselves the worship of images which began to be warmly opposed, they advanced many things in the course of these disputes that were highly erroneous, and as one error follows another, their number increased from day to day. The savage and unnatural lives of the monks and hermits, whose number was prodigious, and whose authority was considerable, who haunted the woods and deserts, the gloomy scenes of their extravagant devotion, contributed much, among other causes, to the decay of solid and rational piety. Add to all this, the irruptions of the barbarous nations into the west, the atrocious exploits of usurping princes, the drooping and neglected condition of all the various branches of learning, the ambitious frenzy of the Roman pontifs, who were incessantly gaping after new accessions of authority and dominion, the frauds and tricks of the monastic orders carried on under the specious mask of religion, and then we shall see

see the true causes that founded the empire of su-
perstition and error upon the ruin of virtue, pie-
ty, and reason.

III. The ignorance and corruption that disho-
noured the Christian church, in this century,
were great beyond measure; and were there no
other examples of their enormity upon record,
than the single instance of that stupid veneration
that was paid to the bones and carcasses of depart-
ed saints; this would be sufficient to convince us
of the deplorable progress of superstition. This
idolatrous devotion was now considered as the
most sacred and momentous branch of religion,
nor did any dare to entertain the smallest hopes
of finding the Deity propitious, before they had
assured themselves of the protection and inter-
cession of some one or other of the saintly order.
Hence it was that every church, and indeed every
private Christian, had their particular patron a-
mong the saints, from an apprehension that their
spiritual interests would be but indifferently ma-
naged by those, who were already employed about
the souls of others; for they judged, in this re-
spect, of the saints as they did of mortals, whose
capacity is too limited to comprehend a vast va-
riety of objects. This notion rendered it neces-
sary to multiply prodigiously the number of the
saints, and to create daily new patrons for the de-
luded people; and this was done with the utmost
zeal. The priests and monks set their invention
at work, and peopled, at discretion, the invisible
world with imaginary protectors. They dispelled
the thick darkness which covered the pretended
spiritual exploits of many holy men; and they in-
vented both names and histories of saints [g] that
never existed, that they might not be at a loss to
furnish

[(g) See Dr MIDDLETON's Letter from *Rome*, *passim*. in
which we find the names of St BACCHO, St VIAR, St AMPHI-
BOLUS, EUODIA, &c]

IX.
PART II.

The cor-
rupt igno-
rance and
superstition
that reign-
ed in this
century, ap-
pear even
in the sin-
gle instance
of the fool-
ish veneration
that
was paid to
the saints
and their
relics.

C E N T. nish the credulous and wretched multitude with
 IX. objects proper to perpetuate their superstition and
 P A R T II. to nourish their confidence. Many chose their
 own guides, and committed their spiritual interests either to phantoms of their own creation, or to distracted fanatics, whom they esteemed as saints, for no other reason than their having lived like madmen.

The saints
 canonized.

IV. The ecclesiastical councils found it necessary, at length, to set limits to the licentious superstition of those ignorant wretches, who, with a view to have still more friends at court, for such were their gross notions of things, were daily adding new saints to the list of their celestial mediators. They, accordingly, declared by a solemn decree, that no departed Christian should be considered as a member of the saintly order before the bishop in a provincial council, and in presence of the people, had pronounced him worthy of that distinguished honour [b]. This remedy, feeble and illusory as it was, contributed, in some measure, to restrain the fanatical temerity of the saint-makers; but, in its consequences, it was the occasion of a new accession of power to the Roman pontif. Even so early as this century many were of opinion, that it was proper and expedient, though not absolutely necessary, that the decisions of bishops and councils should be confirmed by the consent and authority of the Roman pontif, whom they considered as the supreme and universal bishop; and this will not appear surprising to any who reflect upon the enormous strides which the bishops of *Rome* made towards unbounded dominion in this barbarous and

[b] MABILLON, *Act. Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti, Sac. v. Præf.* p. 44. LAUNOY, *De Lazari, Magdalene, et Marthæ in Provinciam appulsu*, cap. i. sect. 12. p. 342. tom. ii. part I. opp. FRANC. PAGI *Breviarium Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 259. tom. iii. p. 30.

and superstitious age, whose corruption and darkness were peculiarly favourable to their ambitious pretensions. It is true, we have no example of any person solemnly sainted by the bishop of *Rome* alone, before the tenth century [*i*], when UDALRIC, bishop of *Augsburg*, received this dignity in a formal manner from JOHN XV. It is however certain, that before that time the Roman pontiffs were consulted in matters of that nature, and their judgment respected in the choice of those that were to be honoured with saintship [*k*]; and it was by such steps as these, that the church of *Rome* engrossed to itself the creation of these tutelary divinities, which at length was distinguished by the title of *Canonization*.

V. This preposterous multiplication of saints was a new source of abuses and frauds. It was thought necessary to write the lives of these celestial patrons, in order to procure for them the veneration and confidence of a deluded multitude; and here lying wonders were invented, and all the resources of forgery and fable exhausted, to celebrate exploits which had never been performed, and to perpetuate the memory of holy persons who had never existed. We have yet extant a prodigious quantity of these trifling legends, the greatest part of which were, undoubtedly, forged after the time of CHARLEMAGNE, by the monastic writers, who had both

Lives of the
saints.

Vol. II.

Y

the

[*i*] See DAN. PAPIEBROCHIUS, *De solennium canonisationum initiis et progress. in Propylæo Actor. SS. mens. Maii, p. 171*; and the other authors who have written upon this subject, of which there is an ample list in the *Bibliographia Antiquar.* of FABRICIUS, cap. vii. sect. 25. p. 270.

[*k*] See the candid and impartial account that is given of this matter by the late pope BENEDICT XIV. in his laborious work, *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, lib. i. cap. vii. p. 50. tom. i. opp. edit. *Roman*. It were to be wished, that historians of the church of *Rome* would learn to imitate the prudence, moderation, and equity of that illustrious pontiff.

CENT.

IX.
PART II.

the inclination and leisure to edify the church by these pious frauds. The same impostors, who peopled the celestial regions with fictitious saints, employed also their fruitful inventions in embellishing with false miracles, and various other impertinent forgeries, the history of those, who had been really martyrs or confessors in the cause of CHRIST; these fictions, however, did not pass with impunity, but were severely censured by some of the most eminent writers of the times in which they were imposed upon the credulity of the public [1]. Various were the motives that engaged different persons to propagate, or countenance, these impostures. Some were excited to this by the seductions of a false devotion, which reigned in this perverse and ignorant age, and made them imagine, that departed saints were highly delighted with the applauses and veneration of mortals, and never failed to crown with peculiar marks of their favour and protection such as were zealous in honouring their memories, and in celebrating their exploits. The prospect of gain, and the ambitious desire of being revered by the multitude, engaged others to multiply the number, and to maintain the credit of the legends, or saintly registers. For the churches, that were dedicated to the saints, were perpetually crowded with supplicants, who flocked to them with rich presents, in order to obtain succour under

[1] See SERVATUS LUPUS's *Vita Maximini*, p. 275, 276. and the candid and learned observations upon this subject that are to be found in various places of the works of the celebrated LAUNOY : e. g. in his *Dispunctio Epistolæ Petri de Marca, de tempore quo in Gallica Christi fides recepta*, cap. xiv. p. 110. in his *Dissertationes de primis Christianæ relig. in Gallia initiis*, Diss. ii. 142. 144. 145. 147. 168. 169. 181.—*De Lazari, Magdal. et Marthæ in Galliam appulsu*, p. 340.—*De Duobus Dionysiis*, p. 527. 529. 530. tom. ii. part I. opp.—See also MARTENE *Thesauri, Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 151.—*Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 273.

under the afflictions they suffered; or deliverance C E N T.
 from the dangers which they had reason to apprehend. And it was esteemed also a high honour IX.
P A R T II.
 to be the more immediate ministers of these tutelary mediators, who, as it is likewise proper to observe, were esteemed and frequented in proportion to their antiquity; and to the number and importance of the pretended miracles that had rendered their lives illustrious. This latter circumstance offered a strong temptation to such as were employed by the various churches in writing the lives of their tutelar saints, to supply by invention the defects of truth, and to embellish their legends with fictitious prodigies; nay, they were not only tempted to this imposture, but were even obliged to make use of it in order to swell the fame of their respective patrons [m].

VI. But even all this was insufficient to satisfy A passion-
ate fond-
ness for
their relics
prevails.
 the demands of superstition, nourished by the stratagems of a corrupt and designing priesthood, and fomented by the zeal of the more ignorant and stupid sons of the church. It was not enough to reverence departed saints, and to confide in their intercession and succours; it was not enough to clothe them with an imaginary power of healing diseases, working miracles, and delivering from all sorts of calamities and dangers; their bones, their cloaths, the apparel, and furniture they had possessed during their lives, the very ground which they had touched, or in which their putrified carcasses were laid, were treated with a stupid veneration, and supposed to retain the marvellous virtue of healing all disorders both of body and mind, and of defending such as possessed them against all the assaults and devices of Satan. The
Y 2
consequence

[m] Of all the lives of the saints written in this century, none are more liable to suspicion than those drawn up by the Britons and Normans. See MABILLON *Pref. ad Sac. i. Benedictin. sub init.*

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

consequence of this wretched notion was, that every one was eager to provide himself with these salutary remedies, for which purpose great numbers undertook fatiguing and perilous voyages, and subjected themselves to all sorts of hardships; while others made use of this delusion to accumulate their riches, and to impose upon the miserable multitude by the most impious and shocking inventions. As the demand for relics was prodigious and universal, the clergy employed all their dexterity to satisfy these demands, and were far from being nice in the methods they used for that end. The bodies of the saints were sought by fasting and prayer instituted by the priest in order to obtain a divine answer, and an infallible direction, and this pretended direction never failed to accomplish their desires; the holy carcase was always found, and that also in consequence, as they impiously gave out, of the suggestion and inspiration of God himself. Each discovery of this kind was attended with excessive demonstrations of joy, and animated the zeal of these devout seekers to enrich the church still more and more with this new kind of treasure. Many travelled with this view into the eastern provinces, and frequented the places which CHRIST and his disciples had honoured with their presence, that with the bones and other secret remains of the first heralds of the gospel, they might comfort dejected minds, calm trembling consciences, save sinking states, and defend their inhabitants from all sorts of calamities. Nor did these pious travellers return home empty; the craft, dexterity, and knavery of the Greeks found a rich prey in the stupid credulity of the Latin relic-hunters, and made profitable commerce of this new devotion. The latter paid considerable sums for legs and arms, skulls and jaw-bones (several of which were Pagan, and some not human), and other

other things that were supposed to have belonged to the primitive worthies of the Christian church; and thus the Latin churches came to the possession of those celebrated relics of St MARK, St JAMES, St BARTHOLOMEW, CYPRIAN, PANTALEON, and others, which they shew at this day with so much ostentation. But there are many who, unable to procure for themselves these spiritual treasures by voyages and prayers, had recourse to violence and theft; for all sorts of means, and all sorts of attempts in a cause of this nature were considered, when successful, as pious and acceptable to the Supreme Being [n].

VII. The study of the holy scriptures languished much among the Greeks in this century. PHOTIUS, who composed a book of *Questions* [o], relating to various passages of scripture, *An Exposition of the Epistles of St PAUL*, and other productions of the same nature [p], was one of the few that employed their talents in the illustration of the sacred writings. He was a man of great sagacity and genius, who preferred the dictates of reason to the decisions of authority; notwithstanding all which, he cannot be recommended as a model to

The exposition of the scriptures neglected among the Greeks.

Y 3

other

[n] See MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 6. who gives examples of the truth of this assertion.

[o] This work, which is entitled *Amphilochia*, from its having been addressed to AMPHILOCHIUS, bishop of *Cyzicum*, consists of 308 questions, and answers to them; a sixth part of which, at least, are to be found in the *Epistles of Photius*, published at *London* in 1651, by bishop MONTAGUE. The most of these questions relate to different texts of the *Old and New Testament*; but these are interspersed with others of a philosophical and literary kind. This work is still extant in MSS. in the Vatican, Barberinian, and Bavarian libraries.

[p] Such as a *catena*, a *chain*, of commentaries on the book of *Psalms*, compiled from the writings of ATHANASIUS, BAILE, CHRYSOSTOM, &c. and a commentary upon the *Prophecs*, both of which are yet extant in MSS. the former in the *Bibliotheca Segueriana*, or *Coisliniana*, and the latter in the Vatican library.

C E N T. other commentators. The other Greek writers, who attempted to explain the holy scriptures, did little more than compile and accumulate various passages from the commentators of the preceding ages; and this method was the origin of those *Catenæ*, or chains of commentaries, so much in vogue among the Greeks during this century, of which a considerable number have come down to our times, and which consisted entirely in a collection of the explications of scripture that were scattered up and down in the ancient writers. The greatest part of theological writers, finding themselves incapable of more arduous undertakings, confined their labours to this compiling method, to the great detriment of sacred criticism.

Defects of
the Latin
commenta-
tors.

VIII. The Latin commentators were vastly superior in number to those among the Greeks, which was owing to the zeal and munificence of CHARLEMAGNE, who, both by his liberality and by his example, had excited and encouraged the doctors of the preceding age to the study of the scriptures. Of these expositors there are two, at least, who are worthy of esteem, CHRISTIAN DRUTHMAR, whose *Commentary on St MATTHEW*, is come down to our times [q]; and the abbot BERTHARIUS, whose *Two Books concerning Fundamentals*, are also said to be yet extant. The rest seem unequal to the important office of sacred critics, and may be divided into two classes, which we have had already occasion to mention in the course of this history; the class of those, who merely collected and reduced into a mass the opinions and explications of the ancients, and that of

[q] See R. SIMON, *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouv. Testament*, chap. xxv. p. 348; as also his *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique de M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 293. who, in his xxvith and xxviith chapter, gives an account of most of the writers mentioned here.

of a fantastic set of expositors, who were always hunting after mysteries in the plainest expressions, and labouring to deduce a variety of abstruse and hidden significations from every passage of scripture, all which they did, for the most part, in a very clumsy and uncouth manner. At the head of the first class was RABANUS MAURUS, who acknowledges that he borrowed from the ancient doctors the materials he made use of in illustrating the Gospel of St MATTHEW, and the Epistles of St PAUL; WALAFRID STRABO, who borrowed his explications chiefly from RABANUS; CLAUDIUS of *Turin*, who trod in the footsteps of AUGUSTIN and ORIGEN; HINCMAR, whose *Exposition of the four Books of Kings* compiled from the fathers, are yet extant; REMIGIUS of *Auxerre*, who derived from the same source his illustrations on the *Psalms*, and other books of sacred writ: SEDULIUS, who explained in the same manner the Epistles of St PAUL; FLORUS, HAYMO bishop of *Halberstadt*, and others, whom, for the sake of brevity, we pass in silence.

IX. RABANUS MAURUS, whom we introduced above at the head of the compilers of the fathers, deserves also an eminent place among the allegorical commentators, on account of his diffuse and tedious work, entitled *Scripture Allegories*. To this class also belong SMARAGDUS, HAYMO, SCOTUS, PASHASIUS RADBERT, and many others, whom it is not necessary to mention. The fundamental and general principle, in which all the writers of this class agree, is, that, besides the literal signification of each passage in scripture, there are hidden and deep senses which escape the vulgar eye; but they are not agreed about the number of these mysterious significations. Some attribute to every phrase three senses; others four; others again five; nay, their number is carried to seven by ANGELOME, a monk of *Lysieux*, an acute,

C E N T. though fantastic writer, and who is far from de-
 serving the meanest rank among the expositors
 of this century [r].

IX.
 PART II.

The state
 of didactic
 theology.

X. The teachers of theology were still more contemptible than the commentators, and the Greeks, as well as the Latins, were extremely negligent both in unfolding the nature, and proving the truth of the doctrines of Christianity. Their method of inculcating divine truth was dry and unsatisfactory, and more adapted to fill the memory with sentences, than to enlighten the understanding, or to improve the judgment. The Greeks, for the most part, followed implicitly DAMASCENUS, while the Latins submitted their hoodwinked intellects to the authority of AUGUSTINE. Authority became the test of truth, and supplied in arrogance what it wanted in argument. That magisterial decisions were employed in the place of reason, appears manifestly from the *Collectaneum de tribus quæstionibus* of SERVATUS LUPUS; and also from a *Treatise* of REMIGIUS, *concerning the necessity of holding fast the truths of the gospel, and of maintaining inviolable the sacred authority of the holy and orthodox fathers*. If any deigned to appeal to the authority of the scriptures in defence of their systems, they either explained them in an allegorical manner, or understood them in the sense that had been given to them by the decrees of councils, or in the writings of the fathers; from which senses they thought it both unlawful and impious to depart. The Irish doctors alone, and particularly JOHANNES SCORUS, had the courage to spurn the ignominious

[r] See the preface to his *Commentary on the Book of Kings*, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima*, tom. xv. p. 308. The commentary of ANGELOME upon the book of *Genesis* was published by BERNARD PEZIUS, in his *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. i. part I. but, indeed, the loss would not have been great had it never seen the light.

ous fetters of authority, and to explain the sub-^{C E N T.}
lime doctrines of Christianity in a manner con-^{IX.}
formable to the dictates of reason, and the prin-^{P A R T II.}
ciples of true philosophy. But this noble attempt
drew upon them the malignant fury of a super-
stitious age, and exposed them to the hatred of
the Latin theologians, who would not permit either
reason or philosophy to meddle themselves in re-
ligious matters [s].

XI. The important science of morals suffered, ^{of Chri-}
like all others, in the hands of ignorant and un-^{stian mora-}
skilful writers. The labours of some were wholly ^{lity.}
employed in collecting from the fathers an indi-
gested heap of maxims and sentences concerning
religious and moral duties; and such, among
others, was the work of ALVARUS, intitled *Scin-*
tilla Patrum. Others wrote in a more systematic
manner concerning virtue and vice, such as HA-
LITGARIUS, RABANUS MAURUS, and JONAS, bishop
of *Orleans*; but the representations they gave of
the one and the other were very different from
those which we find in the gospel of CHRIST.
Others again fell into that most absurd and de-
lusive method of instructing the ignorant in the
will of God by a fantastic combination of figures
and allegories; and several of the Greeks began
to turn their studies towards the resolving *cases*
of conscience [t], in order to remove the difficul-
ties that arose in scrupulous and timorous minds.
We pass in silence the writers of homilies and
books of penance, of which there was a consider-
able number in this century.

XII. The

[s] For an account of the persecution and hatred that JO-
HANNES SCOTUS suffered in the cause of reason and liberty, see
DU BOULAY, *Hist. Academ. Paris.* tom. i. p. 182; as also MA-
BILLON, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sac.* v. 392.

[t] See NICEPHORI *Chartophylac. Epistolæ Duæ*, in the *Bi-*
bliotheca Magna Patrum, tom. iii. p. 413.

C E N T. XII. The doctrine of the mystics, whose origin is falsely attributed to DIONYSIUS the *Arcopagite*, and whose precepts were designed to elevate the soul above all sensible and terrestrial objects, and to unite it to the Deity in an ineffable manner, had been now for a long time in vogue among the Greeks, and more especially among the monastic orders. And to augment the credit of this fanatical sect, and multiply its followers, MICHAEL SYNCELLUS and METHODIUS composed the most pompous and eloquent panegyrics upon the memory of DIONYSIUS, in which his virtues were celebrated with the utmost exaggeration. The Latins were not as yet bewitched with the specious appearance, and the illusory charms of the mystic devotion, which was equally adapted to affect persons of a lively fancy and those of a more gloomy turn of mind. They lived in a happy ignorance of this contagious doctrine, when the Grecian emperor MICHAEL BALBUS sent to LEWIS the MEEK, in the year 824, a copy of the pretended works [u] of DIONYSIUS the *Arcopagite*, which fatal present kindled immediately the holy flame of mysticism in the western provinces, and filled the Latins with the most enthusiastic admiration of this new religion. The translation of these spurious works into Latin by the express order of the emperor [w], who could not be easy while

[u] USSERII *Sylloge Epp. Hibernicar.* p. 54, 55. The spuriousness of these works is now universally granted by the most learned and impartial of the Roman Catholic writers, as they contain accounts of many events that happened several ages after the time of DIONYSIUS, and were not at all mentioned until after the fifth century. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* liv. liv. tom. xi. p. 528. edit. *Bruxelles*.

[w] That these books were translated by the order of LEWIS, appears manifestly from the *Epistle* to that emperor, which HILDUIN prefixed to his *Arcopagetica*, and in which (p. 66. edit. *Colon.* 1563.) we find the following passage: *De notitia librorum, quos (DIONYSIUS) patrio sermone conscripsit, et quibus peten-*

while his subjects were deprived of such inestimable treasure, contributed much to the progress of mysticism. By the order of the same emperor, ^{IX.} ^{PART II.} HILDUIN, abbot of *St Denys*, composed an account of the life, actions, and writings of DIONYSIUS, under the title of *Areopagitica*, in which work, among other impudent fictions, usual in those times of superstition and imposture, he maintained, in order to exalt the honour of his nation, that DIONYSIUS the *Areopagite*, and DIONYSIUS the bishop of *Paris*, were one and the same person [x]. This fable, which was invented with unparalleled assurance, was received with the most perfect and unthinking credulity, and made such a deep and permanent impression upon the minds of the French, that the repeated demonstrations of its falsehood have not as yet been sufficient to ruin its credit entirely. As the first translation of the works of DIONYSIUS that had been done by the order of LEWIS the MEEK, was probably in a barbarous and obscure style, a new and more elegant one was given by the famous JOHANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA, at the request of CHARLES the BALD,

petentibus illos composuit, lectio nobis per Dei gratiam et vestram ordinationem, cujus dispensatione interpretatos, scripta nostra eos petentibus reserant, satisfacit. From this passage it is evident that they are mistaken, who affirm that the Latin translation of the works of DIONYSIUS was not made before the time of CHARLES the BALD. And they err also, who, with MAILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. ii. lib. xxix. sect. 59. p. 488. and the authors of the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, tom. v. p. 425. inform us, that MICHAEL BALDES sent these works already translated into Latin to the emperor LEWIS. It is amazing how men of learning could fall into this latter error, after reading the following passage in the *Epistle* above quoted: “Authenticos namque eosdem (*Dionysii*) libros Græca lingua conscriptos, cum echonomus ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ et ceteri missi Michaelis legatione—functi sunt —pro munere magno suscepimus.”

[x] LAUNOY, *Diss. de Discrimine Dionysii Areopag. et Parisiensis*, cap. iv. p. 38. tom. ii. p. I. opp. as also the writings of this great man concerning the *Two Dionysiuses*.

C E N T. BALD, the publication of which increased considerably the partisans of the mystic theology among the French, Italians, and Germans. SCORUS himself was so enchanted with this new doctrine, that he incorporated it into his philosophical system, and upon all occasions either accommodated his philosophy to it, or explained it according to the principles of his philosophy.

The state of
polemic, or
controversial
theology.

XII. The defence of Christianity against the Jews and Pagans was greatly neglected in this century, in which the intestine disputes and dissensions that divided the church, gave sufficient employment to such as had an inclination to controversy, or a talent of managing it with dexterity and knowledge. AGOBARD, however, as also AMULO and RABANUS MAURUS, chastised the insolence and malignity of the Jews, and exposed their various absurdities and errors, while the emperor LEO, THEODORUS ABUCARA, and other writers, whose performances are lost, employed their polemic labours against the progress of the Saracens, and refuted their impious and extravagant system. But it may be observed in general of those who wrote against the Saracens, that they reported many things, both concerning MAHOMET and his religion, which were far from being true; and if, as there is too much reason to imagine, they did this designedly and knowing the falsehood, or at least the uncertainty of what they alleged against these infidels, we must look upon their writings rather as intended to deter the Christians from apostasy, than to give a rational refutation of the Saracen doctrine.

The controversy
concerning
images
among the
Greeks.

XIV. The contests of the Christians among themselves were carried on with greater eagerness and animosity than the disputes in which they were engaged with the common enemies of their faith; and these contests were daily productive of new calamities and disorders which dishonoured their

their profession, and cast a heavy, though unde-^{C E N T.}
served reproach upon the cause of true religion.^{IX.}
After the banishment of IRENE, the controversy ^{P A R T II.}
concerning images broke out anew among the
Greeks, and was carried on by the contending
parties, during the half of this century, with
various and uncertain success. The emperor NI-
CEPHORUS, though he did not abrogate the de-
crees of the council of *Nice*, nor order the ima-
ges to be taken out of the churches, yet deprived
the patrons of image-worship of all power to mo-
lest or injure their adversaries, and seems upon the
whole to have been an enemy to that idolatrous
service. But his successor MICHAEL CUROPALA-
TES, surnamed RHANGEBE, acted in a very diffe-
rent manner. Feeble and timorous, and dread-
ing the rage of the priests and monks that main-
tained the cause of images, he favoured that cause
during his short reign, and persecuted its adver-
saries with the greatest bitterness and cruelty.
The scene changed again, upon the accession of
LEO, the Armenian, to the empire, who abolished
the decrees of the Nicene council relating to the
use and worship of images, in a council assem-
bled at *Constantinople*, A. D. 814 [y]; without
however enacting any penal laws against their ido-
latrous worshippers. This moderation, far from
satisfying the patriarch NICEPHORUS, and the
other partizans of image-worship, only served to
encourage their obstinacy, and to increase their in-
solence; upon which the emperor removed the
haughty prelate from his office, and chastised the
fury of several of his adherents with a deserved
punishment. His successor MICHAEL, surnamed
BALBUS, or the *Stammerer*, was obliged to observe
the same conduct, and to depart from the cle-
mency and indulgence, which, in the beginning
of

[y] FLEURY and some other writers place the meet-
ing of this council in the year 815.

C E N T. of his reign, he had discovered towards the wor-
^{IX.}
 P A R T II. shippers of images, whose idolatry, however, he
 was far from approving; the monks more espe-
 cially provoked his indignation by their fanatical
 rage, and forced him to treat them with particu-
 lar severity. But the zeal of his son and succes-
 sor THEOPHILUS, in discouraging this new idolatry,
 was still more vehement; for he opposed the wor-
 shippers of images with great violence, and went
 so far as to put to death some of the more obsti-
 nate ringleaders of that impetuous faction.

XV. Upon the death of THEOPHILUS, which
 happened in the year 842, the regency was en-
 trusted with the empress THEODORE during her
 son's minority. This superstitious princess, fa-
 tired with the importunate solicitations of the
 monks, deluded by their forged miracles, and not
 a little influenced also by their insolent threats,
 assembled, in the year above mentioned, a coun-
 cil at *Constantinople*, in which the decrees of the
 second Nicene council were reinstated in their
 lost authority, and the Greeks were indulged in
 their corrupt propensity to image-worship by a
 law which encouraged that wretched idolatry [z].
 So that after a controversy, which had been car-
 ried on during the space of an hundred and ten
 years, the cause of idolatry triumphed over the dic-
 tates of reason and Christianity; the whole east,
 the Armenians excepted, bowed down before the
 victorious images; nor did any of the succeeding
 emperors attempt to cure the Greeks of this su-
 perstitious phrenzy, or restrain them in the per-
 formance of this childish worship. The council
 that was held at *Constantinople* under PHOTIUS, in
 the year 879, and which is reckoned by the Greeks
 the

[z] See FRED. SPANHEIM, *Historia Imaginum*, sect. viii.
 p. 845. tom. ii. opp.—LENFANT, *Preservatif contre la Reun-
 ion avec le Siege de Rome*, tom. iii. lett. xiv. p. 147. lett. xviii.
 xix. p. 509.

he *eighth general council*, gave a farther degree of force and vigour to idolatry, by maintaining the sanctity of images, and approving, confirming, and renewing the Nicene decrees. The superstitious Greeks, who were blind-led by the monks in the most ignominious manner, esteemed this council as a most signal blessing derived to them from the immediate interposition of heaven, and accordingly instituted in commemoration thereof an anniversary festival, which was called the *Feast of Orthodoxy* [a].

XVI. The triumph of images, notwithstanding the zealous efforts of the Roman pontiffs in their favour, was obtained with much more difficulty among the Latins, than it had been among the Greeks; for the former maintained as yet that invaluable, and indeed unalienable, privilege of judging for themselves in religious matters, and were far from being disposed to submit their reason implicitly to the decisions of the pontif, or to look upon any thing as infallible and true, which had authority for its only foundation. The most of the European Christians, as we have seen already, steered a middle course between the idolaters and the Iconoclasts, between those who were zealous for the worship of images on the one hand, and those who were averse to all use of them on the other. They were of opinion, that images might be suffered as the means of aiding the memory of the faithful, and of calling to their remembrance the pious exploits and the virtuous actions of the persons they represented; but they detested all thoughts of paying them the least marks of religious homage or adoration. MI-

CHAEL

[a] See GRETSER *Observat. in Codinum de officiis Aulae et Eccles. Constantinopolitanae*, lib. iii. cap. viii. as also the *Ceremoniale Byzantinum*, lately published by REISK, lib. i. c. xviii. p. 92.

C E N T. CHAEL BALBUS, when he sent, in the year 824, a
 IX.
 P A R T II. solemn embassy to LEWIS the MEEK, to renew and
 { confirm the treaties of friendship and peace that
 had been concluded between his predecessors in
 the empire and CHARLEMAGNE, charged his mi-
 nisters, in a particular manner, to bring over the
 king of the Franks [b] to the party of the Icono-
 clasts, that they might gradually suppress, by
 their united influence, the worship of images,
 and thus restore concord and tranquillity to the
 church. LEWIS, upon this occasion, assembled
 a council at *Paris*, A. D. 824 [c], in order to
 examine the proposal of the Grecian emperor,
 in which it was resolved to adhere to the decrees
 of the council of *Frankfort*, which allowed the
use of images in the churches, but severely pro-
 hibited the treating them with the smallest marks
 of religious *worship*. But in process of time the
 European Christians departed gradually from the
 observance of this injunction, and fell impercep-
 tibly into a blind submission to the decisions of
 the

✠ [b] So MICHAEL and his son THEOPHILUS style LEWIS in their letter to him, refusing him the title of emperor, to which, however, he had an undoubted right in consequence of the treaties which they now desired to renew.

✠ [c] FLEURY, LE SUEUR, and other historians, place unanimously this council in the year 825. It may be proper to observe here, that the proceedings of this council evidently shew, that the decisions of the Roman pontif were by no means looked upon at this time either as obligatory or infallible. For when the letter of Pope ADRIAN, in favour of images, was read in the council, it was almost unanimously rejected, as containing absurd and erroneous opinions. The decrees of the second council of *Nice*, relating to image-worship, were also censured by the Gallican bishops; and the authority of that council, though received by several popes as an *œcumenical* one, absolutely rejected. And what is remarkable is, that the pope did not, on this account, declare the Gallican bishops heretics, nor exclude them from the communion of the apostolic see. See FLEURY, liv. xlvii.

the Roman pontif, whose influence and authority C E N T. IX. P A R T II. grew more formidable from day to day : so that towards the conclusion of this century, the Gallican clergy began to pay a certain kind of religious homage to the saintly images, in which their example was followed by the Germans and other nations [d].

XVII. Notwithstanding this apostasy, the Iconoclasts were not destitute of adherents among Several Iconoclasts among the the Latins. The most eminent of these was CLAUDIUS, bishop of *Turin*; by birth a Spaniard, and also a disciple of FELIX, bishop of *Urgel*. This zealous prelate, as soon as he had obtained the episcopal dignity through the favour of LEWIS the MEEK, began to exercise the duties of his function in the year 823, by ordering all images, and even the cross, to be cast out of the churches, and committed to the flames. The year following he composed a treatise, in which he not only defended these vehement proceedings, and declared against the *use* as well as the *worship*, of images, but also broached several other opinions, that were quite contrary to the notions of the multitude, and to the prejudices of the times. He denied, among other things, in opposition to the Greeks, that the cross was to be honoured with any kind of worship; he treated relics with the utmost contempt, as absolutely destitute of the virtues that were attributed to them, and censured with much freedom and severity those pilgrimages to the holy land, and those voyages to the tombs of the saints, which, in this century, were looked upon as extremely salutary, and particularly meritorious. This noble stand, in the defence of true religion, drew upon CLAUDIUS a multitude

[d] MABILLON, *Anna! Benedictin.* tom. ii. p. 488.—Id. *Pref. ad Sac. iv. Actor SS. Ord. Benedicti, Sac. iv. part I. p. 7, 8*—LE COINTE, *Annal. Eccles. Francor.* tom. iv. ad a 824.

C E N T. multitude of adversaries ; the sons of superstition
 P IX. rushed upon him from all quarters ; THEODEMIR
 T II. DUNGALLUS, JONAS of *Orleans*, and WALAFRI-
 DUS STRABO [e] united to overwhelm him with
 their voluminous answers. But the learned and
 venerable prelate maintained his ground [f], and
 supported his cause with such dexterity and force
 that it remained triumphant, and gained new
 credit. And hence it happened, that the city of
Turin and the adjacent country were, for a long
 time after the death of CLAUDIUS, much less in-
 fected with superstition than the other parts of
Europe.

Continua-
 tion of the
 controversy
 concerning
 the deriva-
 tion or pro-
 cession of
 the Holy
 Ghost.

XVIII. The controversy that had been carried
 on in the preceding century concerning the *pro-*
cession (if we may be allowed that term) of the
 Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, and
 also concerning the word *filioque*, foisted by the
 Latins into the Creed of *Constantinople*, broke out
 now with redoubled vehemence, and from a pri-
 vate dispute became a flaming contest between the
 Greek and Latin churches. The monks of *Je-*
rusalem distinguished themselves in this contro-
 versy, and complained particularly of the inter-
 polation of the words *filioque*, i. e. *and from the*
son, in the above-mentioned symbol ; nor did they
 stop here, but dispatched to CHARLEMAGNE, in
 the year 809, a certain ecclesiastic of their order
 whose name was JOHN, to obtain satisfaction in
 this matter [g]. The affair was debated in due
 form

[e] In order to do justice to the adversaries of CLAUDI-
 us here mentioned, it is necessary to observe, that they only
 maintained the innocence and usefulness of images, without
 pretending to represent them as objects of religious worship.

[f] MABILLON, *Annal. Benedictin.* tom. ii. p. 488.—*Præ-*
ad Sæc. iv. *Actor. SS. Ord. Benedict.* p. 8.—*Histoire Litter-*
de la France, tom. iv. p. 491. and tom. v. p. 27. 64.—JAC-
 BASNAGE, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, tom. i. period iv. p.
 38. ed. in 4to.

[g] See STEPH. BALUZII *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 14.

form, both in a council assembled this same year CENT
IX.
PART II.
at *Aix-la-Chapelle* and at *Rome*, in presence of the sovereign pontif *Leo III.* to whom the emperor had sent ambassadors for that purpose. *Leo* adopted the doctrine which represented the Holy Ghost as proceeding from the Father and the Son, but he condemned the addition that had been made to the symbol [*b*], and declared it as his opinion, that the word *filioque*, or *from the son*, as it was a glaring interpolation, ought to be omitted in reading the symbol, and at length struck out of it entirely, not every where at once; but in such a prudent manner as to prevent disturbance. His successors were of the same opinion: the word, however, being once admitted, not only kept its place in opposition to the Roman pontifs, but was by degrees added to the symbol in all the Latin churches [*i*].

XIX. To these disputes of ancient origin were added controversies entirely new, and particularly that famous one *Concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist.* The controversy concerning the eucharist, set on foot by Paschasius Radbert. It had been hitherto the unanimous opinion of the church, that the body and blood of *CHRIST* were administered to those who received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and that they were consequently present at that holy institution; but the sentiments of Christians concerning the *nature* and *manner* of this *presence* were various and contradictory, nor had any council determined with precision that important point, or prescribed the manner in which this pretended presence was to be

L 2 understood

[*b*] This addition of the word *filioque* to the symbol of *Nice* and *Constantinople* was made in the fifth and sixth centuries by the churches of *Spain*, and their example was followed by most of the Gallican churches, where the symbol was read and sung with this addition.

[*i*] See *LE COINTE, Annal. Eccles. Francor.* tom. iv. ad a. 809.—*LONGUEVAL, Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. v. p. 151.

C E N T. understood. Both reason and folly were hitherto
 IX.
 P A R T II. left free in this matter, nor had any impèrious
 mode of faith suspended the exercise of the one,
 or restrained the extravagance of the other. But
 in this century, PASCASIUS RADBERT, a monk,
 and afterwards abbot of *Corbey*, pretended to ex-
 plain with precision, and to determine with cer-
 tainty, the doctrine of the church on this head,
 for which purpose he composed, in the year 831,
 a treatise *Concerning the sacrament of the body and
 blood of Christ* [k]. A second edition of this trea-
 tise, revised with care and considerably aug-
 mented, was presented in the year 845 to CHARLES
 the BALD, and gave principally occasion to the
 warm and important controversy that ensued.
 The doctrine of PASCASIUS amounted in general
 to the two following propositions: *First*, that
 after the consecration of the bread and wine in
 the Lord's supper, nothing remained of these
 symbols but the *outward figure*, under which the
 body and blood of CHRIST were really and locally
present; and, *secondly*, that the body of CHRIST
 thus présent in the eucharist was the *same body that
 was born of the Virgin that suffered upon the Cross,
 and was raised from the dead*. This new doctrine,
 and more especially the second proposition now
 mentioned, excited, as might well be expected,
 the astonishment of many. Accordingly it was
 opposed by RABANUS MAURUS, HERIBALD, and
 others, though they did not all refute it in the
 same method, nor upon the same principles.
 CHARLES the BALD, upon this occasion, ordered
 the

[k] See MABILLON, *Annales Benedict.* ii. p. 539. An accu-
 rate edition of RADBERT's book is published by MARTENE, in
 the ixth tome of his *Ampliss. Collect. veter. scriptor.* p. 378. The
 life and actions of this wrong headed divine are treated of
 large by MABILLON, in his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Sac.*
 iv. part II. 126, and by the Jesuits, in the *Acta SS. Antwerp*
ad d. xxvi. Aprilis.

the famous RATRAMN and JOHANNES SCOTUS to C E N T. draw up a clear and rational explication of that ^{IX.} important doctrine which RADBERT seemed to ^{P A R T II.} have so egregiously corrupted [1]. These learned divines executed with zeal and diligence the order of the emperor. The treatise of SCOTUS perished in the ruins of time, but that of RATRAMN is still extant [m], and furnished ample matter of dispute both in the last and present century [n].

XX. It is remarkable that in this controversy each of the contending parties were almost as much divided among themselves as they were at variance with their adversaries. RADBERT, who ^{And carried on by his adversary Bertramn.} began the dispute, contradicts himself in many places, departs from his own principles, and maintains in one part of his book conclusions that he had disavowed in another. His principal adversary BERTRAMN, or RATRAMN, seems in some respects liable to the same charge; he appears to follow in general the doctrine of those, who deny that the body and blood of CHRIST are *really* present in the holy sacrament, and to affirm on the contrary that they are only represented by the bread and wine as their signs or symbols. There are, however, several passages in his book which seem inconsistent with this just and rational notion of the eucharist, or at least as susceptible of different

Z 3

[1] For an account of RATRAMN, or BERTRAMN, and his famous book which has made so much noise in the world, see FABRICIUS *Biblioth. Lat. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1661.

[m] A new English translation of the book of BERTRAMN, priest and monk of *Corbey*, *Concerning the BODY and BLOOD of JESUS CHRIST in the sacrament*, was published in *Dublin* in the year 1753; to which is prefixed a very learned and judicious Historical Dissertation concerning this famous author and his works, in which both are equally defended against the calumnies and fictions of the Roman catholic writers.

[n] There is an account, but a partial one, of this controversy in MABILLON'S *Præf. ad Sac.* iv. part II. *Benedict.* p. viii. which the curious reader will therefore do well to compare with BASNAGE'S *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. 909.

E N T. ferent interpretations, and have therefore given
 IX. rise to various disputes. JOHANNES SCORUS,
 P A R T II. whose philosophical genius rendered him more
 accurate, and shed through his writings that logical precision so much wanted, and so highly desirable in polemical productions, was the only disputant in this contest who expressed his sentiments with perspicuity, method, and consistency, and declared plainly that the bread and wine were the *signs* and *symbols* of the *absent* body and blood of CHRIST. All the other theologists of his time fluctuate and waver in their opinions, express themselves with ambiguity, and embrace and reject the same tenets at different times, as if they had no fixed or permanent principles concerning the matter in question. From all this, however, it evidently appears, that there was not as yet in the Latin church any fixed or universally received opinion concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the eucharist.

XXI. The disputants in this controversy charged each other reciprocally with the most odious doctrines, which each party drew by way of consequences from the tenets they opposed, a method of proceeding as unjust, as it is common in all kinds of debate. Hence arose that imaginary heresy, that upon the triumphant progress of the doctrine of transubstantiation in the eleventh century, was branded with the title of *Stercoranism*, and of which the true origin was as follows: They who, embracing the opinion of PASCASIUS RADBERT, believed that the bread and wine in the sacrament were substantially changed after the consecration, and preserved only their external figure, drew a most unjust conclusion from the opinion of their adversaries, who maintained on the contrary, that the bread and wine preserved their substance, and that CHRIST's body and blood were only figuratively, and not really present in the

the eucharist. They alleged that the doctrine of the latter implied, that the body of Christ was digested in the stomach, and was thrown out with the other excrements. But this consequence was quickly retorted upon those that imagined it; for they who denied the metamorphosis of the bread and wine into the real body and blood of CHRIST, charged the same enormous consequence upon their antagonists who believed this transmutation; and the charge was much more applicable certainly to the latter than to the former. The truth of the matter is, that it was neither truly applicable to the one nor to the other, and their mutual reproaches, most wretchedly founded, shew rather a spirit of invective, than a zeal for the truth. The charge of *Stercoranism* is but a malignant invention; it can never, without the most absurd impudence, be brought against those who deny the transmutation of the bread into the body of CHRIST; it may indeed be charged upon such as allow of this transmutation, though it be a consequence that none of them, who were not frenetic, did perhaps ever avow [o].

XXII. While this controversy was at its greatest height, another, of a quite different kind, and of much more importance, arose, whose unhappy consequences are yet felt in the reformed churches. The subject of this new contest was the doctrine of *predestination* and *divine grace*, and its rise is universally attributed to GODESCHALCUS, an illustrious Saxon, who had entered involuntarily into the monastic order in the convent of *Fulda*, from whence he removed to the monastery of *Orbais*, in the diocese of *Soissons*, where he prosecuted his theological studies with great assiduity,

The controversy concerning predestination and grace, set on foot by Godeschalcus.

Z 4

but

[o] For an account of the *Stercoranists*, see MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Benedict.* part II. p. 21.—J. BASNAGE, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 926. and a Treatise of the learned Dr PFAFF, published at *Tubingue* in 1750.

C E N T. but also with an insatiable desire of sounding the
 IX. deepest mysteries, and of being *wise above what*
 P A R T II. *is written.* This eminent ecclesiastic, upon his
 return from *Rome* in the year 847, took up his
 lodging for some time with Count EBERALD, one
 of the first noblemen at the court of the emperor
 LOTHAIKE, where he discoursed largely concern-
 ing the intricate doctrine of *predestination* in pre-
 sence of NOTHINGUS, bishop of *Verona*, and main-
 tained that God, from all eternity, had pre-or-
 dained some to everlasting life, and others to ever-
 lasting punishment and misery. RABANUS MAU-
 RUS, who was by no means his friend, being in-
 formed of his propagating this doctrine, opposed
 him with all his might. To render his opposition
 more successful, he began by representing GO-
 DESCHALCUS as a corrupter of the true religion,
 and a forger of monstrous heresies, in some letters
 addressed to Count EBERALD, and to the bishop
 of *Verona*. And when the accused monk came
 from *Italy* into *Germany* to justify himself against
 these clamours, and for that purpose appeared at
Mentz, of which RABANUS his accuser was arch-
 bishop, he was condemned in a council assem-
 bled by the latter in that city, A. D. 848, and
 sent from thence to HINCMAR, archbishop of
Rheims, in which diocese he had received the or-
 der of priesthood. HINCMAR, who was devoted
 to the interests of RABANUS, assembled a council
 at *Quiercy*, A. D. 849, in which GODESCHALCUS
 was condemned a second time, and was also treat-
 ed in a manner equally repugnant to the principles
 of religion and the dictates of humanity. Be-
 cause he was firm in maintaining his doctrine, which
 he affirmed, and indeed with truth, to be the doc-
 trine of St AUGUSTINE, the imperious HINCMAR
 degraded him from the priesthood, and was so
 barbarous as to order him to be whipped with the
 utmost severity, until the force of his pain over-
 powering

powering his constancy obliged him, according to the commands of his reverend executioners, to burn with his own hands the justification of his opinions which he had presented to the council of *Mentz*. After these barbarous proceedings, the unfortunate monk was cast into prison in the monastery of *Hautvilliers*, where he ended his misery and his days in the year 868, or the year following, maintaining with his last breath the doctrine for which he had suffered.

XXIII. While GODESCHALCUS lay in prison, his doctrine gained him followers, his sufferings excited compassion, and both together produced a considerable schism in the Latin church. RATRAMN, monk of *Corbey*, PRUDENTIUS, bishop of *Troyes*, LOUP, or LUPUS, abbot of *Ferrieres*, FLO-
The history of this contest.
 RUS, deacon of *Lyons*, REMI, archbishop of the same city, with his whole church, all these eminent and illustrious ecclesiastics, with many others, whom it would be tedious to mention, pleaded with the utmost zeal and vehemence both in their writings and in their discourse, the cause of this unhappy monk, and of his condemned opinions. Some indeed confined themselves principally to the defence of his person and conduct; while others went farther, and employed all their zeal, and all their labour, in the vindication of his doctrine. On the opposite side of the question were HINCMAR, his unrighteous judge, AMALARUS, the celebrated JOHANNES SCOTUS, and others, who all maintained that GODESCHALCUS and his opinions had received the treatment they deserved. As the spirit of controversy ran high between these contending parties, and grew more vehement from day to day, CHARLES the BALD summoned a new council, or synod, which met at *Quiercy* A. D. 853, in which, by the credit and influence of HINCMAR, the decrees of the former council were confirmed, and
 of

C E N T. of consequence GODESCHALCUS again condemned.
 IX. But the decrees of this council were declared
 P A R T II. null, and decisions of a different kind, by which
 GODESCHALCUS and his doctrine were vindicated
 and defended, were substituted in their place in
 a council assembled at *Valence* in *Dauphiney*, A.
 D. 855. This council was composed of the cler-
 gy of three provinces, *Lyons*, *Vienne*, and *Arles*,
 with REMI, archbishop of *Lyons*, at their head,
 and its decrees were confirmed, in the year 859,
 by the council of *Langres*, in which the same
 clergy were assembled, and in 860, by the coun-
 cil of *Tousi*, in which the bishops of fourteen pro-
 vinces supported the cause of the persecuted
 monk, whose death diminished considerably the
 heat of this intricate controversy [*p*].

What judg-
 ment we
 are to
 form of
 this contro-
 versy.

XXIV. If we attend to the merits of this
 cause, we shall find that the debate subsists still
 in all its force, and that the doctrine of GODES-
 CHALCUS has in our days both able defenders and
 powerful adversaries. He undoubtedly maintain-
 ed a twofold predestination, one to everlasting
 life, and the other to eternal death. He held
 also, “that God did not desire or will the salva-
 “tion of all mankind, but that of the elect only;
 “and that CHRIST did not suffer death for the whole
 “human race, but for that part of it only whom
 “God has predestinated to eternal salvation.”
 These decisions, which carry a severe and rigor-
 ous aspect, are softly and favourably interpreted
 by

[*p*] Besides the common writers, who speak of this con-
 troversy, the curious reader will do well to consult the more
 learned and impartial accounts he will find of it in CÆSAR
 EGASSE DE BOULAY'S *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 178.—
 MABILLON. *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Benedict.* part II. p. xlvii.—
Hist. Litteraire de la France, tom. v. p. 352.—USSENI
Historia Godeschalchi, *Hanoviæ* 1662, in 8vo, et *Dublini*
 1661, in 4to.—GERHARD. JOH. VOSSII *Historia Pelagiana*,
 lib. vii. cap. iv.—Add JO. ALB. FABRICII *Biblioth. Latin.*
mediæ ævi, tom. iii. 210.

by the followers of GODESCHALCUS. They deny, CENT
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for example, that their leader represents God as *predestinating* to a necessary course of iniquity, those whom he has previously *predestinated* to eternal misery, and, according to them, the doctrine of GODESCHALCUS amounts to no more than this:
 “ That God has from all eternity doomed to everlasting misery such as he *foresaw* would go on impenitent in a sinful course, and has decreed their ruin in consequence of their sins freely committed and eternally foreseen: that the salutary effects of the mercy of God, and the sufferings of Christ, extend indeed only to the elect, and are made good to them alone; though this mercy and these sufferings, considered in themselves, belong equally to all mankind.” But this contradictory jargon did not satisfy the adversaries of the Predestinarian monk: they maintained, on the contrary, that under ambiguous terms and perplexed sentences GODESCHALCUS had concealed the most enormous errors, propagating it assiduously as an article of faith, “ That God had not only by an original decree predestinated one part of mankind to eternal damnation, but had also pushed them on by an irresistible necessity, by a prepollent force, to those crimes and transgressions which were proper to render that damnation just [q].”
 Without

[q] The cause of GODESCHALCUS has been very learnedly defended by the celebrated MAGUIN, who published also a valuable edition, which is yet extant, of all the treatises that were composed on both sides of this intricate controversy. This interesting collection, which was printed at Paris in the year 1650, in two volumes 4to, bears the following title: *Veterum auctorum qui Nono Sæculo de Predestinatione et Gratia scripserunt, Opera et Fragmenta, cum Historia gemina Præfatione.* Cardinal NORIS maintained also the cause of the Predestinarian monk with more brevity, but less moderation than MAGUIN. This brief vindication may be seen in the *Synopsis Historiæ Godeschalchanæ*, which is inserted

C E N T. Without determining any thing upon such an intricate and incomprehensible subject, with respect to which silence is the truest wisdom, we shall only observe, that the private quarrels, and mutual hatred, that prevailed between RABANUS MAURUS and GODESCHALCUS, were the real source of the Predestinarian controversy, and of all the calamities in which it involved that unfortunate monk [r].

Hincmar
and Godes-
chalcus dis-
pute con-
cerning the
words Tri-
na Deitas.

XXV. Another, though less important controversy arose about this time, concerning the concluding words of a very ancient hymn, which runs thus; *te, trina Deitas unaque poscimus*, which may be thus translated, *O God, who art three, and at the same time but one, we beseech thee, &c.* HINGMAR wisely prohibited the singing these words in the churches that were under his jurisdiction, from a persuasion that they tended to introduce into the minds of the multitude notions inconsistent with the unity and simplicity

serted in the 4th volume of the works of that cardinal, p. 677. All the Benedictines, Jansenists, and Augustin monks maintain, almost without exception, that GODESCHALCUS was most unjustly persecuted and oppressed by RABANUS MAURUS. The jesuits are of a different opinion; they assert in general, and LOUIS CELLOT, one of their order, has in a more particular manner laboured to demonstrate in his *Historia Godeschalci Predestinationis*, published at Paris in 1655, that the monk in question was justly condemned and deservedly punished.

[r] The parents of GODESCHALCUS consecrated him to God, by devoting him from his infancy, as was the custom of the times, to the monastic life in the monastery of *Fulda*. The young monk, however, being arrived at a certain age, seemed much disposed to abandon his retreat, to shake off his religious fetters, and return again into society; but he was prevented from the execution of this purpose by RABANUS MAURUS, who kept him, against his will, in his monastic bonds. Hence a violent contest arose between these two ecclesiastics, in which LEWIS the MEEK was obliged to interpose, and hence the furious disputes concerning predestination and grace. See *Centurie Magdeb. Cent. ix. c. 10.*—MABILLON. *Annal. Bened.* tom. ii. ad A. 829. p. 523.

plicity of the Supreme Being, and might lead them to imagine that there were three Gods. But the Benedictine monks refused to obey this mandate, and BERTRAMN, who was one of the most eminent of that order, wrote a large book to prove the expression *trina Deitas*, or *threefold Deity*, orthodox, from the authority of fathers, which was esteemed the only criterion of truth in these miserable times. GODESCHALCUS, who now lay in prison, heard of this dispute, entered warmly into it, and in a laboured dissertation supported the cause of his Benedictine brethren, on which account HINGMAR accused him of *tritbeism*, and drew up a treatise to prove the charge, and to refute that impious and enormous heresy. This controversy, however, was but of a short duration, and the exceptionable passage of the hymn in question maintained its credit, notwithstanding all the efforts of HINGMAR, and continued, as before, to be sung in the churches [s].

XXVI. A vain curiosity, and not any design of promoting useful knowledge and true piety, was the main source of the greatest part of the controversies that were carried on in this century. And it was more especially this idle curiosity, carried to an indecent and most extravagant length, that gave rise to the controversy *Concerning the manner in which Christ was born of the Virgin*, which began in *Germany*, and made its way from thence into *France*. Certain Germans maintained, that JESUS proceeded from his mother's womb in a manner quite different from those general and uniform laws of nature that regulate the birth of the human species; which opinion was no sooner known in *France* than it was warmly opposed by the famous RATRAMN, who wrote a book expressly

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

[s] There is an account of this controversy given by the writers of the life, actions, and doctrines of GODESCHALCUS.

C. E. N. T. IX.
 P. A. R. T. II.
 pressly to prove that CHRIST entered into the world in the very same way with other mortals, and that his Virgin-mother bare him, as other women bring forth their offspring. PASCASIUS RADBERT, who was constantly employed either in inventing or patronizing the most extravagant fancies, adopted the opinion of the German doctors, and composed an elaborate treatise to prove that CHRIST was born, without his mother's womb being opened, in the same manner as he came into the chamber where his disciples were assembled after his resurrection though the door was shut. He also charged those who held the opinion of RATRAMN with denying the virginity of MARY. This fruitless dispute was soon hushed, and gave place to controversies of superior moment [t].

The first controversy between the Greeks and Latins on the account of Photius.

XXVII. Of all the controversies that divided Christians in this century, the most interesting, though at the same time the most lamentable, was that which occasioned the fatal schism between the Greek and Latin churches. A vindictive and jealous spirit of animosity and contention had, for a long time, prevailed between the bishops of *Rome*, and *Constantinople*, and had sometimes broke out into acts of violence and rage. The ambition and fury of these contending prelates grew still more keen and vehement about the time of LEO the Isaurian, when the bishops of *Constantinople*, seconded by the power and authority of the emperors, withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiffs many provinces, over which they had hitherto exercised a spiritual dominion [u]. But in this century they arose to an enormous

[t] See LUCAS DACHERIUS, his *Spicilegium veterum Scrip- tor.* tom. i. p. 396.—MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Benedict.* part II. p. 51.

[u] See GIANNONE, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. i. p. 535. 646. —PETR. DE MARCA, *De concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, lib. i. cap. i. p. 6.—LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 96.

enormous height, and broke forth into a most C E N T.
dreadful flame, in the year 858 [w], when the IX.
learned PHOTIUS was chosen patriarch of *Constantinople*, by the emperor MICHAEL, in the place of
IGNATIUS, whom that prince drove from his see
and sent into exile. For this violent proceeding,
though it was justified and applauded by a coun-
cil assembled at *Constantinople* in the year 861,
was far from being attended with a general ap-
probation. IGNATIUS appealed from this council
to the Roman pontif NICOLAS I. who espoused
his interests, and, in a council assembled at *Rome*
A. D. 862, excommunicated PHOTIUS as unlaw-
fully elected; and his abettors for having been
concerned in such an unrighteous cause. The
new patriarch, however, was so far from being ter-
rified or dejected by this excommunication, that
he returned the compliment to the Roman pontif,
and, in a council assembled at *Constantinople*, in
the year 866, he declared NICOLAS unworthy
both of the place he held in the church, and also
of being admitted to the communion of Christi-
ans.

XXVIII. The Roman pontif alleged a specious
pretext for his appearing in this matter with such
violence, and exciting such unhappy commotions
in the church. This pretext was the innocence
of IGNATIUS, whom, upon an accusation of trea-
son, whether true or false, the emperor had de-
graded from his patriarchal dignity. This, how-
ever, was but a mere pretext; ambition and in-
terest were the true, though secret springs, that
directed the motions of NICOLAS, who would have
borne with patience, nay, beheld with indiffe-
rence the unjust sufferings of IGNATIUS, could he
but

✠ [w] In the original there stands 852, but as this is pro-
bably an error of the press, the translator has taken the liber-
ty to correct it in the text.

C E N T. but have recovered from the Greeks the provin-
 IX.
 P A R T II. ces of *Illyricum, Macedonia, Epirus, Acbaia, Thes-*
 saly and *Sicily*, which the emperor and PHOTIUS
 had removed from the jurisdiction of the Roman
 pontif. Before he engaged in the cause of IGNA-
 TIUS, he sent a solemn embassy to *Constantinople*;
 to demand the restitution of these provinces; but
 his demand was rejected with contempt. And
 hence, under pretence of avenging the injuries
 committed against IGNA TIUS, he indulged with-
 out restraint his own private resentment, and
 thus covered with the mask of justice the fury of
 disappointed ambition and avarice.

A second
 contest
 concerning
 the same
 person.
 Photius
 degraded.

XXIX. While things were in this troubled
 state, and the flame of controversy was growing
 more violent from day to day, BASILIUS the Ma-
 cedonian, who, by the murder of his predecessor,
 had paved his way to the imperial throne, calmed
 at once these tumults, and restored peace to the
 church, by recalling IGNA TIUS from exile to the
 high station from which he had been degraded,
 and by confining PHOTIUS in a monastery. This
 imperial act of authority was solemnly approved
 and confirmed by a council assembled at *Constan-*
tinople in the year 869, in which the legates of the
 Roman pontif ADRIAN II. had great influence,
 and were treated with the highest marks of di-
 stinction [*]. The Latins acknowledge this as-
 sembly as the viiith *œcumenical* council, and in it
 the religious contests between them and the
 Greeks were concluded, or at least hushed and
 suspended. But the controversy concerning the
 authority of the Roman pontifs, the limits of their
 ghostly empire, and particularly their jurisdiction
 in *Bulgaria*, still subsisted; nor could all the
 efforts

[*] The writers, on both sides of this controversy, are enu-
 merated by FABRICIUS, in his *Bibl. Græca*, vol. iv. c. xxxviii.
 p. 372.

efforts of papal ambition engage either **IGNATIUS** C E N T. IX. PART II. or the emperor to give up *Bulgaria*, or any other province, to the see of *Rome*.

XXX. The contest that had arisen between the Greeks and Latins concerning the elevation of **PHOTIUS**, was of such a nature as to admit of an easy and effectual remedy. But the haughty and ambitious spirit of this learned and ingenious patriarch fed the flame of discord instead of extinguishing it, and unhappily perpetuated the troubles and divisions of the Christian church. In the year 866, he added to the see of *Constantinople* the province of *Bulgaria*, with which the pontif **NICOLAS** had formed the design of augmenting his own spiritual dominions, and was most bitterly provoked at missing his aim. **PHOTIUS** went yet farther; and entered into measures every way unworthy of his character and station; for he not only sent a circular letter to the oriental patriarchs to engage them to espouse his private cause, as the public and momentous cause of the church, but drew up a most violent charge of heresy against the Roman bishops, who had been sent among the new-converted Bulgarians, and against the church of *Rome* in general. The articles of corrupt doctrine, or heresy, which this imperious and exasperated prelate brought against the Romans, were as follow: *First*, That they fasted on the *Sabbath*, or seventh day of the week. *Secondly*, That in the first week of Lent they permitted the use of milk and cheese. *Thirdly*, That they prohibited their priests to marry, and separated from their wives such as were married, when they went into orders [y]. *Fourthly*, That they

A a maintained

[y] **PHOTIUS** attributes to this forced and unnatural celibacy of the clergy that multitude of children whose fathers were unknown. Remarkable to this purpose is the following passage from a book of **ALVARUS DELAGIUS**, bishop of

Vob. II. A a *Sylva*

C E N T. maintained that the bishops alone were authorised
 IX
 P A R T I I. to anoint with the holy chrism baptized persons,
 and that they, of consequence, who had been
 anointed by presbyters, were obliged to receive
 that unction a second time from the hand of a
 bishop. *Lastly*, That they had adulterated the
 symbol or creed of *Constantinople*, by adding to it
 the words *filioque*, i. e. *and from the son*, and were
 therefore of opinion that the HOLY SPIRIT did
 not proceed from the Father only, but also from
 the Son [z]. NICOLAS I. finding the Roman
 church thus attacked, sent the articles of this ac-
 cusation to HINCMAR and the other Gallican bi-
 shops in the year 867, desiring them to assemble
 their respective suffragans in order to examine
 and answer the reproach of PHOTIUS. Pursuant to
 this exhortation of the pontif, ODO, AENEAS, and
 ADO, bishops of *Beauvais*, *Paris*, and *Vienne*, as
 also the celebrated RATRAMN, stept forth gallantly
 into the field of controversy against the Greeks,
 answered one by one the accusations of PHOTIUS,
 and employed the whole force of their erudition
 and zeal in maintaining the cause of the Latin
 churches [a].

XXXI.

Sylva in Portugal, De Placita Ecclesie; "It were to be wish-
 ed," says he, "that the clergy had never vowed chastity,
 especially the clergy of Spain, where the sons of the laity
 are not much more numerous than the sons of the clergy."

[z] See the letter of PHOTIUS in the collection published
 by bishop MONTAGUE. N. II. p. 47. Other writers mention
 ten heads of accusation brought against PHOTIUS, but such
 do not distinguish between the first and second controversy
 that arose between the Greeks and Latins, and they add to
 the articles, with which this patriarch was charged, those that
 were drawn up in the time of MICHAEL CERULARIUS. Cer-
 tain it is, that in the epistle of PHOTIUS, which relates only
 to the first controversy, and is the only criterion by which
 we ought to judge of it, there are no more heads of accusa-
 tion than the five which we have enumerated in the text.

[a] MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Bened.* part II. p. 55.

XXXI. Upon the death of IGNATIUS, which C E N T.
 happened in the year 878, the emperor took P A R T II.
 PHOTIUS into favour, and placed him again at the head of the Greek church in the patriarchal
 dignity from whence he had fallen. This resto-
 ration of the degraded patriarch was agreed to by
 the Roman pontif JOHN VIII. upon condition,
 however, that PHOTIUS would permit the Bulg-
 arians to come under the jurisdiction of the see of
Rome. The latter promised to satisfy in this the
 demands of the pontif, to which the emperor also
 seemed to consent [b]; and hence it was that
 JOHN VIII. sent legates to the council which was
 held at *Constantinople*, A. D. 879, by whom he de-
 clared his approbation of the acts of that assembly,
 and acknowledged PHOTIUS as his brother in
 CHRIST. The promises, however, of the emper-
 or and the patriarch were far from being accom-
 plished; for after this council the former, most
 probably by the advice, or at least with the con-
 sent of the latter, refused to transfer the province
 of *Bulgaria* to the Roman pontif; and it must be
 confessed that this refusal was founded upon most
 weighty and important reasons. The pontif,
 notwithstanding, was highly irritated at this dis-
 appointment, and sent MARINUS to *Constantinople*
 in the character of legate, to declare that he had
 changed his mind concerning PHOTIUS, and that
 he entirely approved of the sentence of excom-
 munication that had been formerly given against
 him. The legate, upon delivering this disa-
 greeable message, was cast into prison by the em-
 peror, but was afterwards set free; and being
 raised to the Pontificate upon the death of JOHN
 VIII. recalled the remembrance of this injurious
 treatment, and levelled a new sentence of con-
 demnation against PHOTIUS.

— A a 2

XXXII.

[b] MICH. LE QUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 103.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

XXXII. This sentence was treated with contempt by the haughty patriarch; but about six years after this period, he experienced anew the fragility of sublunary grandeur and elevation, by a fall which concluded his prosperous days. For in the year 886, Leo, surnamed the *Philosopher*, the son and successor of BASILIUS, deposed him from the patriarchal see, and confined him in an Armenian monastery, where he died in the year 891. The death of PHOTIUS, who was the only author of the schisms that divided the Greeks and Latins, might have been an occasion of removing these unhappy contests, and of restoring peace and concord in the church if the Roman pontiff had not been regardless of the demands of equity as well as of the duty of Christian moderation. But these imperious lords of the church indulged their vindictive zeal beyond all measure, and would be satisfied with nothing less than the degradation of all the priests and bishops, who had been ordained by PHOTIUS. The Greeks on the other hand, were shocked at the arrogance of these unjust pretensions, and would not submit to them on any conditions. Hence a spirit of resentment and irritation renewed the spirit of dispute, which had been happily declining; religious, as well as civil contests were again set on foot; new controversies were added to the old, until the fatal schism took place, which produced a lasting and total separation between the Greek and Latin church.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

THAT religious rites and ceremonies were multiplied from day to day, appears evidently from the labours of those writers who began in this century to explain to the ignorant multitude their origin, their nature, and the purposes they served; for the multiplicity alone of these religious rites could render the explication of them necessary. JOHANNES SCOTUS, ANGELOME, REMI, or REMIGIUS, bishop of *Auxerre*, and WALAFRIDUS STRABO, were the principal authors who distinguished themselves in this species of sacred literature, to whom we may add AMALARIUS, many of whose explanations were, however, refuted by AGOBARD and FLORUS. Their works are generally entitled *De Officiis Divinis*, for in the style of this age religious ceremonies were called by that name. The labours of these pious and learned men in illustrating the *ritual* were undoubtedly undertaken with good intentions; but their utility may be well called into question; and it would be bold to affirm that they were not as prejudicial to the church in some respects, as they might be advantageous to it in others. Their books afforded, indeed, a certain sort of spiritual nourishment to the minds of christians in their attendance upon public worship; but this nourishment was both coarse and unwholesome. The reasons alleged for the ceremonies in vogue at this time in the church, and the purposes they were supposed to answer, were, for the most part, not only far-fetched, childish, and ridiculous, but also bore the strongest marks of forgery and fiction. It is also farther observable,

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.
Several writers explain the origin of the rites and ceremonies now used in the church.

C E N T. that these illustrations not only encouraged, but
 IX.
 P A R T II. augmented prodigiously, and that to the detri-
 — ment of real piety, the veneration and zeal of the
 multitude for external rites and ceremonies. For
 who would dare to refuse their admiration and
 reverence to institutions, which they were taught
 to consider as full of the most mysterious wisdom,
 and founded upon the most pious and affecting
 reasons?

A general
 account of
 those rites.

II. It would be endless to enter into an exact
 enumeration of the various rites and ceremonies,
 which were now introduced, for the first time,
 and of which some were adopted by the whole bo-
 dy of Christians, and others only by certain
 churches. We shall therefore dismiss this matter
 with the general account which follows, and point
 out in the notes the sources from whence the cu-
 rious reader may derive a more particular know-
 ledge of the absurdities of this superstitious age.
 The carcasses of the saints transported from foreign
 countries, or discovered at home by the industry
 and diligence of pious or designing priests, not
 only obliged the rulers of the church to augment
 the number of festivals or holidays already esta-
 blished, but also to diversify the ceremonies in
 such a manner, that each saint might have his
 peculiar worship. And as the authority and cre-
 dit of the clergy depended much upon the high
 notion which was generally entertained of the
 virtue and merit of the saints they had canonized,
 and presented to the multitude as objects of reli-
 gious veneration, it was necessary to amuse and
 surprise the people by a variety of pompous and
 striking ceremonies, by images and such like in-
 ventions, in order to keep up and nourish their
 stupid admiration for the saintly tribe. Hence
 the splendor and magnificence that were lavished
 upon the churches in this century, and the prodigious
 number of costly pictures and images with
 which

which they were adorned; hence the stately altars, which were enriched with the noblest inventions of painting and sculpture, and illuminated with innumerable tapers at noon-day; hence the multitude of processions, the gorgeous and splendid garments of the priests, and the *masses* that were celebrated in honour of the saints [c]. Among other novelties, the feast of *All Saints*, was added, in this century, by GREGORY IV. to the Latin calendar [d]; and the festival of St MICHAEL, which had been long kept with the greatest marks of devotion and respect by the Orientals and Italians, began now to be observed more zealously and universally among the Latin Christians [e].

III. Nor was it only in the solemn acts of religious worship that superstition reigned with an unlimited sway; its influence extended even to the affairs of private life, and was observable in the civil transactions of men, particularly among the Latin Christians, who retained with more obstinacy than the Greeks a multitude of customs, which derived their origin from the sacred rites of paganism. The barbarous nations, which were converted to Christianity, could not support the thoughts of abandoning altogether the laws and manners of their ancestors, however inconsistent they might be with the indispensable demands of the gospel; nay, they persuaded on the contrary, the Christians among whom they lived to imitate their extravagant superstition in this respect. And this was the true and original source of those barbarous institutions that prevailed

Superstition insinuates itself into the transactions of civil life.

A a 4

[c] See JO FECHTII *Liber Singularis de Missis in bonorum Sanctorum*.

[d] See MABILLON, *De re Diplomatica*, p. 537.

[e] The holidays, or festivals of the saints were as yet but few in number among the Latins, as appears from a poem of FLORUS, published by MARTENE in the fifth volume of his *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*. p. 595.

C E N T. vailed among the Latins, during this and the fol-
 IX.
 P A R T II. lowing century, such as the various methods by
 which it was usual for persons accused to prove
 their innocence in doubtful cases, either by the
 trial of cold water [*f*], by single combat [*g*], by
 the

[*f*] All these were presumptuous attempts to force the divine providence to declare itself miraculously in favour of the truth. In the trial of *cold water*, the person accused had the right foot and left hand bound together, and was, in this posture thrown naked into the water. If he sunk, he was acquitted; but if he floated upon the surface, this was considered as an evidence of guilt. The most respectable authors, ancient and modern, attribute the invention of this superstitious trial to Pope EUGENIUS II. and it is somewhat surprising that Mr BOWER has taken no notice of it in his history of that pontif. BALUZIUS has inserted in the second volume of his *Capitularia*, the solemn forms of prayer and protestation, that EUGENIUS had caused to be drawn up as an introduction to this superstitious practice, and FLEURY and SPANHEIM look upon that pontif as its first inventor. On the other hand, father LE BRUN, a priest of the oratory, maintains in his *Histoire Critique des Pratiques Superstitieuses*, tom. ii. p. 140, &c. edit. d' Amsterdam), that this custom was much more ancient than EUGENIUS, and his reasons are not unworthy of attention. Be that as it may, this custom was condemned and abrogated at the request, or rather by the authority of LEWIS the MEER about the year 829. It was, however, revived afterwards, and was practised in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, as we shall see in the progress of this history. For an account of the trial of *cold water*, Dr MOSHEIM refers us, in a note, to MABILLON's *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. i. p. 47. and ROYE's *De missis dominicis*, p. 152.

[*g*] The trial by *duel*, or single combat, was introduced towards the conclusion of the fifth century by GONDEBAUD, king of the Burgundians, after that the abuse of oaths had occasioned the most horrible perjuries, and opened a door to all sorts of injustice. The *duel* was then added to the oath by GONDEBAUD; the successful combatant was supposed to be in the right, and this barbarous test of truth and justice was, in spite of humanity and common sense, adopted by the Lombards, French, and Germans, and derived from them to other nations. It was prohibited first in the year 855, in the third council of *Valence* in *Dauphiny*.

The *fire ordeal* was practised in various ways. The accused either held a burning ball of iron in his hand, or was obliged to walk barefoot upon heated plow-shares, whose number was increased.

the fire ordeal [*b*], and by the cross [*i*]. It is no C E N T.
 longer a question in our days, from whence these IX.
 methods of deciding dubious cases and accusations P A R T II,
 derived

increased in proportion to the number or enormity of the crimes imputed to him; and sometimes a glove of red-hot iron was used on this occasion, as we see in the tenth book of the history of *Denmark*, by SAXON the *Grammarian*. If in these trials the person impeached remained unhurt, and discovered no signs of pain, he was discharged as innocent; otherwise he was punished as guilty. The first account we have of Christians appealing to this kind of trial as a proof of their innocence, is that of SIMPLICIUS, bishop of *Aulun*, who lived in the fourth century. This prelate, as the story goes, before his promotion to the episcopal order, had married a wife who loved him tenderly, and who, unwilling to quit him after his advancement, continued to sleep in the same chamber with her spouse. The sanctity of SIMPLICIUS suffered, at least in the voice of fame, by the constancy of his wife's affection, and it was rumoured about, that the holy man, though a bishop, persisted in opposition to the ecclesiastical canons to taste the sweets of matrimony. Upon which the dame, in presence of a great concourse of people, took up a considerable quantity of burning coals, which she held in her clothes, and applied to her breast, without the least hurt to her person or damage to her garments, as the legend says, and her example being followed by her husband with like success, the silly multitude admired the miracle and proclaimed the innocence of the loving pair. BRICIUS, or St BRICE (whom Mr COLLIER, in his *Ecclesiastical History of England*, vol. i. p. 231. represents by mistake as the first Christian who endeavoured to clear himself in this way) played a trick of much the same nature in the fifth century.

The trial by the cross was made by obliging the contending parties to stretch out their arms, and he that continued the longest in this posture gained his cause.

[*g*] JO. LOCCENI *Antiquit. Sueo-Goticae*, lib. ii. cap. vii. viii. p. 144. This barbarous method of deciding controversies by *duel* was practised even by the clergy. See JUST. HEN. BOEMERI *Jus Eccles. Protestantium*, tom. v. p. 88.

[*h*] PETR. LAMBECIUS, *Rerum Hamburg.* lib. ii. p. 39.—USSERI *Sylloge Epistol. Hibernic.* p. 81. JOHNSON, *Legis Eccles. Britannicæ*.—MICHAEL DE LA ROCHE, *Memoires Litter. de la Grande Bretagne*, tom. viii. p. 391.

[*i*] See AGOBARDUS, *Contra Judicium Dei*, tom. i. opp. & *Contra legem Gundobadi*, cap. ix. p. 114. HIER. BIGNONIUS, *Ad formulas Marculphi*, cap. xii. BALUZIUS, *Ad Agobardum*, p. 194.

C E N T derived their origin ; all agree that they were mere delusions, drawn from the barbarous rites of paganism [k], and not only opposite to the precepts of the gospel, but absolutely destructive of the spirit of true religion. The pontifs, however, and the inferior clergy encouraged these odious superstitions, and went so far as to accompany the practice of them with the celebration of the Lord's Supper and other rites, in order to give them a Christian aspect, and to recommend them to the veneration and confidence of the multitude.

IX.
PART II.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.

The ancient sects still in being.

I. **T**HE sects, that had sprung up in the earlier ages of the church, subsisted still, without almost any change in their situations or circumstances that is worthy of mention. Such of them as were considerably numerous, fixed their settlements beyond the limits both of the Greek and Latin empires, and thus out of the reach of their enemies. The Nestorians more especially, and the Monophysites, secure under the protection of the Arabians, were extremely industrious in maintaining their credit, and also discovered

[k] STRABO tells us in the fifth book of his *Geography*, that while the sacred rites of the goddess *Feronia* were celebrated in a grove not far from mount *Soracte*, several persons, transported with the imaginary presence of this pretended divinity, fell into fits of enthusiasm, and walked bare-footed over heaps of burning coals without receiving the least damage. The historian adds, that a spectacle so extraordinary drew a prodigious concourse of people to this annual solemnity. PLINY relates something of the same nature concerning the *Hirpui*. See his *Nat. Hist.* book vii. chap. ii.

discovered a warm and active zeal in the propa-^{C E N T.}
 gation of Christianity among those who were yet ^{IX.} _{P A R T II.} ^{unacquainted with that divine religion.} Some
 learned men are of opinion, that it was only in
 this century that the Abyssinians or Ethiopians
 embraced the sentiments of the Monophysites, in
 consequence of the exhortations addressed to them
 by the doctors of that sect who resided in *Egypt*.
 But this is undoubtedly a wrong account of the
 matter; for it is certain, that the Abyssinians,
 who were accustomed to receive their spiritual
 guide from the bishop of *Alexandria*, commenced
 Monophysites in the seventh century, if not
 sooner. For in that period the Arabians made
 themselves masters of *Egypt*, oppressed the Greeks,
 and granted to the Monophysites such a powerful
 protection, as enabled them to reduce under their
 jurisdiction almost all the churches that had been
 established in *Egypt* [i].

II. The Greeks, during the greatest part of this ^{The Pauli-}
 century, were engaged in a most bitter contro-^{ciana.}
 versy, or, to speak more properly, in a bloody and
 barbarous war with the Paulicians, a sect that
 may be considered as a branch of the Manichæ-
 ans, and which resided principally in *Armenia*.
 This pernicious sect is said to have been formed in
Armenia by two brothers, PAUL and JOHN, sons
 of CALLINICES, and inhabitants of *Samosatena*,
 from the former of whom it derives its name;
 though others are of opinion, that the Paulicians
 were so called from another PAUL, an Armenian
 by birth, who lived under the reign of JUSTINIAN
 II. [m]. Be that as it may, a certain zealot called
 CONSTANTINE received, in the seventh century,
 under

[1] *Nouveaux Memoires de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant*, tom. iv. p. 283, 284.—LE GRAND, *Dissert.* iv.—
 LOBO, *Voyage Historique de l'Abyssinie*, tom. ii. p. 18.

[m] PHOTIUS, lib. i. *Contra Manichæos*, p. 74. in B. WOL-
 FII. *Anecdotes Græcis*, tom. i.

C E N T. under the government of **CONSTANS**, this drooping faction, which had suffered deeply from the violence of its adversaries, and was ready to expire under the severity of the imperial edicts, and of those penal laws which were executed against its adherents with the utmost rigour. **CONSTANS**, **JUSTINIAN II.** and **LEO** the Isaurian, exerted their zeal against the Paulicians with a peculiar degree of bitterness and fury, and left no method of oppression unemployed, no means of accomplishing their ruin that were not put in execution; but their efforts were ineffectual, nor could all their power, nor all their barbarity, exhaust the patience, or conquer the obstinacy of that inflexible people, who, with a fortitude worthy of a better cause, made light of the calamities to which their erroneous doctrine exposed them. The face of things changed, however, to their advantage towards the commencement of this century, and their affairs carried a more prosperous aspect under the protection of the emperor **NICEPHORUS**, who favoured them in a particular manner, and restored to them their civil privileges, as well as their religious liberty [*n*].

Persecuted
anew.

III. Their tranquillity, however, was but of short duration; it was a transient scene that was soon to be succeeded by yet more dreadful sufferings than they had hitherto experienced. The cruel rage of persecution, which had for some years been suspended, broke forth with redoubled violence under the reigns of **MICHAEL CUROPALATES**, and **LEO** the Armenian, who caused the strictest search to be made after the Paulicians in all the provinces of the Grecian empire, and inflicted capital punishment upon such of them as refused to return to the bosom of the church.

This

[*n*] See **GEORG. CEDRENIUS**, *Compend. Historiar.* tom. ii. p. 480. Edit. Paris. p. 379.

This rigorous decree turned the affliction of the C E N T. Paulicians, who dwelt in *Armenia*, into ven- IX. geance, and drove them into the most desperate P A R T II. measures. They massacred THOMAS bishop of *New Casarea*, and also the magistrates and judges which the emperors had established in *Armenia*; and after avenging themselves thus cruelly, they took refuge in the countries that were governed by the Saracens, and from thence infested the neighbouring states of *Greece* with perpetual incursions [o]. After these reciprocal acts of cruelty and vengeance, the Paulicians, as it would seem, enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, and returned to their habitations in the Grecian provinces.

IV. But the most dreadful scene of persecution The fate and bloodshed that was exhibited against these of the Paul- wretched heretics, arose from the furious and in- icians un- considerate zeal of the empress THEODORA. This der Theodora. impetuous woman, who was regent of the empire during the minority of her son, issued out a decree, which placed the Paulicians in the perplexing alternative either of abandoning their principles, or of perishing by fire and sword. The decree was severe, but the cruelty with which it was put in execution by those who were sent into *Armenia* for that purpose, was horrible beyond expression; for these ministers of wrath, after confiscating the goods of above an hundred thousand of that miserable people, put their possessors to death in the most barbarous manner, and made them expire slowly in a variety of the most exquisite tortures. Such as escaped destruction fled for protection and refuge to the Saracens, who received them with compassion and humanity, and permitted them to build a city for their residence, which was called *Tibrica*. Upon this they entered
into

[o] PHOTIUS, lib. i. *Contra Manicheos*, p. 125. PETRUS SICULI *Historia Manichæorum*, p. 71.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II. into a league with the Saracens, and, chusing for their chief an officer of the greatest resolution and valour, whose name was CARBEAS, they declared against the Greeks a war which was carried on with the utmost vehemence and fury. This bloody war continued during this whole century; the victory seemed often doubtful, but the slaughter was terrible, and the numbers that perished on both sides prodigious. Many of the Grecian provinces felt, in a more particular manner, the dire effects of this cruel contest, and exhibited the most moving scenes of desolation and misery [p]. During these commotions, some Paulicians, towards the conclusion of this century, spread abroad among the Bulgarians their pestilential doctrines, which were received with docility, and took root speedily, as might naturally be expected, among a barbarous people that were but

[p] GEORG. CEDRENUS, *Compend. Hist.* p. 541. *Ed. Paris.* p. 425. *Ed. Venet.* p. 547, et 429, &c. ZONARAS, *Annal.* lib. xvi. tom. ii. p. 122. *Ed. Venet.* The principal authors who have given accounts of the Paulicians are PHOTIUS, lib. i. *Contra Manichæos*, and PETRUS SICULUS, whose history of the Manichæans was published in Greek and Latin at *Ingoldstadt*, in 1604, by MATTH. RADERUS. By the account of PETRUS SICULUS that is given by himself, we learn that in the year 870, under the reign of BASILIUS the Macedonian, he was sent ambassador to the Paulicians at *Tibrica*, to treat with them concerning the exchange of prisoners, and lived among them during the space of nine months; this is sufficient to give us a high idea of the power and prosperity of the Paulicians at that time. It is from this eminent writer that CEDRENUS seems to have taken what he has advanced in his *Compend. Histor.* p. 431. What we learn concerning the Paulicians from more modern writers, such as BAYLE, in his *Dictionary*, and B. JO. CHRIST. WOLFIUS, in his *Manichæismus ante Manichæos*, p. 247, seems to be derived from BOSSUET'S *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, tom. ii. p. 129. But this authority is highly exceptionable; for BOSSUET himself did not consult the true sources of knowledge upon this point; and, what is still worse, the spirit of party seems manifestly to have led him into voluntary errors.

but lately made converts to the Christian C E N T.
faith [q]. IX.

V. The Greeks treated the Paulicians, of P A R T H.
whom we have been now speaking, as Manichæ- Whether or
ans; though, if we may credit the testimony of not the
PHOTIUS, the Paulicians expressed the utmost Paulians
abhorrence of MANES and his doctrine [r]. Most were Ma-
evident it is, that they were not altogether nichæans.
Manichæans, though they embraced some opinions
that resembled certain tenets of that abominable
sect. They had not, like the Manichæans, an
ecclesiastical government administered by bishops,
priests, and deacons: they had no sacred order of
men distinguished by their manner of life, their
habit, or any other circumstance from the rest of
the assembly; nor had councils, synods, or such
like institutions any place in their religious po-
lity. They had certain doctors whom they called
Sunecdemi, i. e. companions in the journey of life,
and also *Notarii*. Among these, there reigned a
perfect equality, and they had no peculiar rights,
privileges, nor any external mark of dignity to
distinguish them from the people [s]. The only
singularity that attended their promotion to the
rank of doctors was, that they changed their lay-
names for scripture ones, as if there had been
something peculiarly venerable in the names of
the holy men, whose lives and actions are recorded
in!

[q] It is not improbable that there are yet in *Thrace* and *Bulgaria*, Paulicians, or Paulians, as they are called by some. It appears at least certain, that in the last century some of that sect still subsisted, and dwelt at *Nicopolis*, as we learn from the testimony of URB. CERRI, in his *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 72, who tells us, that PETER DEODATI, archbishop of *Sophia*, caused them to abandon their errors, and return to the catholic faith; but whether this latter part of the account be true or false, is more than we shall pretend to determine.

[r] PHOTIUS, lib. i. *Contra Manichæos*, p. 17. 56. 65.—
PETR. SICULUS, *Hist. Manich.* p. 43.

[s] PHOTIUS, l. c. p. 31, 32. PETR. SICUL. p. 44.
CEDRENIUS, l. c. p. 431.

C E N T. in the sacred writings. They received all the books of the New Testament, except the Two Epistles of St PETER, which they rejected for reasons unknown to us ; and their copies of the gospel, were exactly the same with those used by all other Christians, without the least interpolation of the sacred text ; in which respect also they differed considerably from the Manichæans [1]. They moreover recommended to the people without exception, and that with the most affecting and ardent zeal, the constant and assiduous perusal of the holy scriptures, and expressed the utmost indignation against the Greeks, who allowed to the priests alone an access to these sacred fountains of divine knowledge [2]. In explaining, however, the doctrines of the gospel, they often departed from the literal sense, and the natural signification of the words, and interpreted them in a forced and allegorical manner, when they opposed their favourite opinions and tenets [3] ; and such more especially were the delusive and erroneous explications, which they gave of what is said in the gospel concerning the institutions of baptism and the Lord's supper, and the divine authority of the Old Testament, all which they obstinately rejected. Besides the books of the New Testament, they treated with a particular veneration certain epistles of SERGIUS, the most eminent and illustrious doctor of their sect.

The opinions of the Paulicians.

VI. None of the Greek writers have given a complete view of the Paulician system, which was undoubtedly composed of a great variety of tenets ; they content themselves with mentioning six monstrous errors, which, in their estimation, rendered the Paulicians unworthy of enjoying either the comforts of this world, or the happiness

[1] PHOTIUS, l. c. p. 11.—PETR. SICUL. p. 19.

[2] PHOTIUS, l. c. p. 101.—PETR. SICUL. p. 57.

[3] PHOTIUS, l. c. p. 12.

ness of the next. These errors are as follows: C E N T.

1. "They deny that this inferior and visible ^{IX.} _{PART II.} world is the production of the Supreme Being,

"and they distinguish the Creator of this world,

"and of human bodies, from the Most high God,

"who dwells in the heavens." It was principally

on account of this odious doctrine, which was,

however, adopted by all the Gnostic sects, that

the Paulicians were looked upon as Manichæans

by the Greeks. But what their sentiments were

concerning the Creator of this world, and whe-

ther or not they considered him as a Being distinct

from the evil principle, are matters that no wri-

ter has hitherto explained in a satisfactory manner.

We learn only from PHOTIUS, that according to

the Paulician doctrine, the *evil principle* was en-

gendered by *darkness* and *fire*: from whence it

plainly follows that he was neither self-originated,

nor eternal [x]. 2. "They treated contemptu-

"ously the Virgin MARY;" that is to say, ac-

cording to the manner of speaking usual among

the Greeks, they refused to adore and worship

her. They maintained, indeed, that CHRIST

was the son of MARY, and was born of her (al-

though they maintained, as appears from the ex-

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B b

press

[x] PHOTIUS, lib. ii. *Contra Manichæos*, p. 147. It is evident, beyond all contradiction, that the Paulicians, in imitation of the Oriental philosophers, from whom the Gnostics and Manichæans derived their origin, considered *eternal matter* as the seat and source of all evil; but they believed, at the same time, like many of the Gnostics, that this *Matter*, endued from all eternity with life and motion, had produced an active principle, which was the fountain of vice, misery, and disorder. This principle, according to them, is the author of all material substances; while God is the Creator and Father of spirits. These tenets resemble, no doubt the Manichæan doctrine; yet they differ from it in several points. It appears most probable, that the Paulicians were a branch of some of the ancient Gnostic sects, which were extremely numerous and diversified, and which, though persecuted and oppressed from age to age in the most rigorous manner by many emperors, could never be entirely suppressed, nor totally extirpated.

B b

C E N T.
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PART II.

press testimony of their adversaries, that the divine Saviour brought with him from heaven his human nature, and that MARY, after the birth of CHRIST, had other children by JOSEPH); they only fell into the sentiments of the Valentinians, and held, that CHRIST passed through the womb of the Virgin, as the pure stream of limpid water passes through a conduit, and that MARY, did not preserve her virginity to the end of her days; all which assertions the Greeks rejected with the utmost antipathy and abhorrence. 3. " They refused to celebrate the holy institution of the " Lord's supper;" for as they looked upon many precepts and injunctions of the gospel to be of a merely figurative and parabolical nature, so they understood by the bread and wine, which CHRIST is said to have administered to his disciples at his last supper, the divine discourses and exhortations of the Saviour, which are a spiritual food and nourishment to the soul, and fill it with repose, satisfaction, and delight [y]. 4. " They loaded " the cross of CHRIST with contempt and reproach;" by which we are only to understand, that they refused to follow the absurd and superstitious practice of the Greeks, who paid to the pretended wood of the cross a certain sort of religious homage. As the Paulicians believed that CHRIST was clothed with an etherial, impassible, and celestial body, they could by no means grant that he was *really* nailed to the cross, or that he expired, in effect, upon that ignominious tree: and hence naturally arose that treatment of the cross

[y] The Greeks do not charge the Paulicians with any error concerning *baptism*; it is however certain, that the accounts of that sacred institution, which are given in scripture, were allegorically explained by this extravagant sect; and PHOTIUS, in his *First book against the Manichæans*, p. 29. expressly asserts, that the Paulicians treated baptism as a mere allegorical ceremony, and by the baptismal water understood the gospel.

cross, of which the Greeks accused them. 5. "They
 " rejected, after the example of the greatest part
 " of the Gnostics, the books of the Old Testa-
 " ment, and looked upon the writers of that sa-
 " cred history as inspired by the Creator of this
 " world, and not by the Supreme God. 6. They
 " excluded presbyters and elders from all part in
 " the administration of the church." By this,
 however, no more can be meant, than that they
 refused to call their doctors by the name of *pres-*
byters, a name which had its origin among the
 Jews, and was peculiar to that odious people, who
 persecuted JESUS CHRIST, and attempted, as the
 Paulicians speak, to put him to death [z].

[z] These six famous errors of the Paulicians I have taken
 from the Manichæan history of PETRUS SICULUS, with whom
 PHOTIUS and CEDRENIUS agree, although their accounts of
 these opinions be less perspicuous and distinct. The explana-
 tory remarks that I have added, are the result of my own re-
 flections upon the Paulician system, and the doctrine of the
 Greeks.

THE
TENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the prosperous events which happened to
the church during this century.*

CENT. I. **T**HE deplorable state of Christianity in this
century, arising partly from that astonish-
ing ignorance that gave a loose rein both to su-
perstition and immorality, and partly from an un-
happy concurrence of causes of another kind,
is unanimously lamented by the various writers,
who have transmitted to us the history of these
miserable times. Yet amidst all this darkness,
some gleams of light were perceived from time
to time, and several occurrences happened, which
deserve a place in the prosperous annals of the
church. The Nestorians in *Chaldæa* extended their
spiritual conquests beyond mount *Imaus*, and in-
troduced the Christian religion into *Tartary*, pro-
perly so called, whose inhabitants had hitherto
lived in their natural state of ignorance and fero-
city, uncivilized and savage. The same success-
ful missionaries spread, by degrees, the knowledge
of the gospel among that most powerful nation
of the Turks, or Tartars, which went by the
name

name of *Karit*, and bordered on *Kathay*, or on C E N T.
 the northern part of *China* [*a*]. The laborious PART I.
 industry of this sect, and their zeal for the pro-
 pagation of the Christian faith, deserve, no doubt,
 the highest encomiums; it must, however, be
 acknowledged, that the doctrine and worship,
 which they introduced among these barbarians,
 were far from being in all respects, conformable
 to the precepts of the gospel, or to the true spi-
 rit and genius of the Christian religion.

II. The prince of that country, whom the Prestor John.
 Nestorians converted to the Christian faith, as-
 sumed, if we may give credit to the vulgar
 tradition, the name of JOHN after his baptism, to
 which he added the surname of *Presbyter*, from
 a principle of modesty. Hence it was, as some
 learned men imagine, that the successors of this
 monarch retained these names until the time of
 GENGIS KAN, who flourished in the fourteenth
 century, and were each of them called PRESTER
 JOHN [*b*]. But all this has a very fabulous air;
 at least it is advanced without any solid proof;
 nay, it appears evident, on the contrary, that the
 famous PRESTER JOHN, who made so much noise
 in the world, did not begin to reign in that part
 of *Asia* before the conclusion of the eleventh cen-
 tury. It is, however, certain, beyond all contra-
 diction, that the monarchs of the nation called
Karit, which makes a large part of the empire
 of the Mogul, and is by some denominated a
 province of the Turks, and by others a tribe of
 the Tartars, embraced Christianity in this centu-
 ry; and that a considerable part of *Tartary*, or *A-*
siatic Scythia, lived under the spiritual jurisdiction

B b 3

of

[*a*] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANNI *Bibliotheca Oriental Vatic.* tom.
 iii. part II. p. 482.—HERBELOT, *Bibliothèque Oriental*, p. 256.

[*b*] See ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatic.* tom. iii.
 part II. p. 282.

C. A. N. T. of bishops who were sent among them by the
 X. Nestorian pontif [c].
 P. I. T. I.

Rollo first
 duke of
 Normandy
 converted.

III. If we turn our eyes to the western world, we shall find the gospel making its way with more or less rapidity through the most rude and uncivilized nations. The famous arch-pirate ROLLO, son of a Norwegian count, being banished from his native land [d], had, in the preceding century, put himself at the head of a resolute band of Normans, and seized upon one of the maritime provinces of *France*, from whence he infested the whole country round about with perpetual incursions and depredations. In the year 912, this valiant chief embraced, with his whole army, the Christian faith, and that upon the following occasion; CHARLES the Simple, who wanted both resolution and power to drive this warlike and intripid invader out of his dominions, was obliged to have recourse to the method of negociation. He accordingly offered to make over to ROLLO a considerable part of his territories, upon condition that the latter would consent to a peace, espouse his daughter GISELA [e], and embrace Christianity. These terms were accepted by ROLLO without the least hesitation; and his army, following

[c] The late learned Mr B. THEOPHILUS SIGEFRED BAYER, in his *Preface to the Museum Sinicum*, p. 145, informed us of his design to give the world an accurate account of the Nestorian churches established in *Tartary* and *China*, drawn from some curious ancient records and monuments, that have not been as yet made public. His work was to have been entitled *Historia Ecclesiarum Sinicarum, et Septentrionalis Asiae*; but death prevented the execution of this interesting plan, and also of several others, which this great man had formed, and which would have undoubtedly cast a new light upon the history of the Asiatic Christians.

[d] HOLBERGI *Historia Danorum Navalis in Scriptis Societ. Sci. Hafniens.* part III. p. 357.

[e] Other writers more politely represent the offer of GISELA as one of the methods that CHARLES employed to obtain a peace with ROLLO.

following the example of their leader, professed C E N T. X. P A R T I. a religion of which they were totally ignorant [*f*]. These Norman pirates, as appears from many authentic records, were absolutely without religion of every kind. and therefore were not restrained, by the power of prejudice, from embracing a religion which presented to them the most advantageous prospects. They knew no distinction between interest and duty, and they estimated truth and virtue only by the profits with which they were attended. It was from this ROLLO, who received at his baptism the name of ROBERT, that the famous line of Norman dukes derived its origin; for the province of *Bretagne*, and a part of *Neustria*, which CHARLES the Simple conveyed to his son-in-law by a solemn grant, were, from this time. known by the name of *Normandy* [*g*], which they derived from their new possessors.

IV. The Christian religion was introduced into *Poland*, by the zealous efforts of female piety. The conversion of the Polish nation. DAMBROWKA, daughter of BOLISLAUS, duke of *Bobemia*, persuaded by the force of repeated exhortations, her husband MICISLAUS, duke of *Poland*, to abandon paganism, in consequence of which, he embraced the gospel, A. D. 965. The account of this agreeable event was no sooner brought to *Rome*, than the pontiff, JOHN XIII. sent into *Poland* ÆGIDIUS, bishop of *Tusculum*, attended with a numerous train of ecclesiastics, in order to second the pious efforts of the duke and duchess, who desired, with impatience, the conversion of their subjects. But the exhortations and endeavours of these devout missionaries, who

B b 4

were

[*f*] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 296.—DANIEL *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 587.

[*g*] It was *Neustria* properly, and not *Bretagne*, that received the name of *Normandy*, from the Normans who chose ROLLO for their chief.

C E N T. were unacquainted with the language of the people they came to instruct, would have been entirely without effect, had they not been accompanied with the edicts and penal laws, the promises and threats of MICISLAUS, which dejected the courage, and conquered the obstinacy of the reluctant Poles. When therefore the fear of punishment, and the hope of reward, had laid the foundations of Christianity in *Poland*, two national archbishops and seven bishops were consecrated to the ministry, whose zeal and labours were followed with such success, that the whole body of the people abandoned, by degrees, their ancient superstitions, and made public profession of the religion of JESUS [b]. It was indeed no more than an external profession; for that inward change of affections and principles, which the gospel requires, was far from being an object of attention in this barbarous age.

The Christian religion established in Moscovy,

V. The Christian religion was established in *Russia* by means every way similar to those that had occasioned its propagation in *Poland*; for we must not lay any stress upon the proselytes that were made to Christianity among the Russians in the preceding century; since these conversions were neither permanent nor solid, and since it appears evidently, that such of that nation, as, under the reign of BASILIUS the Macedonian had embraced the doctrine of the Greek church, relapsed soon after into the superstition of their ancestors. WLODOMIR, duke of *Russia* and *Moscovy*, married, in the year 961, ANNE, sister of BASILIUS, the second Grecian emperor of that name; and this zealous princess, by her repeated entreaties, and her pious importunity, persuaded at length her reluctant spouse to receive the Christian

[b] DUGLOSSI *Historia Polonica*, lib. ii. p. 91. lib. iii. p. 95. 239.—REGENVOLSCII *Historia Eccles. Slavon.* lib. i. cap. i. p. 8.—HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. part 1. p. 41.—SOLIGNAC, *Hist. de Pologne*, tom. i. p. 71.

ian faith, and he was accordingly baptised, A. D. ^{C E N T.} 987, assuming upon that occasion the name of ^{X.} P A R T I. BASILIUS. The Russians followed spontaneously the example of their prince ; we have, at least, no account of any compulsion or violence being employed in their conversion [i], and this is the true date of the entire establishment of Christianity among that people. WLODOMIR and his duchess were placed in the highest order of the Russian saints, and are still worshipped at *Kiovia*, where they lie interred, with the greatest devotion. The Latins, however, paid no such respect to the memory of WLODOMIR, whom they represent as absolutely unworthy of saintly honours [k].

VI. The Hungarians and Avari had received ^{and in} some faint notions of Christianity under the reign ^{Hungary.} of CHARLEMAGNE, and in consequence of the measures that had been taken by that zealous prince for the propagation of the gospel. These notions, however, were soon and easily extinguished by various circumstances, which took their rise from the death of CHARLEMAGNE ; and it was not before the century of which we now write that the Christian religion obtained a fixed settlement among these warlike nations [l]. Towards the middle of this century, BULOSUDES and GYVLA or GYLAS, two Turkish chiefs whose governments lay upon the banks of the *Danube* [m], made public profession of Christianity and were baptized at *Constantinople*. The former apostatized soon after to the religion of his ancestors, while

[i] See ANTON. PAGI *Critica in Baron.* tom. iv. *ad A.* 987, p. 55. *et ad A.* 1015, p. 110. CAR. DU FRESNE, *Familie Byzantinæ*, p. 143. ed. Paris.

[k] DITMARUS, *Merseb.* lib. vii. *Caronic.* p. 417. tom. i. *Scriptor. Brunsvic. Leibnitii.*

[l] PAULI DEBREZENI *Historia Eccles. Reformatior. in Ungaria*, part I. cap. iii. p. 19.

[m] The Hungarians and Transylvanians were, at this time, known to the Grecians by the name of Turks.

C E N T. while the latter not only persevered stedfastly
 P A R T I ^X in his new profession, but also shewed the most
 zealous concern for the conversion of his subjects, who, in consequence of his express order, were instructed in the doctrines and precepts of the gospel by HIEROTHEUS, a learned prelate, by whom he had been accompanied in his journey to *Constantinople*. SAROLTA, the daughter of GYLAS, was afterwards given in marriage to GEYSA, the chief of the Hungarian nation, whom she persuaded to embrace the divine religion, in which she had been educated. The faith, however, of this new-converted prince was feeble and unsteady, and he retained a strong propensity to the superstition which he had been engaged to forsake ; but his apostasy was prevented by the pious remonstrances of ADALBERT, archbishop of *Prague*, who came into *Hungary* towards the conclusion of this century, and by whom also STEPHEN the son of GEYSA, was baptised with great pomp and solemnity. It was to this young prince that the gospel was principally indebted for its propagation and establishment among the Hungarians, whose entire conversion was the fruit of his zeal for the cause of CHRIST. For he perfected, what his father and grandfather had only begun ; fixed bishops, with large revenues, in various places ; erected magnificent temples for divine worship ; and, by the influence of instructions, threatenings, rewards, and punishments, he brought his subjects, almost without exception, to abandon the wretched superstition of their idolatrous ancestors. These vigorous proceedings, by which STEPHEN introduced the religion of JESUS among the Hungarians, procured him the most distinguished honours of saintship in succeeding ages [n].

VII. The

[n] The Greeks, Germans, Bohemians, and Poles, claim each for themselves the peculiar honour of having been the founders

VII. The Christian religion was in a very un-C E N T.
settled state among the Danes under the reign of ^{X.}
GORMON, and, notwithstanding the protection it ^{P A R T I.}
received from his queen, who professed it pub- ^{in Den-}
licly, was obliged to struggle with many difficul- ^{mark.}
ties, and to encounter much opposition. The face
of things changed, indeed, after the death of GOR-
MON. His son HARALD, surnamed *Blaaland*, being
defeated by ORHO the Great, A. D. 949, embrac-
ed the gospel, and was baptized together with
his consort and his son SUENO, or SWEIN, by A-
DALDAGUS, archbishop of *Hamburg*, or, as others
allege, by POPPON, a pious ecclesiastic, who at-
tended the emperor in this expedition. It is pro-
bable that HARALD, educated by his mother TY-
RA, who was a Christian, was not extremely a-
verse to the religion of JESUS; it appears, how-
ever, certain, that his conversion was less the
effect of his own choice, than of the irresistible
commands of his victorious enemy. For ORHO,
persuaded that the Danes would never desist from
their

founders of the Christian religion in *Hungary*, and their re-
spective pretensions have introduced not a little obscurity into
this matter. The Germans allege, that the Christian reli-
gion was brought into *Hungary* by GISELA, sister to their
emperor HENRY II. who, being given in marriage to STEPH-
EN, the king of that nation, persuaded that prince to em-
brace the gospel. The Bohemians tell us, on the other
hand, that it was by the ministry of ADALBERT, archbishop
of *Prague*, that STEPHEN was converted. The Poles affirm,
that GEYSA, having married a Christian Princess of their
nation, viz. ADELHEID, sister to MICILAS, duke of *Poland*,
was induced by her remonstrances and exhortations to make
profession of Christianity. In consequence of a careful exa-
mination of all these pretensions, we have followed the sen-
timents and decisions of the Greek writers, after having di-
ligently compared them with the Hungarian Historians; and
we are encouraged in this by the authority of the learned
GABRIEL DE JUXTA HORNAD, who, in his *Initia Religionis
Christianæ inter Hungaros Ecclesiæ orientali adserta*, published
at *Franckfort* in 1740, decides this question in favour of the
Greeks. All other accounts of the matter are extremely
imperfect, and subject to many doubts and difficulties.

C. E. N. T. their hostile incursions and rapines, as long as
 X.
 P. A. R. T. I. they persevered in the religion of their ancestors,
 which was so proper to nourish a ferocity of temper, and to animate to military exploits, made it the principal condition of the treaty of peace, which he concluded with HARALD, that both he and his subjects should receive the Christian faith [o]. Upon the conversion of this prince, ADALDAGUS and POPPON employed their ministerial labours among the Cimbrians and Danes, in order to engage them to imitate such an illustrious example; and their exhortations were crowned with remarkable success, to which the stupendous miracles performed by POPPON are said to have contributed in a particular manner. These miracles, indeed, were of such a kind, as manifestly shews that they derived their origin from human art, and not from a divine interposition [p]. As long as HARALD lived, he used every wise and probable method of confirming his subjects in the religion they had embraced. For this purpose he established bishops in several parts of his dominions, enacted excellent laws, abrogated superstitious customs, and imposed severe restraints upon all vicious and immoral practices. But after all these pious efforts, and salutary measures, which promised such fair prospects to the rising church, his son SUENO, or SWEIN, apostatized from the truth, and, during a certain time, involved the Christians in the deepest calamity and

[o] ADAM *Brem. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. ii. iii. p. 16. cap. xv. p. 20. in LINDENBROGII *Scriptoribus rerum Septentrional.*—ALB. KRANZII *Wandalia*, lib. iv. cap. xx.—LUDWIGII *Reliquiae Manuscriptor.* tom. ix. p. x.—PONTOPPIDANI *Annales Ecclesiae Diplomatici*, tom. i. p. 59.

[p] JO. ADOLPH. CUPRÆI *Annales Episcoporum Slesvic* cap. xiii. p. 78.—ADAM *Bremens.* lib. ii. cap. xxvi. p. 22. cap. xlv. p. 28.—JO. STEPHAN. *ad Saxonem Grammat.* p. 207.—MOLLERI *Introduct. ad Historiam Chersones. Cimbric.* part II. cap. iii. sect. 14.

and distress, and treated them with the greatest C E N T. cruelty and injustice. This persecuting tyrant ^{X.} felt, however, in his turn, the heavy strokes of ^{P A R T I.} adversity, which produced a salutary change in his conduct, and happily brought him to a better mind ; for being driven from his kingdom, and obliged to seek his safety in a state of exile among the Scots, he embraced anew the religion he had abandoned, and upon his restoration to his dominions, exerted the most ardent and exemplary zeal in the cause of Christianity, which he endeavoured to promote to the utmost of his power [q].

VIII. It was in this century, that the first dawn in Norway. of the gospel arose upon the Norwegians, as we learn from the most authentic records. The conversion of that people was attempted, in the year 933, by their monarch, HAGAN ADALSTEEN who had been educated among the English, and who employed certain ecclesiastics of that nation to instruct his subjects in the doctrines of Christianity. But his pious efforts were rendered fruitless by the brutal obstinacy, with which the Norwegians persevered in their ancient prejudices, and the assiduity and zeal with which his successor HARALD GRAUFELDT pursued the same plan of reformation, were also without effect [r]. The succeeding princes, far from being discouraged by these obstacles, persisted firmly in their worthy purpose, and HACO, among others, yielding to the entreaties of HARALD, king of *Denmark*, to whom he was indebted for the Norwegian crown, embraced, himself, the Christian religion, and recommended it, with the greatest fervour, to his subjects, in an assembly of the people that was held in the year

[q] SAXON. *Gramm. Histor. Dan.* lib. x. p. 186.—PONTOPPIDAN, *De gestis et vestigiis Danorum extra Daniam*, tom. ii. cap. i. sect. 1, 2.

[r] ERIC. PONTOPPIDAN, *Annales Eccles. Danicæ diplomat.* tom. i. p. 66.

C E N T. year 945 [s]. This recommendation, notwithstanding the solemnity and zeal with which it was accompanied made little impression upon the minds of this fierce and barbarous people; nor were they entirely gained over by the zealous endeavours of OLAUS to convert them to Christianity, though the pious diligence of that prince, which procured him the honour of saintship, was not altogether without effect [t]. But that which gave the finishing stroke to the conversion of the Norwegians was their subjection to SUENON, or SWEIN, king of *Sweden*, who having defeated their monarch OLAUS TRYG-GUESON, became master of *Norway*, and obliged its inhabitants to abandon the gods of their ancestors, and to embrace universally the religion of JESUS [u]. Among the various

[s] TORM. TORFÆI *Historia Norwegica*, tom. ii. p. 183. 214.

[t] TORFÆUS, l. c. p. 457.

[u] Dr MOSHEIM attributes here to SWEIN the honour which is due to his predecessor OLAUS TRYG-GUESON; if it can be esteemed an honour to have promoted a rational and divine religion by compulsion and violence, by fire and sword. OLAUS, who had abjured paganism in *England*, during his youth, in consequence of a warm and pathetic discourse which he had heard from a British priest, returned to *Norway* with a firm resolution to propagate Christianity throughout his dominions. For this purpose he travelled from one province to another, attended by a chosen band of soldiers, and, sword in hand, performed the functions of missionary and apostle. His ministry thus enforced, was followed with the desired success throughout all the provinces, except that of *Drontheim*, which rose in rebellion against him, and attacked Christianity with the same kind of arguments that OLAUS employed in establishing it. This opposition occasioned several bloody battles, which ended, however, in the defeat of the rebels, and of the god THOR, their tutelar deity, whose statue OLAUS dragged from its place, and burnt publicly in the sight of its worshippers. This event dejected the courage of the inhabitants of *Drontheim*, who submitted to the religion and laws of their conqueror. And thus, before the reign of SUENON, at least before the defeat of OLAUS by that prince, *Norway* was Christian. See *The History of Denmark*, lately published in French by Mr MALLET, Professor in *Belles Lettres* at *Copenhagen*, vol. i. p. 52, 53.

various doctors, that were sent to instruct this **CENT**
 barbarous people, the most eminent, both in ^{X.}
 merit and authority, was GUTHEBALD, an English **PART I.**
 priest [w]. From *Norway*, Christianity spread its
 salutary light through the adjacent countries, and
 was preached, with success, in the *Orkney* Islands,
 which were, at this time, subject to the Norwe-
 gian kings, and also in *Iceland* and *Old Groenland* ;
 for it is evident, from many circumstances and
 records of undoubted authority, that the greatest
 part of the inhabitants of these countries had re-
 ceived the gospel in this century [x].

IX. In *Germany* the pious exploits of **OTHO the** The zeal of
Great, contributed in a signal manner, to pro- Otho the
 mote the interest of Christianity, and to fix and Great in
 establish it upon solid foundations throughout the cause of
 the empire. This truly great prince, whose pious Christiani-
 magnanimity cloathed him with a lustre infinitely
 superior to that which he derived from his imperial
 dignity, was constantly employed in extirpating
 the remains of the ancient superstitions, and in sup-
 porting and confirming the infant church, which
 in several provinces had not yet arrived to any
 considerable degree of consistence and vigour.
 That there might be rulers and pastors to govern
 the church, and to contribute both by their doc-
 trine and example to the reformation and im-
 provement of an unpolished and illiterate people,
 he established bishops in several places, and ge-
 nerously

[w] *Chron. Danicum à LUDEWIGIO editum in Reliquiis*
MSIorum, tom. ix. p. 11. 16, 17.

[x] Concerning the conversion of the inhabitants of the *Ork-*
neys, see **TORM. TORFÆI**. *Historia Rerum Orcadens.* lib. i. p.
 22. and for an account of the Icelanders, the reader may con-
 sult **ARNGRIM JONAS**'s *Cynogæa*, lib. i. and **ARIUS** *Multis. in*
Schedis Islandia; as also **TORFÆUS**, his *Histor. Norveg.*
 tom. ii. p. 378, 39. 417. and **GABRIEL LIRON**'s *Singularités*
Historiques et Littéraires, tom. i. p. 148.—The same **TORFÆ-**
US gives a full account of the introduction of Christianity into
Groenland, in his *Histor. Norveg.* tom. ii. p. 474. and also in
 his *Groenlandia Antiqua*, c. xvii. p. 127.

C E N T.
 X
 P A R T I.

nerously erected and endowed the bishoprics of *Brandenburg, Havelberg, Meissen, Magdeburg, and Naumburg*; by which excellent establishments the church was furnished with eminent doctors from various parts, whose instructions were the occasion of raising up new labourers in the gospel harvest, and of thus multiplying the ministers of CHRIST from time to time. It was also through the munificence of the same prince, that many convents were erected for those who, in conformity with the false piety of the times, choose to finish their Christian course in the indolent sanctity of a solitary life, and it was by his express order that schools were established in almost every city for the education of the youth. All this may serve to shew us the generosity and zeal of this illustrious emperor, whose merit would have surpassed the highest encomiums, had his prudence and moderation been equal to the fervour of his piety, and the uprightness of his intentions. But the superstition of his empress [y], and the deplorable ignorance of the times deluded this good prince into the notion, that he obliged the Deity in proportion as he loaded the clergy with riches and honours, and that nothing was more proper to draw down upon him the divine protection, than the exercise of a boundless liberality to his ministers. In consequence of this idle and extravagant fancy, OTHO opened the sources of his opulence, which flowed into the church like an overgrown torrent, so that the bishops, monks, and religious houses wallowed in wealth and abundance. But succeeding ages perceived the unhappy effects of this excessive and ill-judged munificence; when the sacred orders employed this opulence, which they had acquired without either merit or labour,

[y] See the life of this empress, whose name was ADELAID, in the *Lectiones Antiquæ* of HENRY CANISIUS. tom. iii. part I. p. 69.

in gratifying their passions, in waging war against C E N T.
all who opposed their ambitious pretensions, and X.
in purchasing the various pleasures of a luxurious A R T I.
and effeminate life.

X. It was no doubtful mark of the progress The plan
and strength of the Christian cause, that the Eu- of a holy
ropean kings and princes began so early as this war form-
century to form the project of a holy war against ed in this
the Mahometans, who were masters of *Palestine*.
They considered it as an intolerable reproach upon
Christians, that the very land in which the divine
author of their religion had received his birth,
exercised his ministry, and made expiation for
the sins of mortals, should be abandoned to the
enemies of the Christian name. They also look-
ed upon it as highly just, and suitable to the ma-
jesty of the Christian religion, to avenge the ca-
lamities and injuries, the persecution and reproach,
which its professors had suffered under the Maho-
metan yoke. The bloody signal was accordingly
given towards the conclusion of this century, by
the Roman pontif SILVESTER II. and that in the
first year of his pontificate. And this signal was
an epistle, wrote in the name of the *church of Je-*
rusalem, to the *church universal throughout the*
world [z], in which the European powers are
solemnly exhorted and entreated to succour and
deliver the Christians in *Palestine*. The exhort-
ations of the pontif were, however, without ef-
fect, except upon the inhabitants of *Pisa*, who
are said to have obeyed the papal summons with
the utmost alacrity, and to have prepared them-
selves immediately for a holy campaign [a].

Vol. II.

C c

CHAP.

[z] This is the xxviiiith Epistle in the first part of the col-
lection of the letters of SILVESTER II. that is published by
Du Chesne, in the third volume of his *Scriptor. Histor.*
Franc.

[a] See MURATORI *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii.
p. 400.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.

C E N T. X.
P A R T I.
The progress of the
Turks and
Saracens.

I. **T**HE Christian religion suffered less in this century from the cruelty of its enemies, than from the defection of its friends. Of all the Pagan monarchs, under whose government the Christians lived, none behaved to them in a hostile manner, nor tormented them with the execution of compulsive edicts or penal laws, except GORMON and SWEIN, kings of *Denmark*. Notwithstanding this, their affairs were far from being either in a fixed or flourishing state; nay, their situation was full of uncertainty and peril, both in the eastern and western provinces. The Saracens in *Asia* and *Africa*, amidst the intestine divisions under which they groaned, and the calamities that overwhelmed them from different quarters, were extremely assiduous in propagating every where the doctrines of MAHOMET, nor were their efforts unsuccessful. Multitudes of Christians fell into their snares; and the Turks, a valiant and fierce nation, who inhabited the northern coast of the *Caspian* sea, received their doctrine. The uniformity of religion did not, however, produce a solid union of interest between the Turks and Saracens; on the contrary, their dissensions and quarrels were never more violent than from the time that MAHOMET became their common chief in religious matters. The succours of the former were implored by the Persians, whose country was a prey to the ambitious usurpations of the latter, and these succours were granted with the utmost alacrity and readiness. The Turks accordingly fell upon the Saracens in a
furious

furious manner, drove them out of the whole extent of the Persian territories, and afterwards, with incredible rapidity and success, invaded, seized, and plundered the other provinces that belonged to that people, whose desolation, in reality, came on like a whirlwind. Thus the powerful empire of the Saracens, which its enemies had for so many years attempted in vain to overturn, fell at last by the hands of its allies and friends. The Turks accomplished what the Greeks and Romans ineffectually aimed at; they struck suddenly that dreadful blow, which ruined at once the affairs of the Saracens in *Persia*, and then deprived them by degrees, of their other dominions; and thus the Ottoman empire, which was still an object of terror to the Christians, was established upon the ruins of the Saracen dominion [b].

II. In the western provinces, the Christians had much to suffer from the hatred and cruelty of those who remained under the darkness of paganism. The Normans, during a great part of this century, committed, in several parts of *France*, the most barbarous hostilities, and involved the Christians, wherever they carried their victorious arms, in numberless calamities. The Samaritans, Sclavonians, Bohemians, and others, who had either conceived an aversion for the gospel, or were sunk in a stupid ignorance of its intrinsic excellence and its immortal blessings, not only endeavoured to extirpate Christianity out of their own territories by the most barbarous efforts of cruelty and violence, but infested the adjacent countries, where it was professed, with fire and sword, and left, wherever they went, the most

The western Barbarians persecute the Christians.

C c 2

dreadful

[b] For a more ample account of these revolutions, see the *Annales Turcici* of LEUNCLAVIUS; as also GEORGI ELMA-
 :INI *Historia Saracenica*, p. 190. 203. 210.

C E N T. dreadful marks of their unrelenting fury. The
 X. Danes, moreover, did not cease to molest the
 P A R T I. Christians, until they were subdued by Otho
 the Great, and thus, from being the enemies,
 became the friends of the Christian cause. The
 Hungarians also contributed their part to the suf-
 ferings of the church, by their incursions into se-
 veral parts of *Germany*, which they turned into
 scenes of desolation and misery; while the fierce
 Arabs, by their tyranny in *Spain*, and their depreda-
 tions in *Italy* and the neighbouring islands, spread
 calamity and oppression all around them, of which,
 no doubt, the Christians established in these parts
 had the heaviest portion.

The effects
 of these
 calamities.

III. Whoever considers the endless vexations,
 persecutions, and calamities, which the Christ-
 ians suffered from the nations that continued in
 their ancient superstitions, will easily perceive
 the reason of that fervent and inextinguishable
 zeal, which Christian princes discovered for the
 conversion of these nations, whose impetuous and
 savage fury they experienced from time to time.
 A principle of self-preservation, and a prudent
 regard to their own safety, as well as a pious
 zeal for the propagation of the gospel, engaged
 them to put in practice every method that
 might open the eyes of their barbarous adver-
 saries from a rational and well grounded hope
 that the precepts of Christianity would mitigate
 by degrees, the ferocity of these nations, and
 soften their rugged and intractable tempers.
 Hence it was, that Christian kings and emperors
 left no means unemployed to draw these infidels
 within the pale of the church. For this purpose
 they proposed to their chiefs alliances of mar-
 riage, offered them certain districts and territo-
 ries, auxiliary troops to maintain them against
 their enemies, upon condition that they would
 abandon

andon the superstition of their ancestors, which C E N T.
so proper to nourish their ferocity, and to ^X PART I.
rease their passion for blood and carnage.
se offers were attended with the desired suc-
, as they induced the infidel chiefs not only
nd an ear themselves to the instructions and
ortations of the Christian missionaries, but
to oblige their subjects and armies to fol-
their examples in this respect.

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P T E R I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

C E N T. X.
P A R T II.
The state of letters among the Greeks.

I. **T**HE deplorable ignorance of this barbarous age, in which the drooping arts were totally neglected, and the sciences seemed to be upon the point of expiring for want of encouragement, is unanimously confessed and lamented by all the writers who have transmitted to us any accounts of this period of time. Nor, indeed, will this fatal revolution, in the republic of letters, appear astonishing to such as consider, on the one hand, the terrible vicissitudes, tumults, and wars that turned all things into confusion both in the eastern and western world, and, on the other, the ignominious stupidity and dissoluteness of those sacred orders who had been appointed as the guardians of truth and learning. *Leo*, surnamed the *Philosopher*, who ascended the imperial throne of the Greeks towards the commencement of this century, was himself an eminent lover of learning, and an auspicious and zealous protector of such as distinguished themselves in the culture of the sciences[c]. This noble and generous disposition appeared with still a greater lustre in his son *CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENETA*, who not only discovered

[c] See *Jo. ALB. FABRICII Biblioth. Græc. lib. v. part II. cap. v. p. 363.*

discovered the greatest ardour for the revival of C E N T. X. P A R T II. the arts and sciences in *Greece* [*d*], but also employed the most effectual measures for the accomplishment of this excellent purpose. It was with this view that he spared no expence in drawing to his court, and supporting in his dominions, a variety of learned men, each of whom excelled in some of the different branches of literature, and in causing the most diligent search to be made after the writings of the ancients. With this view, also, he became himself an author [*e*], and thus animated by his example, as well as by his protection, men of genius and abilities to enrich the sciences with their learned productions. He employed, moreover, a considerable number of able pens, in making valuable extracts from the commentaries and other compositions of the ancients; which extracts were preserved in certain places for the benefit and satisfaction of the curious; and thus, by various exertions of liberality and zeal, this learned prince restored the arts and sciences to a certain degree of life and vigour [*f*]. But few of the Greeks followed this great and illustrious example; nor was there any among the succeeding

C C 4

emperors

[*d*] FABRICIUS, *Bibl. Græc.* lib. v. part II. cap. v. p. 486.

[*e*] We have yet remaining of CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENETA, son of LEO the philosopher, the following production:

The Life of the emperor Basilus.

A Treatise upon the Art of Governing, in which he investigates the origin of several nations, treats of their power, their progress, their revolutions, and their decline, and gives a series of their princes and rulers.

A Discourse concerning the manner of forming a Land Army and Naval Force in Order of Battle.

Two Books concerning the eastern and western Provinces.

Which may be considered as an account of the state of the empire in the time of this prince.

[*f*] All this appears evident from the accounts left upon record by ZONARAS, in his *Annales*, tom. iii. p. 155. edit. Paris.

C F N T. emperors who equalled these two excellent princes
 X. in zeal for the advancement of learning, or in
 PART II. lending, by their protection and encouragement,
 an auspicious hand to raise out of obscurity and
 dejection, neglected and depressed genius. But
 what is still more remarkable, CONSTANTINE
 PORPHYROGENETA, whom we have now been
 representing as the restorer of letters, and whom
 the Greeks unanimously admire in this character,
 is supposed by some to have done considerable
 prejudice to the cause of learning by the very
 means he employed to promote its advancement.
 For by employing learned men to extract from
 the writers of antiquity what they thought might
 contribute to the improvement of the various arts
 and sciences, he gave too much occasion to ne-
 glect the sources, and flattered the indolence of
 the effeminate Greeks, who confined their studies
 to these extracts, and neglected, in effect, the
 perusal of the writers from whom they were
 drawn. And hence it unfortunately happened,
 that many of the most celebrated authors of anti-
 quity were lost, at this time, through the sloth and
 negligence of the Greeks.

Few emi-
 nent wri-
 ters among
 the Greeks.

II. This method, as the event manifestly
 shewed, was really detrimental to the progress of
 true learning and genius. And accordingly we
 find among the Greek writers of this century but
 a small number, who acquired a distinguished and
 shining reputation in the republic of letters; so
 that the fair and engaging prospects which seemed
 to arise in the cause of learning from the munifi-
 cence and zeal of its imperial patrons, vanquished
 in a short time; and though the seeds of science
 were richly sown, the natural expectations of an
 abundant harvest were unhappily disappointed.
 Nor did the cause of philosophy succeed better
 than that of literature. Philosophers indeed there
 were; and, among them, some that were not
 destitute

destitute of genius and abilities ; but none who rendered their names immortal by productions that were worthy of being transmitted to posterity : A certain number of rhetoricians and grammarians : A few poets who were above contempt ; and several historians, who, without deserving the highest encomiums, were not however totally void of merit : Such were the members which composed at this time the republic of letters in *Greece*, whose inhabitants seemed to take pleasure in those kinds of literature alone, in which industry, imagination, and memory are concerned.

III. *Egypt*, though at this time it groaned under a heavy and exasperating yoke of oppression and bondage, produced writers, who in genius and learning were no wise inferior to the most eminent of the Grecian literati. Of the many examples we might mention to prove the truth of this assertion, we shall confine ourselves to that of *EUTYCHIUS*, bishop of *Alexandria*, who cultivated the sciences of physic and theology with the greatest success, and cast a new light upon them both by his excellent writings. The Arabians, during this whole century, preserved that noble passion for the arts and sciences, which had been kindled among them in the preceding age ; and hence they abounded with physicians, mathematicians, and philosophers, whose names and characters, together with an account of their respective abilities and talents, are given by *LEO AFRICANUS* and other literary historians.

IV. The Latins present to us a spectacle of a very different kind. They were, almost without exception sunk in the most brutish and barbarous ignorance ; so that, according to the unanimous accounts of the most credible writers, nothing could be more melancholy and deplorable than the darkness that reigned in the western world during this century, which, with respect to learning

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

The state
of learning
among the
Saracens.

In the west-
ern provin-
ces.

C E N T. ing and philosophy at least, may be called the
 X.
 P A R T II. *Iron Age* of the Latins [*g*]. Some learned men
 of modern times have, we confess, ventured to
 call this in question; but their doubts are certainly
 without foundation, and the matter of fact is
 too firmly established by unquestionable authorities
 to lose any part of its credit in consequence
 of the objections they allege against it [*b*]. It is
 true, there were public schools founded in most
 of the European provinces, some of which were
 erected in the monasteries, and the rest in those
 cities where the bishops resided. It is also true,
 that through this dismal night of ignorance there
 shone forth from time to time, and more especially
 towards the conclusion of this century,
 some geniuses of a superior order, who eyed with
 ardour the paths of science, and cast some rays of
 light

[*g*] The testimonies that prove the ignorance which prevailed in the tenth century, are collected by DU BOULAY, in his *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 288; and also by LUD. ANT. MURATORI, in his *Antiquitat. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. iii, p. 831. et tom. ii. p. 141, &c.

[*b*] The famous LEIBNITZ, in his *Præfatio ad codicem juris Nat. et Gentium Diplom.* affirms, that there was more knowledge and learning in the tenth century, than in the succeeding ages, particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But this is washing the Ethiopian; it is also an extravagant assertion, and favours much of paradox. We shall be better directed in our notions of this matter by MABILLON, in his *Præfatio ad Actor. S. S. Ordin. Bened. Quint. Sæc.* p. 2. by the authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, and by LE BEUF's *Dissertat. de Statu literarum in Francia, a Carolo M. ad regem Robert.* who all agree in acknowledging the gross ignorance of this century, though they would engage us to believe that its barbarism and darkness were not so hideous as they are commonly represented. There are, indeed, several considerations that render the reasons and testimonies even of these writers not a little defective; but we nevertheless agree with them so far, as to grant that all learning and knowledge were not absolutely extinguished in Europe at this time, and that, in the records of this century, we shall find a few chosen spirits, who pierced through the cloud of ignorance that covered the multitude.

light upon the darkness of a barbarous age. But C E N T. they were very few in number, and their extreme P A R T II. rarity is a sufficient proof of the infelicity of the times in which they appeared. In the seminaries of learning, such as they were, the seven liberal sciences were taught in the most unskilful and miserable manner, and that by the monks, who esteemed the arts and sciences no farther than as they were subservient to the interests of religion, or, to speak more properly, to the views of superstition.

V. They who were the most learned and judicious among the monastic orders, and who were Monkish learning. desirous of employing usefully a part of their leisure applied themselves to the composition of annals and histories, which savoured of the ignorance and barbarism of the times. Such were ABO, LUITPRAND, WITTEKIND, FULCUIN, JOHANNES CAPUANUS, RATHERIUS, FLODOARD, NOTKER, ETHELBERT, and others, who, though very different from each other in their respective degrees of merit, were all in general ignorant of the true nature and rules of historical composition. Several of the poets of this age gave evident marks of true genius, but they were strangers to the poetic art, which was not indeed necessary to satisfy a people utterly destitute of elegance and taste. The grammarians and rhetoricians of these unhappy times are scarcely worthy of mention; their method of instructing was full of absurdities, and their rules trivial, and for the most part, injudicious. The same judgment may be formed in geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music, which were more or less taught in the public schools, and of which a more particular account would be uninteresting and insipid.

VI. The philosophy of the Latins extended no The state of philosophy. farther than the single science of *logic* and *dialectics*, which they looked upon as the sum and substance of

C E N T. of all human wisdom. But this logic, which was
 PART II. ^{X.} so highly admired, was drawn without the least
 { perspicuity or method from a book of *Categories*,
 which some have unjustly attributed to AUGUSTIN, and others to PORPHYRY. It is true, indeed, that the *Timæus* of PLATO, the *Topica* of CICERO and ARISTOTLE, and the book of the latter, *De interpretatione*, with other compositions of the Greeks and Latins, were in the hands of several of the doctors of this century, as we learn from credible accounts; but the same accounts inform us, that the true sense of these excellent authors was understood by almost none of those that perused them daily [i]. It will appear, no doubt, surprising, that in such an ignorant age such a subtle question as that concerning *universal ideas* should ever have been thought of; true however it is, that the famous controversy, *Whether universal ideas belonged to the class of objects, or of mere names*; a controversy which perplexed and bewildered the Latin doctors in succeeding times, and gave rise to the two opposite sects of the *Nominalists* and *Realists*; was started for the first time in this century. Accordingly we find in several passages of the writers of this period, the seeds and beginnings of this tedious and intricate dispute [k].

VII.

[i] GUNZO *Epistol. ad Monachos Augienses* in MARTENE *Collect. Ampliss. Monumentor. Veter.* tom. iii. p. 304.

[k] This appears evident from the following remarkable passage, which the reader will find in the 304th page of the work cited in the preceding note, and in which the learned GUNZO expresses himself in the following manner: *Aristoteles, genus, speciem, differentiam, proprium et accidens subsistere denegavit, quæ Platoni subsistentia persuasit. Aristoteli an Platoni magis credendum putatis? Magna est utriusque auctoritas, quatenus vix audcat quis alterum alteri dignitate præferre.* Here we see plainly the seeds of discord sown, and the foundation laid for that knotty dispute which puzzled the metaphysical brains of the Latin doctors in after-times. GUNZO was not
 adventurous

VII. The drooping sciences found an eminent C E N T. and illustrious patron, towards the conclusion of P A R T II. this century, in the learned GERBERT, a native X. of *France*, who, upon his elevation to the pontificate, assumed the title of SYLVESTER II. The restoration of letters in Europe by Sylvester The genius of this famous pontif was extensive and sublime, embracing all the different branches of literature ; but its more peculiar bent was turned towards mathematical studies. Mechanics, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and every other kind of knowledge that had the least affinity to these important sciences, were cultivated by this restorer of learning with the most ardent zeal, and not without success, as his writings abundantly testify; nor did he stop here; but employed every method that was proper to encourage and animate others to the culture of the liberal arts and sciences. The effects of this noble zeal were visible in *Germany, France, and Italy*, both in this and in the following century ; as by the writings, example, and encouraging exhortations of GERBERT, many were excited to the study of physic, mathematics, and philosophy, and in general to the pursuit of science in all its various branches. If, indeed, we compare this learned pontif with the mathematicians of modern times, his merit, in that point of view, will almost totally disappear under such a disadvantageous comparison ; for his *geometry*, though it be easy and perspicuous, is but elementary and superficial [1]. Yet such as it was, it was marvellous in an age of barbarism and darkness, and surpassed the comprehension of those pigmy philosophers, whose eyes, under the auspicious direction of GERBERT, were

adventurous enough to attempt a solution of this intricate question, which he leaves undecided ; others were less modest, without being more successful.

[1] This geometry was published by PEZIZUS, in his *Treasaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. iii. part II. p. 7.

C E N T. were but just beginning to open upon the light.
 X.
 P A R T II. Hence it was, that the geometrical figures, described by this mathematical pontif, were regarded by the monks as magical operations, and the pontif himself was treated as a magician and a disciple of Satan [m].

Who derived his knowledge and erudition from the Arabians.

VIII. It was not, however, to the fecundity of his genius alone, that GERBERT was indebted for the knowledge with which he now began to enlighten the European provinces; he had derived a part of his erudition, particularly in physic, mathematics, and philosophy, from the writings and instructions of the Arabians, who were settled in *Spain*. Thither he had repaired in pursuit of knowledge, and had spent some time in the seminaries of learning at *Cordua* and *Seville*, with a view to hear the Arabian doctors [n]; and it was perhaps, by his example, that the Europeans were directed and engaged to have recourse to this source of instruction in after-times. For it is undeniably certain, that from the time of GERBERT, such of the Europeans as were ambitious of making any considerable progress in physic, arithmetic, geometry, or philosophy, entertained the most eager and impatient desire of receiving instruction either from the academical lessons, or from the writings of the Arabian philosophers, who had founded schools in several parts of *Spain* and *Italy*. Hence it was, that the most celebrated productions of these doctors were translated into Latin, their tenets and systems adopted with zeal in the European schools, and that numbers went over to *Spain* and *Italy* to receive instruction from the mouths of these famous

[m] See *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. vi. p. 558.—DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. i. p. 314. 319.—NAUDE, *Apologie pour les Grands Hommes faussement accusés de la Magie*, chap. xix. sect. 4.

[n] See DU BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris*. tom. i. p. 314.

mous teachers, which were supposed to utter nothing but the deepest mysteries of wisdom and knowledge. However excessive this veneration for the Arabian doctors may have been, it must be owned, nevertheless, that all the knowledge, whether of physic, astronomy, philosophy, or mathematics, which flourished in *Europe* from the tenth century, was originally derived from them; and that the Spanish Saracens, in a more particular manner, may be looked upon as the fathers of European philosophy.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government during this century.

I. **T**O those who consider the primitive dignity and the solemn nature of the ministerial character, the corruptions of the clergy must appear deplorable beyond all expression. These corruptions were mounted to the most enormous height in that dismal period of the church which we have now before us. Both in the eastern and western provinces, the clergy were, for the most part, composed of a most worthless set of men, shamefully illiterate and stupid, ignorant more especially in religious matters, equally enslaved to sensuality and superstition, and capable of the most abominable and flagitious deeds. This dismal degeneracy of the sacred order was, according to the most credible accounts, principally owing to the pretended chiefs and rulers of the universal church, who indulged themselves in the commission of the most odious crimes, and abandoned themselves to the lawless impulse of the most licentious passions without reluctance or remorse, who confounded, in

The corruption of the clergy.

C E N T. in short, all difference between just and unjust, to
P A R T II. satisfy their impious ambition, and whose spiritual
 empire was such a diversified scene of iniquity and violence, as never was exhibited under any of those temporal tyrants, who have been the scourges of mankind. We may form some notion of the Grecian patriarchs from the single example of THEOPHYLACT, who, according to the testimonies of the most respectable writers, made the most impious traffic of ecclesiastical promotions, and expressed no sort of care about any thing but his dogs and horses [o]. Degenerate, however, and licentious as these patriarchs might be, they were, generally speaking, less profligate and indecent than the Roman pontifs.

The history
 of the Ro-
 man pon-
 tifs.

II. The history of the Roman pontifs, that lived in this century, is a history of so many monsters, and not of men, and exhibits a horrible series of the most flagitious, tremendous, and complicated crimes, as all writers, even those of the Romish communion, unanimously confess. The source of these disorders must be sought for principally in the calamities that fell upon the greatest part of *Europe*, and that afflicted *Italy* in a particular manner, after the extinction of the race of CHARLEMAGNE. Upon the death of the pontif BENEDICT IV. which happened in the year 903, LEO V. was raised to the pontificate, which he

[o] This *exemplary* prelate, who sold every ecclesiastical benefice as soon as it became vacant, had in his stable above 2000 hunting horses, which he fed with pignuts, pistachios, dates, dried grapes, figs steeped in the most exquisite wines, to all which he added the richest perfumes. One Holy Thursday, as he was celebrating high-mass, his groom brought him the joyful news that one of his favourite mares had foaled; upon which he threw down the Liturgy, left the church, and ran in raptures to the stable, where having expressed his joy at that *grand* event, he returned to the altar to finish the divine service, which he had left interrupted during his absence. See FLEURY, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* livre lv. p. 97. edit. *Bruxelle*.

he enjoyed no longer than forty days, being de-
 throned by CHRISTOPHER, and cast into prison. C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.
 CHRISTOPHER, in his turn, was deprived of the
 pontifical dignity the year following by SERGIUS
 III. a Roman presbyter, seconded by the pro-
 tection and influence of ADALBERT, a most pow-
 erful Tuscan prince, who had a supreme and un-
 limited direction in all the affairs that were trans-
 acted at *Rome*. ANASTASIUS III. and LANDO,
 who, upon the death of SERGIUS, in the year
 911, were raised successively to the papal dignity,
 enjoyed it but for a short time, and did nothing
 that could contribute to render their names il-
 lustrious.

III. After the death of LANDO, which hap-
 pened in the year 914, ALBERIC [*p*], marquis, or John X.
created Ro-
man pontif.
 count of *Tuscany*, whose opulence was prodigious,
 and whose authority in *Rome* was despotic and
 unlimited, obtained the pontificate for JOHN X.
 archbishop of *Ravenna*, in compliance with the
 solicitation of THEODORA, his mother-in-law,
 whose lewdness was the principle that interested
 her in this promotion [*q*]. This infamous elec-
 tion will not surprise such as know that the laws
 of *Rome* were at this time absolutely silent; that
 the dictates of justice and equity were overpow-
 ered and suspended; and that all things were
 carried on in that great city by interest or cor-
 Vol. II. D d ruption,

¶ [*p*] It was ALBERT or ADALBERT, and not ALBERIC
 who was the son-in-law of the elder THEODORA, of whom
 Dr MOSHEIM here speaks. ALBERIC was grandson to this
 THEODORA, by her daughter MAROZIA, who was married
 to ALBERT. See SPANHEIM, *Eccl. Hist. Secul. x.* p. 1432.
 FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livre liv. p. 578. edit. *Bruxelle*.—
 This latter historian is of opinion, that it was the younger
 THEODORA, the sister of MAROZIA, who, from an amorous
 principle, raised JOHN X. to the pontificate.

¶ [*q*] THEODORA, mistress of *Rome*, had JOHN X. raised
 to the pontificate, that she might continue that licentious
 commerce in which she had lived with that carnal ecclesiastic
 for many years past. See FLEURY, and other writers, &c.

C E N T. ruption, by violence or fraud. JOHN X. thought
 P A R T II. in other respects a scandalous example of iniquity
 and lewdness in the papal chair, acquired a certain degree of reputation by his glorious campaign against the Saracens, whom he drove from the settlements they had made upon the banks of the *Garigliano* [r]. He did not, however, enjoy his glory long; the enmity of MAROZIA, daughter of THEODORA, and wife of ALBERIC, proved fatal to him. For this bloody-minded woman having espoused WIDO, or GUY, marquis of *Tuscany*, after the death of her first consort, engaged him to seize the wanton pontif, who was her mother's lover, and to put him to death in the prison where he lay confined. This licentious and unlucky pontif was succeeded by LEO VI. who sat but seven months in the apostolic chair, which was filled after him by STEPHEN VII. The death of this latter, which happened in the year 931, presented to the ambition of MAROZIA an object worthy of its grasp; and accordingly she raised to the papal dignity JOHN XI. who was the fruit of her lawless amours with one of the pretended successors of St PETER, SERGIUS III. whose adulterous commerce with that infamous woman gave an *infallible* guide to the Roman church [s].
 IV.

[r] In the original we have *Montem Garillianum*, which is, undoubtedly, a mistake, as the *Garigliano* is a river in the kingdom of *Naples*, and not a mountain.

[s] The character and conduct of MAROZIA are acknowledged to have been most infamous by the unanimous testimony both of ancient and modern historians, who affirm, with one voice, that JOHN XI. was the fruit of her carnal commerce with SERGIUS III. ECCARD, alone, in his *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 131. has ventured to clear her from this reproach, and to assert, that SERGIUS, before his elevation to the pontificate, was her lawful and first husband. The attempt, however, is highly extravagant, if not impudent, to pretend to acquit, without the least testimony or proof of her innocence, a woman who is known to have been entirely destitute of every principle of virtue.

IV. JOHN XI. who was placed at the head of the church by the credit and influence of his mother, was pulled down from this summit of spiritual grandeur A. D. 933, by ALBERIC his half-brother, who had conceived the utmost aversion against him. His mother MAROZIA had, after the death of WIDO, entered anew into the bonds of matrimony with HUGO, king of *Italy*, who having offended his step-son ALBERIC, felt severely the weight of his resentment, which vented its fury upon the whole family; for ALBERIC drove out of *Rome* not only HUGO, but also MAROZIA and her son the pontif, and confined them in prison, where the latter ended his days in the year 936. The four pontifs, who, in their turns, succeeded JOHN XI. and filled the papal chair until the year 956, were LEO VII. STEPHEN VIII. MARINUS II. and AGAPET, whose characters were much better than that of their predecessor, and whose government, at least, was not attended with those tumults and revolutions that had so often shook the pontifical throne, and banished from *Rome* the inestimable blessings of peace and concord. Upon the death of AGAPET, which happened in the year 956, ALBERIC II. who to the dignity of Roman consul joined a degree of authority and opulence which nothing could resist, raised to the pontificate his son OCTAVIAN, who was yet in the early bloom of youth, and destitute, besides, of every quality that was requisite in order to discharge the duties of that high and important office. This unworthy pontif assumed the name of JOHN XII. and thus introduced the custom, that has since been adopted by all his successors in the see of *Rome*, of changing each their usual name for another upon their accession to the pontificate.

V. The fate of JOHN XII. was as unhappy as his promotion had been scandalous. Unable to bear the oppressive yoke of BERENGER II. king

C E N T. of *Italy*, he sent ambassadors, in the year 960, to
 P A R T II. ^{X.} OTHO the Great, intreating him to march into
Italy at the head of a powerful army, to deliver
 the church and the people from the tyranny under
 which they groaned. To these intreaties the
 perplexed pontif added a solemn promise, that,
 if the German monarch came to his assistance, he
 would array him with the purple and the other
 ensigns of sovereignty, and proclaim him emperor
 of the Romans. OTHO received this embassy
 with pleasure, marched into *Italy* at the head of
 a large body of troops, and was accordingly sa-
 luted by JOHN with the title of emperor of the
 Romans. The pontif, however, soon perceiving
 that he had acted with too much precipitation,
 repented of the step he had taken, and, though
 he had sworn allegiance to the emperor as his
 lawful sovereign, and that in the most solemn
 manner, yet he broke his oath, and joined with
 ADALBERT, the son of BERENGER, against OTHO.
 This revolt was not left unpunished. The empe-
 ror returned to *Rome* in the year 964; called a
 council, before which he accused and convicted
 the pontif of many crimes; and, after having de-
 graded him, in the most ignominious manner,
 from his high office, he appointed LEO VIII. to
 fill his place. Upon OTHO's departure from *Rome*,
 JOHN returned to that city, and in a council,
 which he assembled in the year 964, condemned
 the pontif whom the emperor had elected, and
 soon after died in a miserable and violent manner.
 After his death the Romans chose BENEDICT V.
 bishop of *Rome*, in opposition to LEO; but the
 emperor annulled this election, restored LEO to
 the papal chair, and carried BENEDICT to *Ham-*
burgh, where he died in exile [1].

VI.

[1] In the account I have here given of the pontifs of this
 century, I have consulted the sources, which are to be found,
 for the most part, in MURATORI'S *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.*

VI. The pontifs who governed the see of *Rome* C E N T. X. from LEO VIII. who died A. D. 965, to GER-P A R T II.BERT or SYLVESTER II. who was raised to the pontificate towards the conclusion of this century, John XIII. Benedict VII. were more happy in their administration, as well as more decent in their conduct, than their infamous predecessors; yet none of them so exemplary as to deserve the applause that is due to eminent virtue. JOHN XIII. who was raised to the pontificate in the year 965, by the authority of ORHO the Great, was driven out of *Rome* in the beginning of his administration; but, the year following, upon the emperor's return to *Italy*, he was restored to his high dignity, in the calm possession of which he ended his days A. D. 972. His successor BENEDICT VI. was not so happy; cast into prison by CRESCENTIUS, son of the famous THEODORA, in consequence of the hatred which the Romans had conceived both against his person and government, he was loaded with all sorts of ignominy, and was strangled in the year 974, in the apartment where he lay confined. Unfortunately for him, ORHO the Great, whose power and severity kept the Romans in awe, died in the year 973, and with him expired that order and discipline which he had restored in *Rome* by salutary laws executed with impartiality and vigour. The face of things was entirely

D d 3 changed

as also BARONIUS, PETER DE MARCA, SIGONIUS *De Regno Italiae*, with the learned annotations of ANT. SAXIUS, MURATORI, in his *Annales Italiae*, PAGI, and other writers, all of whom have had access to the sources, and to several ancient manuscripts, which have not as yet been published. The narrations I have here given, are most certainly true upon the whole. It must, however, be confessed, that many parts of the papal history lie yet in great obscurity, and stand much in need of farther illustration; nor will I deny that a spirit of partiality has been extremely detrimental to the history of the pontifs, by corrupting it, and rendering it uncertain in a multitude of places.

C E N T. changed by that event; licentiousness and disorder, seditions and assassinations resumed their former sway, and diffused their horrors through that miserable city. After the death of BENEDICT, the papal chair was filled by FRANCO, who assumed the name of BONIFACE VII. but enjoyed his dignity only for a short time; for scarcely a month had passed after his promotion, when he was deposed from his office, expelled the city, and succeeded by DONUS II. [u], who is known by no other circumstance than his name. Upon his death, which happened in the year 975, BENEDICT VII. was created pontif; and, during the space of nine years, ruled the church without much opposition, and ended his days in peace. This peculiar happiness was, without doubt, principally owing to the opulence and credit of the family to which he belonged; for he was nearly related to the famous ALBERIC, whose power, or rather despotism, had been unlimited in *Rome*.

John XIV.
and XV.

VII. His successor JOHN XIV. who, from the bishopric of *Pavia* was raised to the pontificate, derived no support from his birth, which was obscure, nor did he continue to enjoy the protection of ORTHO III. to whom he owed his promotion. Hence the calamities that fell upon him with such fury, and the misery that concluded his transitory grandeur; for BONIFACE VII. who had usurped the papal throne in the year 974, and in a little time after had been banished *Rome*, returned from *Constantinople*, whither he had fled for refuge, and seizing the unhappy pontif, had him thrown into prison, and afterwards put to death. Thus BONIFACE resumed the government of the church; but his reign was also transitory, for

[u] Some writers place DONUS II. before BENEDICT VI. See the *Tabula Synopica Hist. Eccles.* of the learned PFAAF

for he died about six months after his restoration CENT.
 [w]. He was succeeded by JOHN XV. whom some X.
PART II.
 writers call JOHN XVI. because, as they allege,
 there was another JOHN, who ruled the church
 during the space of four months, and whom
 they consequently call JOHN XV. [x]. Leav-
 ing it to the reader's choice to call that JOHN of
 whom we speak, the XV. or the XVI. of that
 name, we shall only observe that he possessed the
 papal dignity from the year 985 to 996; that his
 administration was as happy as the troubled state
 of the Roman affairs would permit; and that the
 tranquillity he enjoyed was not so much owing to
 his wisdom and prudence, as to his being a Ro-
 man by birth, and to his descent from noble and
 illustrious ancestors. Certain it is, at least, that this
 successor GREGORY V. who was a German, and
 who was elected pontif by the order of ORHO III.
 A. D. 996, met with a quite different treatment;
 for CRESCENS, the Roman consul, drove him out
 of the city, and conferred his dignity upon JOHN
 XVI. formerly known by the name of PHILA-
 GATHUS. This revolution was not, however,
 permanent in its effects, for ORHO III. alarm-
 ed by these disturbances at *Rome*, marched in-
 to *Italy*, A. D. 998, at the head of a powerful
 army, and casting into prison the new pontif,
 whom the soldiers, in the first moment of their
 fury, had maimed and abused in a most barbarous
 manner, he reinstated GREGORY in his former ho-
 nours, and placed him anew at the head of the
 church. It was upon the death of this latter pon-
 tif,

D d 4

✠ [w] FLEURY says eleven months.

✠ [x] Among these writers is the learned PFAFF, in his *Tabulae Synopticae*, &c. But the Roman Catholic writers, whom Dr MOSHEIM follows with good reason, do not count among the number of the pontifs that John who governed the church of *Rome* during the space of four months after the death of BONIFACE VII. because he was never duly invested, by consecration, with the papal dignity.

C E N T. ^X
P A R T II.
tif, which happened soon after his restoration, that the same emperor raised to the papal dignity his preceptor and friend, the famous and learned GERBERT, or SYLVESTER II. whose promotion was attended with the universal approbation of the Roman people [y].

The influence and authority of the pontiffs increase daily.

VIII. Amidst these frequent commotions, and even amidst the repeated enormities and flagitious crimes of those who gave themselves out for CHRIST'S vice-gerents upon earth, the power and authority of the Roman pontiffs increased imperceptibly from day to day ; such were the effects of that ignorance and superstition that reigned without controul in these miserable times. OTHO the Great had indeed published a solemn edict, prohibiting the election of any pontif without the previous knowledge and consent of the emperor; which edict, as all writers unanimously agree, remained in force from the time of its publication to the conclusion of this century. It is also to be observed, that the same emperor, as likewise his son and grandson, who succeeded him in the empire, maintained without interruption, their right of supremacy over the city of *Rome*, its territory, and its pontif, as may be demonstrably proved from a multitude of examples. It is, moreover, equally certain, that the German, French, and Italian bishops, who were not ignorant of the nature of their privileges, and the extent of their jurisdiction, were, during this whole century, perpetually upon their guard against every attempt the Roman pontif might make to assume

[y] The history of the Roman pontiffs of this period is not only extremely barren of interesting events, but also obscure, and uncertain in many respects. In the accounts I have here given of them, I have followed principally LUD. ANT. MURATORI'S *Annales Italiae*, and the *Conatus Chronologico Historicus de Romanis Pontificibus*, which the learned PAPEBROCHIIUS has prefixed to his *Acta Sanctorum, Mensis Maii*.

assume to himself *alone* a legislative authority in C E N T. the church. But, notwithstanding all this, the ^{X.} _{P A R T II.} bishops of *Rome* found means of augmenting their influence, and, partly by open violence, partly by secret and fraudulent stratagems, encroached, not only upon the privileges of the bishops, but also upon the jurisdiction and rights of kings and emperors [x]. Their ambitious attempts were seconded and justified by the scandalous adulation of certain mercenary prelates, who exalted the dignity and prerogatives of, what they called, the apostolic see in the most pompous and extravagant terms. Several learned writers have observed, that in this century certain bishops maintained publicly that the Roman pontifs were not only bishops of *Rome*, but of the whole world, an assertion which hitherto none had ventured to make [a]; and that even among the French clergy it had been affirmed by some, that *the authority of the Bishops, thought divine in its origin, was conveyed to them by St PETER, the prince of the apostles* [b].

IX. The adventurous ambition of the bishops of *Rome*, who left no means unemployed to extend their jurisdiction, exhibited an example which the inferior prelates followed with the most zealous and indefatigable emulation. Several bishops and abbots had begun, even from the time that the descendants of CHARLEMAGNE sat on the imperial throne, to enlarge their prerogatives, and had actually obtained, for their tenants and their possessions, an immunity from the jurisdiction of the counts and other magistrates, as also from taxes and imposts of all kinds. But in this century they carried their pretensions still farther;

The bishops and abbots enlarge also their jurisdiction and prerogatives.

[x] Several examples of these usurpations may be found in the *Histoire du droit Eccles. Francois*, tom. i. p. 217. edit. in 8vo.

[a] *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. vi. p. 98.

[b] *Ibid.* p. 185.

E N T. farther ; aimed at the civil jurisdiction over the
X.
P A R T II. cities and territories in which they exercised a spi-
ritual dominion, and aspired after nothing less
than the honours and authority of dukes, mar-
quises, and counts of the empire. Among the
principal circumstances that animated their zeal
in the pursuit of these dignities, we may reckon
the perpetual and bitter contests concerning ju-
risdiction and other matters, that reigned between
the dukes and counts, who were governors of
cities, and the bishops and abbots, who were
their ghostly rulers. The latter, therefore, seizing
the favourable opportunity that was offered them
by the superstition of the times, used every me-
thod that might be effectual to obtain that high
rank, that hitherto stood in the way of their am-
bition. And the emperors and kings to whom
they addressed their presumptuous requests, ge-
nerally granted them, either from a desire of pa-
cifying the contentions and quarrels that arose
between civil and military magistrates, or from a
devout reverence for the sacred order, or with a
view to augment their own authority, and to con-
firm their dominion by the good services of the
bishops, whose influence was very great upon the
minds of the people. Such were the different
motives that engaged princes to enlarge the au-
thority and jurisdiction of the clergy ; and hence
we see from this century downwards so many bi-
shops and abbots invested with characters, em-
ployments, and titles so foreign to their spiritual
offices and functions, and clothed with the ho-
nours of dukes, marquises, counts, and vis-
counts [c].

X.

[c] The learned LOUIS THOMASIN, in his book *De Dis-
ciplina Ecclesiæ veteri et nova*, tom. iii. lib. i. cap. xxviii.
p. 89. has collected a multitude of examples to prove that the
titles and prerogatives of dukes and counts were conferred
upon

X. Besides the reproach of the grossest ignorance, which the Latin clergy in this century so justly deserve [d], they were also chargeable, in a very heinous degree, with two other odious and enormous vices, even *concubinage* and *simony*, which the greatest part of the writers of these unhappy times acknowledge and deplore. As to the first of these vices, it was practised too openly to admit of any doubt. The priests, and what is still more surprising, even the sanctimonious monks, fell victims to the triumphant charms of the sex, and to the imperious dominion of their carnal lusts; and, entering into the bonds of wedlock or concubinage, squandered away in a most luxurious manner, with their wives and mistresses, the revenues of the church [e]. The other vice above-mentioned reigned with an equal degree of impudence and licentiousness. The election of bishops and abbots was no longer made according to the laws of the church; but kings and princes, or their

C E N T.
P A R T II.
Simony
and concu-
binage the
principal
vices of the
clergy.

upon certain prelates so early as the ninth century; nay, some bishops trace even to the eighth century the rise and first beginnings of that princely dominion which they now enjoy. But notwithstanding all this, if I be not entirely and grossly mistaken, there cannot be produced any evident and indisputable example of this princely dominion, previous to the tenth century.

[d] RATHERIUS, speaking of the clergy of *Verona* in his *Itinerarium*, which is published in the *Spicilegium* of DACHERIUS, tom. i. p. 381. says, that he found many among them who could not even repeat the Apostles Creed. His words are, *Sciscitatus de fide illorum, inveni plurimos neque ipsum sapere Symbolum, qui fuisse creditur Apostolorum.*

[e] That this custom was introduced towards the commencement of this century is manifest, from the testimony of ORDERICUS VITALIS and other writers, and also from a letter of MANTIO, bishop of *Chalons* in *Champagne*, which is published by MABILLON, in his *Analecta veterum*, p. 429. edit. nov. As to the charge brought against the Italian monks of their spending the treasures of the church upon their wives or mistresses, see HUGO, *De Monasterii Farfensis destructione*, which is published in MURATORI'S *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 273.

C E N T. their ministers and favourites, either conferred
 P A R T II. ^{X.} these ecclesiastical dignities upon their friends and
 creatures, or sold them, without shame, to the
 highest bidder [*f*]. Hence it happened, that the
 most stupid and flagitious wretches were frequent-
 ly advanced to the most important stations in the
 church; and that, upon several occasions, even
 soldiers, civil magistrates, counts, and such like
 persons, were, by a strange metamorphosis, con-
 verted into bishops and abbots. GREGORY VII.
 endeavoured, in the following century, to put a
 stop to these two growing evils.

The monk-
 ish disci-
 pline de-
 clines to
 nothing.

XI. While the monastic orders, among the
 Greeks and Orientals, maintained still an exter-
 nal appearance of religion and decency, the La-
 tin monks, towards the commencement of this
 century, had so entirely lost sight of all subordi-
 nation and discipline, that the greatest part of
 them knew not even by name the rule of St
 BENEDICT, which they were obliged to observe.
 A noble Frank, whose name was Odo, a man as
 learned and pious as the ignorance and supersti-
 tion of the times would permit, endeavoured to
 remedy this disorder; nor were his attempts to-
 tally unsuccessful. This zealous ecclesiastic be-
 ing created, in the year 927, abbot of *Clugni*, in
 the province of *Burgundy*, upon the death of
 BERNO, not only obliged the monks to live in a
 rigorous observance of their rules, but also add-
 ed to their discipline a new set of rites and cere-
 monies, which, notwithstanding the air of sanc-
 tity that attended them, were, in reality, in-
 significant and trifling, and yet, at the same time,
 severe

[*f*] Many infamous and striking examples and proofs of
 simoniacal practice may be found in the work entitled *Gallia
 Christiana*, tom. i. p. 23. 37. tom. ii. p. 173. 179. Add to
 this ABBONIS *Apologeticum*, which is published at the end of
 the *Correx Canon. Pii boei*, p. 398. as also MABILLON, *Annal.
 Benedict.* tom. v.

severe and burthensome [g]. This new rule of discipline covered its author with glory, and, in a short time, was adopted in all the European convents; for the greatest part of the ancient monasteries, which had been founded in *France, Germany, Italy, Britain, and Spain*, received the rule of the monks of *Clugni*, to which also the convents, newly established, were subjected by their founders. And thus it was, that the *Order of Clugni* arrived to that high degree of eminence and authority, opulence and dignity, which it exhibited to the Christian world in the following century [h].

XII. The

[g] See MABILLON *Annal. Benedict.* tom. iii. p. 386. and *Pref. ad Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. v.* p. 26. See also the *Acta Sanctor. Bened. Sæc. v.* p. 66. in which he speaks largely concerning BERNO, the first abbot of *Clugni*, who laid the foundations of that order, and of ODO (p. 122.) who gave it a new degree of perfection. The learned HELYOT, in his *Histoire des Ordres Religieuses*, tom. v. p. 184. has given a complete and elegant history of the order of *Clugni*, and the present state of that famous monastery is described by MARTENE, in his *Voyage Litter. de deaux Benedict.* part I. p. 227.

[h] If we are not mistaken, the greatest part of ecclesiastical historians have not perceived the true meaning and force of the word *order* in its application to the *Cistercian* monks, those of *Clugni*, and other convents. They imagine that this term signifies a new monastic institution, as if the *Order of Clugni* was a new sect of monks never before heard of. But this is a great error, into which they fall by confounding the ancient meaning of that term with the sense in which it is used in modern times. The word *order*, when employed by the writers of the tenth century, signified no more at first than a certain form or rule of monastic discipline; but from this primitive signification, another, and a secondary one, was gradually derived. So that by the word *order* is also understood, an association or confederacy of several monasteries, subjected to the same rule of discipline under the jurisdiction and inspection of one common chief. Hence we conclude, that the *Order of Clugni* was not a new sect of monks, such as were the *Carthusian, Dominican, and Franciscan Orders*; but signified only, first, that new institution, or rule of discipline, which ODO had prescribed to the Benedictine monks, who were settled at *Clugni*,

C E N T. XII. The more eminent Greek writers of this
 X.
 P A R T II. century are easily numbered; among them was
 SIMEON, high treasurer of *Constantinople*, who,
 Greek wri- from his giving a new and more elegant style
 ters. to the *Lives of the saints*, which had been origi-
 nally composed in a gross and barbarous lan-
 guage, was distinguished by the title of *Meta-*
phrast, or *Translator* [i]. He did not, however,
 content himself with digesting, polishing, and
 embellishing the saintly chronicle; but went so
 far as to augment it with a multitude of tri-
 fling fables drawn from the fecundity of his
 own imagination.

NICON, an Armenian monk, composed a treatise *Concerning the Religion of the Armenians*, which is not altogether contemptible.

Some place in this century OLYMPIODORUS and OECUMENIUS [k], who distinguished themselves by those compilations which were known by the name of *Catenæ*, or *Chains*, and of which we have had occasion to speak more than once in the course of this history. But it is by no means certain, that these two writers belong to the tenth century, and they are placed there only by conjecture.

It is much more probable, that the learned SUIDAS, author of the celebrated *Greek Lexicon*, lived in the period now before us.

Among the Arabians, no author acquired a higher reputation than EUTYCHIUS, bishop of *Alexandria*,

Clugni, and, afterwards, that prodigious multitude of monasteries throughout *Europe*, which received the rule established at *Clugni*, and were formed by association into a sort of community, of which the abbot *Clugni* was the chief.

[i] See LEO ALLATIUS, *De Symeonum Scriptis*, p. 24.—JO. BOLLANDUS, *Præf. ad Acta Sanctorum Anтверp*, sect. iii. p. 6.

[k] For an account of OECUMENIUS, see MONTFAUCON, *Biblioth. Corsliniana*, p. 274.

Alexandria, whose *Annals*, with several other productions of his learned pen, are still extant [1].

XIII. The most eminent of the Latin writers of this century was GERBERT, or SYLVESTER II. who has already been mentioned with the applause due to his singular merit. The other writers of this age were far from being eminent in any respect.

ODO, who laid the foundations of the celebrated *Order of Clugni*, left behind him several productions in which the grossest superstition reigns, and in which it is difficult to perceive the smallest marks of true genius or solid judgment [m].

The learned reader will form a different opinion of RATHER, bishop of *Verona*, whose works, yet extant, give evident proofs of sagacity and judgment, and breathe throughout an ardent love of virtue [n].

ARRO, bishop of *Vercelli*, composed a treatise *De pressuris Ecclesiasticis*, i. e. *Concerning the Sufferings and Grievances of the Church*, which shews in their true colours the spirit and complexion of the times [o].

DUNSTAN, the famous abbot of *Glassenbury*, and afterwards archbishop of *Canterbury*, composed in favour of the monks a book, *De Concordia Regularum*, i. e. *Concerning the Harmony of the Monastic Rules* [p].

ELFRIC, archbishop of *Canterbury*, acquired a considerable reputation, among the Anglo-Saxons

[1] See JO. ALBERT. FABRICII *Bibliographia Antiquaria*, p. 179.—As also EUSEBII RENAUDOTI *Historia Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 347.

[m] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vi. p. 229.

[n] *Id. ibid.* p. 339.

[o] *Id. ibid.* p. 281.

[p] See the ample account that is given of this eminent prelate in COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History of England*, vol. i. cent. x. p. 181. 183. 184. 185. 197. 203.

C E N T. ons established in *Britain*, by various productions [q].

X.
PART II.

BURCHARD, bishop of *Worms*, is highly esteemed among the Canonists on account of his celebrated *Decreta*, which he has divided into XX books; though a part of the merit of this collection of *Canons* is due to OLBERT, with whose assistance it was composed [r].

ODILO, archbishop of *Lyons* [s], was the author of some insipid discourses, and other productions, whose mediocrity has almost sunk them in a total oblivion.

As to the historical writers and annalists who lived in this century, their works and abilities have been already considered in their proper place.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church during this century.

The state
of religion.

I. **T**HE state of religion in this century was such as might be expected in times of prevailing ignorance and corruption. The most important doctrines of Christianity were disfigured and perverted in the most wretched manner, and such

[q] We have a *Grammar* and a *Dictionary* composed by this learned prelate; as also an Anglo-Saxon translation of the *First Books of the Holy Scripture*, *A History of the Church*, and 180 *Sermons*. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccl.* livre lviii. p. 384. edit. de Bruxelles.

[r] See the *Chronicon Wormatiense* in LUDWIG'S *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. ii. p. 43.—*Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom. vii. p. 295.

[s] ODILO was abbot of *Clugni*, and not archbishop of *Lyons*, which latter eminent station he obstinately refused, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties employed both by pontiffs and emperors to engage him to accept it. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccl.* livre lix. p. 520. edit. de Bruxelles.

such as had preserved, in unskilful hands, their primitive purity, were nevertheless obscured with a multitude of vain opinions and idle fancies, so that their intrinsic excellence and lustre were little attended to ; all this will appear evident to those who look with the smallest degree of attention into the writers of this age. Both Greeks and Latins placed the essence and life of religion in the worship of images and departed saints, in searching after with zeal, and preserving with a devout care and veneration, the sacred relics of holy men and women, and in accumulating riches upon the priests and monks, whose opulence increased with the progress of superstition. Scarcely did any Christian dare to approach the throne of God, without rendering first the saints and images propitious by a solemn round of expiatory rites and lustrations. The ardour also with which relics were sought, surpasses almost all credibility ; it had seized all ranks and orders among the people, and was grown into a sort of fanaticism and frenzy ; and, if the monks are to be believed, the Supreme Being interposed, in an especial and extraordinary manner, to discover to doating old wives and bare-headed friars the places where the bones or carcasses of the saints lay dispersed or interred. The fears of purgatory, of that fire that was to destroy the remaining impurities of departed souls, were now carried to the greatest height, and exceeded by far the terrifying apprehensions of infernal torments ; for they hoped to avoid the latter easily, by dying enriched with the prayers of the clergy, or covered with the merits and mediation of the saints ; while from the pains of purgatory they knew there was no exemption. The clergy, therefore, finding these superstitious terrors admirably adapted to increase their authority and to promote their interest, used every method to augment them, and by the most pathetic

C E N T. discourses, accompanied with monstrous fables
 P. ^{X.} R T II. and fictitious miracles, they laboured to establish
 { the doctrine of purgatory, and also to make it
 appear that they had a mighty influence in that
 formidable region.

The dis-
 puts con-
 cerning
 predestina-
 tion and
 the Lord's
 supper.

II. The contests concerning predestination and grace, as also concerning the eucharist, that had agitated the church in the preceding century, were in this happily reduced to silence. This was owing to the mutual toleration that was practised by the contending parties, who, as we learn from writers of undoubted credit, left it to each other's free choice to retain, or to change their former opinions. Besides, the ignorance and stupidity of this degenerate age were ill suited to such deep inquiries as these contests demanded; nor was there almost any curiosity among an illiterate multitude to know the opinions of the ancient doctors concerning these and other knotty points of theology. Thus it happened, that the followers of AUGUSTIN and PELAGIUS flourished equally in this century; and that if there were many who maintained the corporal presence of the body and blood of CHRIST in the holy sacrament, there were still more who either came to no fixed determination upon this point, or declared it publicly as their opinion, that the divine Saviour was really absent from the eucharistical sacrament, and was received only by a certain inward impulse of faith, and that in a manner wholly spiritual [1].

This

[1] It is certain, that the Latin doctors of this century differed much in their sentiments about the manner in which the body and blood of CHRIST were present in the eucharist; this is granted by such of the Roman Catholic writers as have been ingenuous enough to sacrifice the spirit of party to the love of truth. That the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, as it is commonly called, was unknown to the English in this century, has been abundantly proved from the public *Homilies*, by RAPIN DR THOYRAS, in his *History of England*, vol. i. p. 463. It

is,

This mutual toleration, as it is easy to conclude CENT
X.
PART I. from what has been already observed, must not be attributed either to the wisdom or virtue of an age, which was almost totally destitute of both. The truth of the matter is, that the divines of this century wanted both the capacity and the inclination to attack or defend any doctrine, whose refutation or defence required the smallest portion of learning or logic.

III. That the whole Christian world was covered, at this time, with a thick and gloomy veil of superstition, is evident from a prodigious number of testimonies and examples, which it is needless to mention. This horrible cloud, which hid almost every ray of truth from the eyes of the multitude, furnished a favourable opportunity to the priests and monks of propagating many absurd and ridiculous opinions, which contributed not a little to confirm their credit. Among these opinions, which dishonoured so frequently the Latin church, and produced from time to time such violent agitations, none occasioned such a universal panic, nor such dreadful impressions of terror or dismay, as a notion that now prevailed of the immediate approach of the day of judgment. This notion, which took its rise from a remarkable passage in the *Revelations of St John* [u], and had been

Superstition nourished by a multitude of vain and idle opinions.

is, however, to be confessed, on the other hand, that this absurd doctrine was already adopted by several French and German divines. ¶ For a judicious account of the opinions of the Saxon-English church concerning the eucharist, see COLLIER's *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, vol. i. cent. x. p. 204. 266.

¶ [u] The passage here referred to, is in the twentieth chapter of the *Book of Revelations*, at the 2d, 3d, and 4th verses: "And he laid hold of the dragon, that old Serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years;—and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more till the thousand years should be fulfilled;

C E N T. been entertained by some doctors in the preceding
 X.
 P A R T II. century, was advanced publicly by many at this
 time, and spreading itself with an amazing rapidity through the European provinces, it threw them into the deepest consternation and anguish. For they imagined that St JOHN had clearly foretold that after a thousand years from the birth of CHRIST, SATAN was to be let loose from his prison, ANTICHRIST to come, and the destruction and conflagration of the world to follow these great and terrible events. Hence prodigious numbers of people abandoned all their civil connexions and their parental relations, and giving over to the churches or monasteries all their lands, treasures, and worldly effects, repaired with the utmost precipitation to *Palestine*, where they imagined that CHRIST would descend from heaven to judge the world. Others devoted themselves by a solemn and voluntary oath to the service of the churches, convents, and priesthood, whose slaves they became, in the most rigorous sense of that word, performing daily their heavy tasks; and all this from a notion that the Supreme Judge would diminish the severity of their sentence, and look upon them with a more favourable and propitious eye, on account of their having made themselves the slaves of his ministers. When an eclipse of the sun or moon happened to be visible, the cities were deserted, and their miserable inhabitants fled for refuge to hollow caverns, and hid themselves among the craggy rocks, and under the bending summits of steep mountains. The opulent attempted

“ and after that he must be loosed a little season.—And I
 “ saw thrones, and they sat upon them; and judgment was given
 “ unto them; and I saw the souls of them that were be-
 “ headed for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God,
 “ and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image,
 “ neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in
 “ their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thou-
 “ sand years.”

tempted to bribe the Deity and the saintly tribe C E N T.
 by rich donations conferred upon the sacerdotal P A R T II.
 and monastic orders, who were looked upon as
 the immediate vice-gerents of heaven. In many
 places, temples, palaces, and noble edifices, both
 public and private, were suffered to decay, nay,
 were deliberately pulled down, from a notion that
 they were no longer of any use since the final
 dissolution of all things was at hand. In a word, no
 language is sufficient to express the confusion and
 despair that tormented the minds of miserable
 mortals upon this occasion. This general delu-
 sion was, indeed, opposed and combated by the
 discerning few, who endeavoured to dispel these
 groundless terrors, and to efface the notion from
 which they arose, in the minds of the people.
 But their attempts were ineffectual; nor could
 the dreadful apprehensions of the superstitious
 multitude be entirely removed before the conclu-
 sion of this century. Then, when they saw that
 so much dreaded period had passed without the
 arrival of any great calamity, they began to un-
 derstand that St JOHN had not really foretold
 what they so much feared [w].

IV.

[w] Almost all the donations that were made to the church during this century, carry evident marks of this groundless panic that had seized all the European nations, as the reasons of these donations are generally expressed in the following words: *Appropinquante mundi termino, &c.* i. e. *The end of the world being now at hand, &c.* Among the many undeciable testimonies that we have from ancient records of this universal delusion, that was so profitable to the sacerdotal order, we shall confine ourselves to the quotation of one very remarkable passage in the *Apologeticum* of ABBO, abbot of *Fleury*, *adversus Arnulphum*, i. e. ARNOUL bishop of *Orleans*, which apology is published by the learned FRANCIS PITHOU, in the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Romanæ*, p. 401. The words of ABBO are as follow: "De fine quoque mundi coram populo sermonem in Ecclesia Parisiorum Adolescentulus audiivi, quod statim finito mille annorum numero Antichristus adveniret, et non longo post tempore universale judicium succederet: cui prædicationi ex

C E N T.

P A R T II.

The saints
multiplied.

IV. The number of the saints, who were looked upon as ministers of the kingdom of heaven, and whose patronage was esteemed such an unspeakable blessing, was now multiplied everywhere, and the celestial courts were filled with new legions of this species of beings, some of which, as we have had formerly occasion to observe, had no existence but in the imagination of their deluded clients and worshippers. This multiplication of saints may be easily accounted for, when we consider that superstition, the source of fear, was grown to such an enormous height in this age, as rendered the creation of new patrons necessary to calm the anxiety of trembling mortals. Besides the corruption and impiety that now reigned with a horrid sway, and the licentiousness and dissolution that had so generally infected all ranks and orders of men, rendered the reputation of sanctity very easy to be acquired; for, amidst such a perverse generation, it demanded no great efforts of virtue to be esteemed holy, and this, no doubt, contributed to increase considerably the number of the celestial advocates. All those, to whom nature had given an austere complexion, a gloomy temper, or an enthusiastic imagination, were, in consequence of an advantageous comparison with the profligate multitude, revered as the favourites of heaven, and as the friends of God.

The Roman pontif, who before this period had pretended to the right of creating saints by his sole authority, gave, in this century, the first specimen of this ghostly power; for in the preceding ages there is no example of his having exercised this

Evangeliiis, ac Apocalypsi, et libro Danielis qua potui virtute restiti. Denique et errorem, qui de fine mundi inolevit, Abbas meus beatæ memoriæ Richardus, sagaci animo propulit, postquam literas à Lothariensibus accepit, quibus me respondere jussit. Nam fama pæne totum mundum impleverat, quod, quando Annunciatio Dominica in Parasceve contigisset, absque ullo scrupulo finis sæculi esset.

this privilege alone. This specimen was given C E N T. in the year 993, by JOHN XV. who, with all X. P A P T H. the formalities of a solemn canonization, enrolled UDALRIC, bishop of *Augsburg*, in the number of the saints, and thus conferred upon him a title to the worship and veneration of Christians [x]. We must not, however, conclude from hence, that after this period the privilege of canonizing new saints was vested solely in the Roman pontifs [y]; for there are several examples upon record, which prove that not only provincial councils, but also several of the first order among the bishops advanced to the rank of saints such as they thought worthy of that high dignity, and continued thus to augment the celestial patrons of the church, without ever consulting the Roman pontif, until the twelfth century [z]. Then ALEXANDER III. abrogated the privilege of the bishops and councils, and placed *canonization* in the number of the more important acts of authority [a], which the sovereign pontif alone, by a peculiar prerogative, was entitled to exercise.

V. The expositors and commentators, who attempted in this century to illustrate and explain the sacred writings, were too mean in their abilities, and too unsuccessful in their undertakings, to deserve almost any notice; for it is extremely uncertain, whether or no the works of OLYMPIODORUS and OECUMENIUS are to be considered as the productions of this age. Among the Latins

The merit of the commentators of this century considered.

E e 4

REMI-

[x] FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 259.

[y] This absurd opinion has been maintained with warmth by PHIL. BONNANUS, in his *Numismata Pontif. Romanorum*, tom. i. p. 41.

[z] See FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 260. tom. iii. p. 30.—ARM. DE LA CHAPELLE. *Biblioth. Angloise*, tom. x. p. 105.—MABILLON, *Præfat. ad Sec. v. Benedict.* p. 53.

[a] These were called the *Causæ Majores*.

C E N T R E M I, or R E M I G I U S, bishop of *Auxerre*, continued the exposition of the holy scriptures, which he had begun in the preceding century; but his work is highly defective in various respects; for he takes very little pains in explaining the literal sense of the words, and employs the whole force of his fantastic genius in unfolding their pretended mystical signification, which he looked upon as infinitely more interesting than their plain and literal meaning. Besides, his explications are rarely the fruit of his own genius and invention, but are generally speaking, mere compilations from ancient commentators. As to the *Moral observations of Odo upon the book of Job* [b], they are transcribed from a work of GREGORY the Great, which bears the same title. We mention no more; if, however, any are desirous of an ample account of those who were esteemed the principal commentators in this century, they will find it in a book wrote professedly upon this subject by NOTKERUS BALBULUS.

The state
of theology
and morals
in this cen-
tury.

VI. The science of theology was absolutely abandoned in this century; nor did either the Greek or Latin church furnish any writer who attempted to explain in a regular method the doctrines of Christianity. The Greeks were contented with the Works of DAMASCENUS, and the Latins with those of AUGUSTIN and GREGORY, who were now considered as the greatest doctors that had adorned the church. Some added to these the writings of venerable BEDE and RABANUS MAURUS. The important science of morals was still more neglected than that of theology in this wretched age, and was reduced to a certain number of dry and insipid homilies, and to the lives of the saints, which SIMEON among the Greeks, and

[b] *Moralia in Jobum.*

and HUBALD, ODO, and STEPHEN [c], among the Latins, had drawn up with a seducing eloquence that covered the most impertinent fictions. Such was the miserable state of morals and theology in this century; in which, as we may further observe, there did not appear any defence of the Christian religion against its professed enemies.

VII. The controversies between the Greek and Latin churches, were now carried on with less noise and impetuosity than in the preceding century, on account of the troubles and calamities of the times; yet they were not entirely reduced to silence [d]. The writers therefore who affirm, that this unhappy schism was healed, and that the contending parties were really reconciled to each other for a certain space of time, have grossly mistaken the matter [e]; though it be, indeed, true, that the tumults of the times produced now and then a cessation of these contests, and occasioned several truces, which insidiously concealed the bitterest enmity, and served often as a cover to the most treacherous designs. The Greeks were, moreover, divided among themselves, and disputed with great warmth concerning the lawfulness of repeated [f] marriages, to which violent contest the cause of LEO, surnamed the *Philosopher*, gave rise. This emperor having buried successively three wives without having had by them any male issue, espoused a fourth, whose name

The controversies between the Greek and Latin churches.

[c] Bishop of Liege.

[d] MICH. LEQUIEN, *Dissert. i. Damascenica de processione Spiritus Sancti*, sect. xiii. p. 12.—FRED. SPANHEIM, *De perpetua dissensione Ecclesiæ Oriental. et Occidental.* part IV. sect. vii. p. 529. tom. ii. opp.

[e] LEO ALLATIUS, *De perpetua consensione Ecclesiæ Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. vii, viii. p. 600.

[f] Fourth marriages, our author undoubtedly means, since second and third nuptials were allowed upon certain conditions.

C E N T. name was ZOE CARBINOPSINA, and who was born
 X.
 PART II in the obscurity of a mean condition. As mar-
 riages repeated for the fourth time were held to
 be impure and unlawful by the Greek canons, NICOLAS, the patriarch of *Constantinople*, suspended the emperor, upon this occasion, from the communion of the church. LEO, incensed at this rigorous proceeding, deprived NICOLAS of the patriarchal dignity, and raised EUTHYMIUS to that high office, who, though he re-admitted the emperor to the bosom of the church, yet opposed the law which he had resolved to enact in order to render fourth marriages lawful. Upon this a schism attended with the bitterest animosities, divided the clergy, one part of which declared for NICOLAS, the other for EUTHYMIUS. Some time after this, LEO died, and was succeeded in the empire, by ALEXANDER. who deposed EUTHYMIUS, and restored NICOLAS to his eminent rank in the church. No sooner was this warm patriarch reinstated in his office, than he began to load the memory of the late emperor with the bitterest execrations and the most opprobrious invectives, and to maintain the unlawfulness of fourth marriages with the utmost obstinacy. In order to appease these tumults, which portended numberless calamities to the state, CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENNETA, the son of LEO, called together an assembly of the clergy of *Constantinople* in the year 920, in which fourth marriages were absolutely prohibited, and marriages for the third time were permitted on certain conditions; and thus the public tranquillity was restored [g].

Several other contests of like moment arose among the Greeks during this century; and they
 serve

[g] These facts are faithfully collected from CEDRENUS, LEUNCLAVIUS *De Jure Græco-Rom.* tom. i. p. 104. from LEO the Grammarian, SIMEON the Treasurer, and other writers of the Byzantine history.

serve to convince us of the ignorance that prevailed among that people, and of their blind veneration and zeal for the opinions of their ancestors.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

IN order to have some notion of the load of ceremonies under which the Christian religion groaned during this superstitious age, we have only to cast an eye upon the acts of the various councils which were assembled in *England Germany, France, and Italy*. The number of ceremonies increased in proportion to that of the saints, which multiplied from day to day; for each new saintly patron had appropriated to his service a new festival, a new form of worship, a new round of religious rites; and the clergy, notwithstanding their gross stupidity in other matters, discovered, in the creation of new ceremonies, a marvellous fertility of invention, attended with the utmost dexterity and artifice. It is also to be observed, that a great part of these new rites derived their origin from the various errors which the barbarous nations had received from their ancestors, and still retained, even after their conversion to Christianity. The clergy, instead of extirpating these errors, either gave them a Christian aspect by inventing certain religious rites to cover their deformity, or by explaining them in a forced allegorical manner; and thus they were perpetuated in the church, and devoutly transmitted from age to age. We may also attribute a considerable number of the rites and institutions, that dishonoured religion in this century,

C E N T. century, to foolish notions both concerning the
 X. Supreme Being and departed saints; for they
 P A R T II. imagined that God was like the princes and great
 ones of the earth, who are rendered propitious by
 costly presents, and are delighted with those
 cringing salutations, and other marks of veneration
 and homage, which they receive from their
 subjects; and they believed likewise, that departed
 spirits were agreeably affected with the same
 kind of services.

Festivals.

II. The famous yearly festival that was celebrated in remembrance of *all departed souls*, was instituted by the authority of ODILO, abbot of *Clugni*, and added to the Latin calendar towards the conclusion of this century [b]. Before this time, a custom had been introduced in many places of putting up prayers on certain days, for the souls that were confined in purgatory; but these prayers were made by each religious society, only for its own members, friends, and patrons. The pious zeal of ODILO could not be confined within such narrow limits; and he therefore extended the benefit of these prayers to all the souls that laboured under the pains and trials of *purgatory* [i]. This proceeding of ODILO was owing to the exhortations of a certain Sicilian hermit, who pretended to have learned, by an immediate revelation from heaven, that the prayers of the monks of *Clugni* would be effectual for the deliverance of departed spirits from the expiatory flames of a middle state [k]. Accordingly this festival

[b] In the year 998.

[i] See MABILLON, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Sec. vi. part I. p. 584.* where the reader will find the *Life of Odilo*, with the decree he issued forth for the institution of this festival.

[k] The late pontif BENEDICT XIV. was artful enough to observe a profound silence with respect to the superstitious and dishonourable origin of this anniversary festival, in his treatise *De Festis J. Christi, Mariæ, et Sanctorum*, lib. iii. cap. xxii.

p. 671.

festival was, at first, celebrated only by the *con-C E N T.*
gregation of Clugni; but having received after-^{X.}
 wards the approbation of one of the Roman pon-^{P A P E II.}
 tifs, it was, by his order, kept with particular
 devotion in all the Latin churches.

III. The worship of the Virgin Mary, which, ^{The office}
 before this century had been carried to a very ^{of the ho-}
 high degree of idolatry, received now new acces-^{ly Virgin}
 sions of solemnity and superstition. Towards the ^{Mary.}
 conclusion of this century, a custom was intro-
 duced among the Latins of celebrating masses, and
 abstaining from flesh, in honour of the blessed
 Virgin, every Sabbath-day. After this was insti-
 tuted, what the Latins called the *lesser office*, in
 honour of St MARY, which was, in the follow-
 ing century, confirmed by URBAN II. in the
 council of *Clermont*. There are also to be found
 in this age manifest indications of the institution
 of the *rosary*, and *crown* of the Virgin, by which ^{Institution}
 her worshippers were to reckon the number of ^{of the ro-}
 prayers that they were to offer to this new divi-^{sary.}
 nity; for though some place the invention of the
Rosary in the xiiith century, and attribute it to
 St DOMINIC, yet this supposition is made with-
 out any foundation [r]. The *rosary* consists in
 fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and an
 hundred and fifty salutations of the blessed Vir-
 gin; while the *crown*, according to the different
 opinions of the learned concerning the age of the
 blessed Virgin, consists in six or seven repetitions
 of the Lord's prayer, and six or seven times ten
 salutations, or *Ave Marias*.

CHAP.

p. 671. tom. x. oper. and by his silence he has plainly shewn
 to the world what he thought of this absurd festival. This is
 not the only mark of prudence and cunning that is to be found
 in the works of that famous pontif.

[r] This is demonstrated by MABILLON, *Pref. ad Acta SS.*
Ord. Bened. Sac. v. p. 58.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.

C E N T.
X.

P A R T II.

Ancient
heresies
continue.

I. **T**HE profound ignorance and stupidity, that were productive of so many evils in this century, had at least this advantage attending them, that they contributed much to the tranquillity of the church, and prevented the rise of new sects and new commotions of a religious kind. But, though no new inventions were broached, the ancient errors still remained. The Nestorians and Monophysites lived still under the Arabian government, where, however, they were much more rigorously treated than in former times, and were often persecuted with the utmost injustice and violence. But as some of them excelled in medical knowledge, which was highly esteemed among the Arabians, while others rendered themselves acceptable to the great, by the dexterous management of their domestic affairs, as overseers and stewards, all this contributed to diminish the violence of the storms that arose against them from time to time.

The Paulicians.

II. The Manichæans or Paulicians, whose errors have been already pointed out, gathered considerable strength in *Thrace* under the reign of JOHN TZIMISCES. A great part of this sect had been transported into this province, by the order of CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS, so early as the seventh century, to put an end to the troubles and tumults they had excited in the east; but a still greater number of them were left behind, especially in *Syria* and the adjacent countries. Hence it was, that THEODORE, bishop of *Antioch*, from a pious apprehension of the danger to which his flock lay exposed from the neighbourhood of such

such pernicious heretics, engaged the emperor, C E N T. X. by his ardent and importunate solicitations, to P A R T II. send a new colony of these Manichæans from *Syria* to *Philippi* [*m*]. From *Thrace* this restless and turbulent sect passed into *Bulgaria* and *Sclavonia*, where they resided under the jurisdiction of their own pontif, or patriarch, until the time of the council of *Basil*, i. e. until the xvth century. From *Bulgaria* the Paulicians removed to *Italy*, and spreading themselves from thence through the other provinces of *Europe*, they became extremely troublesome to the Roman pontifs upon many occasions [*n*].

III. In the very last year of this century arose Troubles excited by Leunard. a certain teacher, whose name was LEUTARD; who lived at *Vertus*, in the diocese of *Chalons*, and, in a short time, drew after him a considerable number of disciples. This new doctor could not bear the superstitious worship of images; which he is said to have opposed with the utmost vehemence, and even to have broke in pieces an image of CHRIST, which he found in a church where he went to perform his devotions. He, moreover, exclaimed with the greatest warmth against paying tythes to the priests, and in several other respects shewed that he was no cordial friend to the sacerdotal order. But that which shewed evidently that he was a dangerous fanatic, was his affirming that in the prophecies of the Old Testament there was a manifest mixture of truth and falsehood. GÉBOVIN, bishop of *Chalons*, examined the pretensions which this man made to divine inspiration, and exposed his extravagance to the view of the public, whom he had so artfully seduced;

[*m*] JO. ZONARAS *Annal.* lib. xvii. p. 209. edit. *Paris*. p. 164. edit. *Venet.*

[*n*] It is extremely probable, as we have already had occasion to observe, that the remains of this sect are still to be found in *Bulgaria*.

C E N T. duced : upon which he threw himself into a well,
 X. and ended his days, as many fanatics have done
 P A R T II. after him [o]. It is highly probable, that this up-
 start doctor taught many other absurd notions be-
 sides those which we have now mentioned, and
 that, after his death, his disciples made a part of the
 sect that was afterwards known in *France* under
 the name of the Albigenses, and which is said to
 have adopted the Manichæan errors.

The An-
 thropomor-
 phites.

IV. There were yet subsisting some remains
 of the sect of the Arians in several parts of *Italy*,
 and particularly in the territory of *Padua* ; but
 RATHERIUS, bishop of *Verona*, had a still more e-
 normous heresy to combat in the system of the
 Anthropomorphites, which was revived in the
 year 939. In the district of *Vicenza*, a consider-
 able number not only of the illiterate multitude,
 but also of the sacerdotal order, fell into that most
 absurd and extravagant notion, that the Deity
 was clothed with a human form, and seated, like
 an earthly monarch, upon a throne of gold, and
 that his angelic ministers were men arrayed in
 white garments, and furnished with wings to
 render them more expeditious in executing their
 sovereign's orders. This monstrous error will ap-
 pear less astonishing, when we consider that the
 stupid and illiterate multitude had constantly be-
 fore their eyes, in all the churches, the Supreme
 Being and his angels represented in pictures and
 images with the human figure.

The superstition of another set of blinded
 wretches, mentioned also by RATHERIUS, was yet
 more unaccountable and absurd than that of
 the Anthropomorphites ; for they imagined that
 every Monday, mass was performed in heaven by
 St MICHAEL in the presence of God ; and hence
 on

[o] All this is related by GLABER RADULPHUS, *Hist.* lib. ii.
 cap. xi.

on that day they resorted in crowds to all the ^{C E N T.} churches which were dedicated to that highly ^{X.} honoured saint [p]. ^{P A R T II.} It is more than probable, that the avarice of the priests, who officiated in the church of St MICHAEL, was the real source of this extravagant fancy; and that in this, as in many other cases, a rapacious clergy took advantage of the credulity of the people, and made them believe whatever they thought would contribute to augment the opulence of the church.

[p] RATHERII *Epist. Synodica* in DACHERII *Spicilegio Script. Veter.* tom. ii. p. 294.—SIGEBERTUS *Gemblac. Chronol. ad A.* 939.

THE
ELEVENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External History of the Church.

CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the prosperous events which happened to
the church during this century.*

CENT. I. **I**N the preceding century some faint notions
XI.
PART I. of the Christian religion, some scattered rays
Christianity of that divine light which it administers to mor-
propagat- ed. tals had been received among the Hungarians,
Danes, Poles, and Russians; but the rude and sa-
vage spirit of these nations, together with their de-
plorable ignorance and their violent attachment
to the superstitions of their ancestors, rendered
their total conversion to Christianity a work of
great difficulty, and which could not be accom-
plished all of a sudden. The zeal, however, with
which this important work was carried on, did
much honour to the piety of the princes and go-
vernors of these unpolished countries, who united
their influence with the labours of the learned men
whom they had invited into their dominions, to
open the eyes of their subjects upon the truth [a].
In

[a] For an account of the Poles, Russians, and Hungarians,
see ROMUALDI *Vita in Actis Sanctor.* tom. ii. Februar. p. 113,
114. 117.

In *Tartary* [b], and the adjacent countries, the C E N T. XI. PART I. zeal and diligence of the Nestorians gained over daily vast numbers to the profession of Christianity. It appears also evident, from a multitude of unexceptionable testimonies, that metropolitan prelates, with a great number of inferior bishops under their jurisdiction, were established at this time in the provinces of *Casgar*, *Nuacheta*, *Turkestan*, *Genda*, and *Tangut* [c]; from which we may conclude, that, in this and the following century, there was a prodigious number of Christians in those very countries which are at present overrun with mahometanism and idolatry. All these Christians were undoubtedly Nestorians, and lived under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of that sect, who resided in *Chaldæa*.

II. Among the European nations that lay yet grovelling in their native darkness and superstition, The conversion of certain nations attempted in vain.

F f 2

[b] *Tartary* is taken here in its most comprehensive sense; for between the inhabitants of *Tartary*; properly so called, and the Calmucs, Mogols, and the inhabitants of *Tangut*, there is a manifest difference.

[c] MARCUS PAUL. VENETUS *De Regionibus Orientalibus*, lib. i. cap. 38. 40. 45. 47. 48. 49. 62. 63. 64. lib. ii. cap. 39. —EUSEB. RENAUDOT *Anciennes Relations des indes et de la Chine*, p. 420.—JOS. SIMON. *Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Vaticanæ*, tom. iii. part II. p. 502, &c. This successful propagation of the gospel, by the ministry of the Nestorians, in *Tartary*, *China*, and the neighbouring provinces, is a most important event, and every way worthy to employ the researches and the pen of some able writer, well acquainted with oriental history. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that, if this subject be important, it is also difficult on many accounts. It was attempted, however, notwithstanding its difficulty, by the most learned THEOPH. SIGIFRED. BAYER, who had collected a great quantity of materials relative to this interesting branch of the history of Christianity, both from the works that have been published upon this subject, and from manuscripts that lie yet concealed in the cabinets of the curious. But, unhappily for the republic of letters, the death of that excellent man interrupted his labours, and prevented him from executing a design, which was worthy of his superior abilities, and his well known zeal for the interests of religion.

C E N T. tion, were the Slavonians, the Obotriti [*d*], the
 XI. Venedi [*e*], and the Prussians, whose conversion
 PART I. had been attempted, but with little or no suc-
 cess, by certain missionaries, from whose piety and zeal better fruits might have been expected. Towards the conclusion of the preceding century, ADALBERT, bishop of *Prague*, had endeavoured to instil into the minds of the fierce and savage Prussians, the salutary doctrines of the gospel; but he perished in the fruitless attempt, and received, in the year 996, from the murdering lance of SIGGO, a Pagan priest, the crown of martyrdom [*f*]. BOLESLAUS, king of *Poland*, revenged the death of this pious apostle by entering into a bloody war with the Prussians, and he obtained by the force of penal laws and of a victorious army, what ADALBERT could not effect by exhortation and argument [*g*]. He dragooned this savage people into the Christian church; yet besides this violent method of conversion, others of a more gentle kind were certainly practised by the attendants of BOLESLAUS, who seconded the military arguments of their prince by the more persuasive influence of admonition and instruction. A certain ecclesiastic of illustrious birth, whose name was BONIFACE, and who was one of the disciples of St ROMUALD, undertook the conversion of the Prussians, and was succeeded in this
 pious

✠ [*d*] The Obotriti were a great and powerful branch of the Vandals, whose kings resided in the country of *Mecklenburgh*, and whose domination extended along the coasts of the *Baltic* from the river *Pene* in *Pomerania* to the Dutchy of *Holstein*.

✠ [*e*] The Venedi dwelt upon the banks of the *Weissell*, or *Vistula*, in, what is at present called, the Palatinate of *Marienbourg*.

[*f*] See the *Acta Sanctor. ad d. xxii. Aprilis*, p. 174.

[*g*] SOLIGNAC *Hist. de Pologne*, tom. i. p. 133.

pious enterprise by BRUNO [b], who set out from C E N T. XI. PART I. Germany with a company of eighteen persons, who had entered with zeal into the same laudable design. These were, however, all barbarously massacred by the fierce and cruel Prussians, and neither the vigorous efforts of BOLESLAUS, nor of the succeeding kings of Poland, could engage this rude and indelible nation to abandon totally the idolatry of their ancestors [i].

III. *Sicily* had been groaning under the domination of the Saracens since the ninth century; nor had the repeated attempts of the Greeks and Latins to dispossess them of that rich and fertile country, been hitherto crowned with the desired success. But in this century the face of affairs changed entirely in that island; for in the year 1059, ROBERT GUISCARD, who had formed a settlement in *Italy* at the head of a Norman colony, and was afterwards created duke of *Apulia*, encouraged by the exhortations of the Roman pontif NICHOLAS II. and seconded by the assistance of his brother ROGER, attacked with the greatest vigour and intrepidity the Saracens in *Sicily*; nor did this latter sheath the victorious sword before he had rendered himself master of that island, and cleared it absolutely of its former tyrants. As soon as this great work was accomplished, which was not before the year 1090, Count ROGER not only restored to its former glory and lustre the

The Saracens driven out of Sicily.

F f 3

Christian

[b] FLEURY differs from Dr MOSHEIM in his account of Bruno, in two points. First he maintains, that Boniface, and Bruno were one and the same person, and here he is manifestly in the right; but he maintains farther, that he suffered martyrdom in Russia, in which he is evidently mistaken. It is proper farther to admonish the reader to distinguish carefully the Bruno here mentioned, from a monk of the same name, who founded the order of the Carthusians.

[i] ANT. PAGI *Critica in Baronium*, tom iv. ad Annum 1008. p. 97.—CHRIST. HARTKNOCH'S *Ecclesiastical History of Prussia*, book I. ch. i. p. 12.

C B N T.
 XI.
 PART I.

Christian religion, which had been almost totally extinguished under the Saracen yoke, but also established bishoprics, founded monasteries, erected magnificent churches throughout that province, and bestowed upon the clergy those immense revenues and those distinguished honours which they still enjoy [k]. It is in the privileges conferred upon this valiant chief, that we find the origin of that supreme authority in matters of religion, which is still vested in the kings of *Sicily*, within the limits of their own territories, and which is known by the name of the *Sicilian monarchy*; for the Roman pontif URBAN II. is said to have granted, A. D. 1097, by a special diploma, to ROGER and his successors, the title, authority, and prerogatives of hereditary legates of the apostolic see. The court of *Rome* affirms, that this diploma is not authentic: and hence those warm contentions, about the spiritual supremacy, that have arisen even in our times between the bishops of *Rome* and the kings of *Sicily*. The successors of ROGER governed that island, under the title of dukes, until the twelfth century, when it was erected into a kingdom [l].

Expedition
 formed a-
 gainst the
 Saracens in
 Palestine.

IV. The Roman pontifs, from the time of SYLVESTER II. had been forming plans for extending the limits of the church in *Asia*, and especially for driving the Mahometans out of *Palestine*; but the troubles in which *Europe* was so long involved, prevented the execution of these arduous designs. GREGORY VII. the most enterprising and audacious pontif that ever sat in the Apostolic chair, animated and inflamed by the repeated complaints which the Asiatic Christians made

[k] See BURIGNI *Histoire Generale de la Sicile*, tom. i. p. 386.

[l] See BARONII *Liber de Monarchia Siciliae*, tom. xi. *Anal.* as also DU PIN *Traité de la Monarchie Sicilienne*.

made of the cruelty of the Saracens, resolved to undertake in person a holy war for the deliverance of the church, and upwards of fifty thousand men were already mustered to follow him in this bold expedition [m]. But his quarrel with the emperor Henry IV. of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, and other unforeseen occurrences, obliged him to lay aside his intended invasion of the holy land. The project, however, was renewed, towards the conclusion of this century, by the enthusiastic zeal of an inhabitant of *Amiens*, who was known by the name of PETER the Hermit, and who suggested to the Roman pontif URBAN II. the means of accomplishing what had been unluckily suspended. This famous hermit, in a voyage which he had made through *Palestine*, A. D. 1093, had observed with inexpressible anguish, the vexations and persecutions which the Christians, who visited the holy places, suffered from the barbarous and tyrannic Saracens. Inflamed therefore with a holy indignation and a furious zeal, which he looked upon as the effects of a divine impulse, he implored the succours of SYMEON, patriarch of *Constantinople*, and URBAN II. but without effect. Far from being discouraged by this, he renewed his efforts with the utmost vigour, went through all the countries of Europe sounding the alarm of a *holy war* against the infidel nations, and exhorting all Christian princes to draw the sword against the tyrants of *Palestine*; nor did he stop here; but with a view to engage the superstitious and ignorant multitude in his cause, he carried about with him a letter, which he said was written in heaven, and addressed from *vi*ence to all true Christians, to animate their zeal for the deliver-

F f 4

ance

[m] GREGORII VII. *Epist.* lib. ii. 3. in HARDUINI *Conciliis*, tom. vi. part I. p. 1285.

C E N T. ance of their brethren, who groaned under the op-
 P A R T I. ^{XI} pressive burthen of a Mahometan yoke [n].

<sup>The pro-
gress of the
holy war.</sup> V When URBAN II. saw the way prepared by
 the exhortations of the hermit, who had put the
 spirits of the people every where in a ferment, and
 had kindled in their breasts a vehement zeal for
 that holy carnage which the church had been
 meditating so long, he assembled a grand and
 numerous council at *Placentia*, A. D. 1095, and
 recommended warmly, for the first time, the sa-
 cred expedition against the infidel Saracens [o].
 This arduous enterprize was far from being ap-
 proved of by the greatest part of this numerous
 assembly, notwithstanding the presence of the
 emperor's legates, who, in their master's name. re-
 presented most pathetically how necessary it was
 to set limits to the power of the victorious Turks,
 whose authority and dominion increased from day
 to day. The pontif's proposal was, however, re-
 newed with the same zeal, and with the desired
 success, some time after this, in the coun-
 cil assembled at *Clermont*, where URBAN was pre-
 sent. The pompous and pathetic speech which he
 delivered upon this occasion, made a deep and
 powerful impression upon the minds of the French,
 whose natural character renders them much su-
 perior to the Italians in encountering difficulties,
 facing danger, and attempting the execution of
 the most perilous designs. So that an innume-
 rable multitude, composed of all ranks and orders
 in

[n] This circumstance is mentioned by the abbot DODE-
 CHINUS, in his *Continuat. Chronici Mariani Scoti Scriptor. Ger-
 manicor.* JO. PISTORIUS, tom. i. p. 462. For an account of
 PETER, see DU FRESNE *Notæ ad Annæ Comnenæ Alexiadem*
 p. 79. edit. Venet.

[o] This council was the most numerous of any that
 had been hitherto assembled, and was, on that account, held
 in the open fields. There were present at it two hundred
 bishops, four thousand ecclesiastics, and three hundred thou-
 sand laymen.

in the nation, offered themselves as volunteers in C E N T.
 this sacred expedition [p]. This numerous host ^{XL} P A R T I.
 was looked upon as formidable in the highest de-
 gree, and equal to the most glorious enterprises
 and exploits, while, in reality, it was no more
 than an unwieldy body without life and vigour,
 and was weak and contemptible in every respect.
 This will appear sufficiently evident, when we
 consider that this army was a motely assemblage
 of monks, prostitutes, artists, labourers, lazy
 tradesmen. merchants, boys, girls, slaves, malefac-
 tors, and profligate debauchees, and that it was
 principally composed of the lowest dregs of the
 multitude, who were animated solely by the pros-
 pect of spoil and plunder, and hoped to make
 their fortunes by this holy campaign. Every one
 will perceive how little either discipline, counsel,
 or fortitude were to be expected from such a miser-
 able rabble. This expedition was distinguished,
 in the French language, by the name of a *croisade*,
 and all who embarked in it were called *croises*,
 or cross-bearers; not only because the end of this
 holy war was to wrest the cross of CHRIST out of
 the hands of the infidels, but also on account of
 the consecrated cross of various colours, which
 every soldier wore upon his right shoulder [q].

VI. In consequence of these grand preparations, ^{The history of this holy war.}
 eight hundred thousand men, in separate bodies,
 and under different commanders, set out for
Constantinople, in the year 1096; that having re-
 ceived

[p] THEOD. RUINART. in *Vita Urbani II.* sect. ccxxv. p. 224. 299. 240. 272. 274. 282. 296. tom. iii. opp. Posthum.—
 J. MABILLON et THEOD. RUINARTI, JO. HARDUINI *Con-*
cilior. tom. xi. part II. p. 1726.—BARONIUS *Annal. Eccl.*
 tom. xi. ad A. 1095, n. xxxii. p. 648.

[q] See ABRAH. BZOVIVS *Continuat. Annal. Baronii*, tom.
 xv. ad A. 1410. n. ix. p. 322. edit. Colon. L'ENFANT *Histoire*
du Concile de Pise, tom. ii. lib. v. p. 60.—The writers who have
 treated of this holy war are mentioned by JO. ALB. FABRI-
 CIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toto orbe exorients*, cap. xxx. p. 518.

C E N T. received there both assistance and direction from
XI.
P A R T I. **ALEXIS COMNENIUS** the Grecian emperor, they
 might pursue their march into *Asia*. One of the principal divisions of this enormous body was led on by **PETER** the Hermit, the author and fomenter of the war, who was girded with a rope, and continued to appear with all the marks of an austere solitary. This first division, in their march through *Hungary* and *Thrace*, committed the most flagitious crimes, which so incensed the inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, particularly those of *Hungary*, and *Turcomania*, that they rose up in arms and massacred the greatest part of them. A like fate attended several other divisions of the same army, who, under the conduct of weak and unskilful chiefs, wandered about like an undisciplined band of robbers, plundering the cities that lay in their way, and spreading misery and desolation wherever they came. The armies, that were headed by illustrious commanders, distinguished by their birth and their military endowments, arrived more happily at the capital of the Grecian empire. That which was commanded by **GODFREY** of *Bouillon*, duke of *Lorrain*, who deserves a place among the greatest heroes, whether of ancient or modern times [u], and, by his brother **BALDWIN**, was composed of eighty thousand well chosen troops, horse and foot [s], and directed its march through

[r] The Benedictine monks have given an ample account of this magnanimous chief, whose character was a bright assemblage of all Christian, civil, and heroic virtues, in their *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 598.

✞ [s] The engaging and illustrious virtues of **GODFREY** had drawn from all parts a prodigious number of volunteers, who were ambitious to fight under his standards. This enormous multitude perplexed, however, the valiant chief, who, on that account, divided it into several bodies, and finding in **PETER** the **HERMIT** the same ambitious and military spirit that had prevailed in him before his retreat from the world, declared him the general of the first division, which was detached

through *Germany* and *Hungary*. Another, which C E N T. XI. was headed by RAIMOND, earl of *Toulouse*, passed P A R T I. through the Sclavonian territories. ROBERT earl of *Flanders*, ROBERT duke of *Normandy* [t], HUGO, brother to PHILIP I. king of *France*, embarked their respective forces in a fleet which was assembled at *Brundisi* and *Tarento*, from whence they were transported to *Durazzo*, or *Dyrrichium*, as it was anciently called. These armies were followed by BOEMOND, duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, at the head of a chosen and numerous body of valiant Normans.

VII. This army was the greatest, and, in outward appearance, the most formidable, that had been known in the memory of man; and though before its arrival at *Constantinople*, it was diminished considerably by the difficulties, and oppositions it had met with on the way; yet such as it was, it made the Grecian emperor tremble, and filled his mind with the most anxious and terrible apprehensions of some secret design against his dominions. His fears, however, were dispelled, when he saw these legions pass the streights of *Galipolis*, and direct their march towards *Bithynia*. [u.]

The detached from the rest, and ordered to march immediately to *Constantinople*. By this means, GODFREY got rid of the dregs of that astonishing multitude which flocked to his camp. Father MAIMBOURG, notwithstanding his immoderate zeal for the holy war, and that fabulous turn which enables him to represent it in the most favourable points of view, acknowledges frankly, that the first divisions of this prodigious army committed the most abominable enormities in the countries through which they passed, and that there was no kind of insolence, injustice, impurity, barbarity, and violence of which they were not guilty. Nothing perhaps in the annals of history can equal the flagitious deeds of this infernal rabble. See particularly MAIMBOURG, *Histoire des Croisades*, tom. i. livre i. p. 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62. 2d ed. in 12mo.

¶ [t] Eldest son of WILLIAM the Conqueror.

¶ [u] Our author, for the sake of brevity, passes over the contests and jealousies that subsisted between the chief of the crusade

C E N T. The first successful enterprize [*w*] that was
XI.
P A R T I. formed against the Infidels, was the siege of *Nice*,
 the capital of *Bitbynia*, which was taken in the
 year 1097; from thence the victorious army pro-
 ceeded into *Syria*, and in the following year sub-
 dued *Antioch*, which, with its fertile territory, was
 granted, by the assembled chiefs, to **BOEMOND**,
 duke of *Apulia*. *Edessa* fell next into the hands
 of the victors, and became the property of **BALD-**
WIN, brother to **GODFREY** of *Bouillon*. The con-
 quest of *Jerusalem*, which, after a siege of five
 weeks, submitted to their arms in the year 1099,
 seemed to crown their expedition with the desir-
 ed success. In this city were laid the foundations
 of a new kingdom, at the head of which was
 placed the famous **GODFREY**, whom the army
 saluted king of *Jerusalem* with a unanimous voice.

But this illustrious hero, whose other eminent
 qualities were adorned with the greatest modesty,
 refused that high title [*x*], though he governed
Jerusalem

crusade and the Grecian emperor. The character of the lat-
 ter is differently painted by different historians. The warm
 defenders of the crusade represent him as a most perfidious
 prince, who, under the shew of friendship and zeal, aimed at
 nothing less than the destruction of **GODFREY**'s army. Others
 consider him as a wise, prudent politician, who, by artifice
 and stratagem, warded off the danger he had reason to appre-
 hend from these formidable legions that passed through his do-
 minions; and part of which, particularly the army command-
 ed by **PETER** the **HERMIT**, ravaged his most fruitful territories
 in the most barbarous manner, and pillaged and plundered
 even the suburbs of the capital of the empire. The truth of
 the matter is, that if **ALEXIS** cannot be vindicated from the
 charge of perfidy, the holy warriors are, on the other hand,
 chargeable with many acts of brutality and injustice. See
MAIMBOURG, *Histoire des Croisades*, livre i. et ii.

¶ [*w*] Before the arrival of **GODFREY** in *Asia*, the army,
 or rather rabble, commanded by **PETER** the **HERMIT** in such
 a ridiculous manner as might be expected from a wrong-head-
 ed monk, was defeated and cut to pieces by the young **SOLIMAN**.

¶ [*x*] All the historians, who write concerning this holy
 war, applaud the answer which **GODFREY** returned to the of-
 fer

Jerusalem with that valour, equity, and prudence C E N T. XI. P A R T I. that have rendered his name immortal. Having chosen a small army to support him in his new dignity, he permitted the rest of the troops to return into *Europe*. He did not, however, enjoy long the fruits of a victory, in which his heroic valour had been so gloriously displayed, but died about a year after the conquest of *Jerusalem*, leaving his dominions to his brother **BALDWIN**, prince of *Edessa*, who assumed the title of king without the least hesitation.

VIII. If we examine the motives that engaged the Roman Pontifs, and particularly **URBAN II.** to kindle this holy war, which in its progress and issue was so detrimental to almost all the countries of *Europe*, we shall probably be persuaded that its origin is to be derived from the corrupt notions of religion, which prevailed in these barbarous times. The motives which engaged the bishops of Rome and the princes of Europe in this holy war. It was thought inconsistent with the duty and character of Christians, to suffer that land, that was blessed with the ministry, distinguished by the miracles, and consecrated by the blood of the Saviour of men, to remain under the dominion of his most inveterate enemies. It was also looked upon as a very important branch of true piety to visit the holy places in *Palestine*; which pilgrimages, however, were extremely dangerous, while the despotic Saracens were in possession of that country. Nor is it to be denied, that these motives of a religious kind were accompanied and rendered more effectual by an anxious apprehension of the growing power of the Turks, who had already subdued the greatest part of the Grecian empire, and might soon carry into *Europe*,

for that was made him of a crown of gold, as a mark of his accession to the throne of *Jerusalem*; the answer was, that he "could not bear the thoughts of wearing a crown of gold in that city, where the KING of kings had been crowned with thorns." This answer was sublime in the eleventh century.

CENT. *rope*, and more particularly into *Italy*, their victorious arms.

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PART I.

There are, it must be confessed, several learned men who have accounted otherwise for this pious, or rather fanatical, expedition. They imagine that the Roman pontifs recommended this sacred campaign with a view to augment their own authority, and to weaken the power of the Latin emperors and princes; and that these princes countenanced and encouraged it in hopes of getting rid, by that means, of their more powerful and warlike vassals, and of becoming masters of their lands and possessions [y]. These conjectures however

[y] The part of this hypothesis that relates to the views of the Roman pontifs, has been adopted as an undoubted truth, not only by many protestant historians, but also by several writers of the Roman communion. See *BENED. ACCOLTUS De bello Sacro in infideles*, lib. i. p. 16.—*BASNAGE Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, tom. i. period v. p. 235.—*VERTOT Histoire des Chevaliers de Malbe*, tom. i. livre iii. p. 302. 308. livre iv. p. 428.—*BAILLET Histoire des demelez du Boniface VIII. avec Philippe le Bel*. p. 76.—*Histoire du droit Ecclesiastique Francois*, tom. i. 296. 299. To such, however, as consider matters attentively, this hypothesis will appear destitute of any solid foundation. Certain it is, that the Roman pontifs could never have either foreseen, or imagined, that so many European princes, and such prodigious multitudes of people, would take arms against the infidels, and march into *Palestine*; nor could they be assured beforehand, that this expedition would tend to the advancement of their opulence and authority. For all the accessions of influence and wealth, which the Roman pontifs, and the clergy in general derived from these holy wars, were of a much later date, than their first origin, and were acquired by degrees, rather by lucky hits, than by deep-laid schemes; and this alone is sufficient to shew, that the bishops of *Rome*, in forming the plan and exhorting to the prosecution of these wars, had no thoughts of extending thereby the limits of their authority. We may add to this consideration another of no less weight in the matter before us, and that is, the general opinion which prevailed at this time, both among the clergy and the people, that the conquest of *Palestine* would be finished in a short time, in a single campaign; that the Divine Providence would interpose, in a miraculous manner, to accomplish the ruin of the infidels; and that, after the taking of

however plausible in appearance, are still no more C E N T.
 than conjectures. The truth of the matter seems ^{XI.} P A R T I:
 to be this ; that the Roman pontifs and the Eu-

ropean
 of *Jerusalem*, the greatest part of the European princes would return home with their troops, which last circumstance was by no means favourable to the views which the pontifs are supposed to have formed of increasing their opulence and extending their dominion. Of all the conjectures that have been entertained upon this subject, the most improbable and groundless is that which supposes that URBAN II. recommended, with such ardour, this expedition into *Palestine*, with a view to weaken the power of the emperor HENRY IV. with whom he had a violent dispute concerning the investiture of bishops. They who adopt this conjecture, must be little acquainted with the history of these times ; or at least they forget, that the first armies that marched into *Palestine* against the infidels, were chiefly composed of Franks and Normans, and that the Germans, who were the enemies of URBAN II. were, in the beginning, extremely averse to this sacred expedition. Many other considerations might be added here to illustrate this matter, which, for the sake of brevity, I pass in silence.

That part of the hypothesis, which relates to the kings and princes of *Europe*, and supposes that they countenanced the holy war to get rid of their powerful vassals, is as groundless as the other, which we have been now refuting. It is, indeed, adopted by several eminent writers, such as VERTOT (*Hist. de Malibe*, livre iii. p. 309.) BOULAINVILLIERS, and others, who pretend to a superior and uncommon insight into the policy of these remote ages. The reasons, however, which these great men employ to support their opinion, may be all comprehended in this single argument : *viz.* “ Many kings, especially among
 “ the Franks, became more opulent and powerful by the number of their vassals, who lost their lives and fortunes in his
 “ holy war ; therefore, these princes not only permitted, but
 “ warmly countenanced the prosecution of this war from selfish
 “ and ambitious principles.” The weakness of this conclusion must strike every one at first sight. We are wonderfully prone to attribute both to the Roman pontifs, and the princes of this barbarous age, much more sagacity and cunning than they really possessed ; and we deduce from the events, the principles and views of the actors, which is a defective and uncertain manner of reasoning. With respect to the Roman pontifs, it appears most probable that their immense opulence and authority were acquired, rather by their improving dexterously the opportunities that were offered them, than by the schemes they formed for extending their dominion, or filling their coffers.

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P A R T I. European princes were engaged at first in the *crusades* by a principle of superstition only; but when, in process of time, they learned by experience, that these holy wars contributed much to increase their opulence and to extend their authority, by sacrificing their wealthy and powerful rivals, then new motives were presented to encourage these sacred expeditions into *Palestine*, and ambition and avarice seconded and enforced the dictates of fanaticism and superstition.

Its unhappy consequences, and the innumerable evils that attended it.

IX. Without determining any thing concerning the justice or injustice [x] of these holy wars,

we

[x] I do not pretend to decide the question concerning the lawfulness of the crusades; a question which, when it is considered with attention and impartiality, will appear not only extremely difficult, but also highly doubtful. It is, however, proper to inform the reader, that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the justice of this holy war was called in question, and warmly disputed among Christians. The Waldenses and Albigenses, who were distinguished by the name of Cathari, or Puritans, considered these expeditions into *Palestine* as absolutely unlawful. The reasons they alleged were collected and combated by FRANCIS MONETA, a Dominican friar of the thirteenth century, in a book entitled *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses*, lib. v. cap. xiii. p. 531. which was published some years ago at Rome by RICHINI. But neither the objections of the Waldenses, nor the answers of MONETA, were, at all remarkable for their weight and solidity, as will appear evidently from the following example: The former objected to the holy war the words of St PAUL, 1 Cor. x. 32. *Give none offence, neither to the Jews nor to the Gentiles.* By the *Gentiles*, said they, are to be understood the Saracens. And therefore the European Christians are to abstain from making war upon the Saracens, lest they give offence to the *Gentiles*. We shall give MONETA's answer to this argument in his own words: *We read*, says he, Gen. xii. 7. *that God said unto Abraham, Unto thy seed will I give this land: Now we* (Christians who dwell in Europe) *are the seed of Abraham, as the apostle affirms*, Galat. iii. 29. *Therefore we are heirs of the promise, and the holy land is given to us by the covenant as our lawful possession. From all which it appears, that it was the duty of civil and temporal rulers to use their most zealous efforts to put us in possession of the promised land, while it is, at the same time, incumbent upon the church and its ministers to exhort these rulers in the most urgent manner to the performance*

we may boldly affirm, that they were highly prejudicial both to the cause of religion, and to the civil interests of mankind; and that, in *Europe* more especially, they were fruitful of innumerable evils and calamities, whose effects are yet perceivable in our times. The European nations were deprived of the greatest part of their inhabitants by these ill-judged expeditions; immense sums of money were exported into *Asia* for the support of the war; and numbers of the most powerful and opulent families became either extinct, or were

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performance of their duty. A rare argument this *truly!* but let us hear him out: "The church has no design to injure or slaughter the Saracens, nor is such the intention of the Christian princes engaged in this war. Yet the blood of the infidels must of necessity be shed, if they make resistance and oppose the victorious arms of the princes. The church of God therefore is entirely innocent and without reproach in this matter, and gives no offence to the Gentiles, because it does no more, in reality, than maintain its undoubted right." Such is the subtile reasoning of MONETA, on which it is not necessary to make any reflections.

Dr. MOSHEIM seems too modest, nay even timorous in his manner of expressing himself concerning the justice of this holy war, which was so absurd in its principle, and so abominable in the odious circumstances that attended it. His respect, perhaps, for the Tuetonic crosses which abound in *Germany*, and are the marks of an order which derives its origin from these fanatical expeditions into *Palestine*, may have occasioned that ambiguity and circumspection in his expressions, through which, however, it is easy to perceive his disapprobation of the crusades. The holy place profaned by the dominion of infidels, was the apparent pretext for this fanatical war. What holy place? *Jerusalem*, says the knights errant of *Palestine*. But they forget that *Jerusalem* was a city, which by the conduct of its inhabitants and the crucifixion of CHRIST, was become most odious in the eye of God; that it was visibly loaded with a divine malediction, and was the miserable theatre of the most tremendous judgments and calamities that ever were inflicted upon any nation. Had the case been otherwise, we know of no right which Christianity gives its professors to seize upon the territories and invade the possessions of unbelievers. Had the Jews attempted the conquest of *Palestine*, they would have acted conformably with their apparent rights; because it was formerly their country; and consistently also with their religious principles; because they expected a Messiah who was to bind the kings of the Gentiles in chains, and to reduce the whole world under the Jewish yoke.

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involved in the deepest miseries of poverty and want. It could not well be otherwise; since the heads of the most illustrious houses either mortgaged or sold their lands and possessions in order to pay their expences of the voyage [a]; while others imposed such intolerable burthens upon their vassals and tenants, as obliged them to abandon their houses, and all their domestic concerns, and to enlist themselves, rather through wild despair than religious zeal, under the sacred banner of the cross. Hence the face of *Europe* was totally changed, and all things thrown into the utmost confusion. We pass in silence the various enormities that were occasioned by these crusades, the murders, rapes, and robberies of the most infernal nature, that were every where committed with impunity by these holy soldiers of God and of CHRIST, as they were impiously called; nor shall we enter into a detail of the new privileges and rights, to which these wars gave rise, and which were often attended with the greatest inconveniencies [b].

X. These

[a] We find many memorable examples of this in the ancient records. ROBERT, duke of *Normandy*, mortgaged his dutchy to his brother WILLIAM, king of *England*, to defray the expences of his voyage to *Palestine*. See the *Histor. Major.* of MATTHEW PARIS, lib. i. p. 24.—ODO, Viscount of *Bourges*, sold his territory to the king of *France*. *Gallia Christian. Benedictinorum*, tom. ii. p. 45. See, for many examples of this kind, CAR. DU FRESNE, *Adnot. ad Joinville vitam Ludovici S.* p. 52. BOULAINVILLIERS, *Sur l'Origine et les Droits de la Noblesse* in MOLET's *Memoires de Litterature et de l'Histoire*, tom. ix. part I. p. 68.—JO. GEORGE CRAMER *De juribus et prerogativis Nobilitatis*, tom. i. p. 81. 409. From the commencement therefore of these holy wars, a vast number of estates, belonging to the European nobility, were either mortgaged, or totally transferred, some to kings and princes, others to priests and monks, and not a few to persons of a private condition, who, by possessing considerable sums of ready money, were enabled to make advantageous purchases.

[b] Such persons as entered into these expeditions, and were distinguished by the badge of the military cross, acquired thereby

X. These holy wars were not less prejudicial to the cause of religion, and the true interests of the Christian church, than they were to the temporal concerns of men. One of their first and most pernicious effects was the enormous augmentation of the influence and authority of the Roman pontiffs: they also contributed, in various ways, to enrich the churches and monasteries with daily accessions of wealth, and to open new sources of opulence to all the sacerdotal orders. For they, who assumed the cross, disposed of their possessions as if they were at the point of death, and this on account of the eminent and innumerable dangers they were to be exposed to in their passage to the holy land, and the opposition they were to encounter there upon their arrival [c]. They therefore, for the most part, made their wills before their departure, and left a considerable part of their possessions to the priests and monks, in order to obtain, by these *pious* legacies, the favour and protection of the Deity [d]. Many examples of these donations are to be found in ancient records. Such of the *holy* soldiers, as had been engaged in suits of law with the priests or monks, renounced their pretensions, and submissively gave up whatever it was that had been the

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Its unhappy effects, considered with respect to the state of religion.

thereby certain remarkable rights, which were extremely prejudicial to the rest of their fellow-citizens. Hence it happened, that when any of these *holy* soldiers contracted any civil obligations, or entered into conventions of sale, purchase, or any such transactions, they were previously required to *renounce all privileges and immunities*, which they had obtained or might obtain in time to come by taking on the cross. See LÆ BOEUF, *Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre, Append. tom. ii. p. 292.*

[c] The translator has here inserted into the text, the note [r] of the original, as it is purely historical, and makes a very interesting part of the narration.

[d] See PLESSIS *Hist. de Meaux*, tom. ii. p. 76. 79. 141.—*Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 138, 139.—LE BOEUF, *Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. *Append. p. 31.*—DU FRESNE, *Notæ ad Vitam Ludovici Sancti*, p. 52.

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subject of debate. And others, who had seized upon any of the possessions of the churches or convents, or had heard of any injury that had been committed against the clergy, by the remotest of their ancestors, made the most liberal restitution, both for their own usurpations and those of their forefathers, and made ample satisfaction for the real or pretended injuries they had committed against the church by rich and costly donations [e].

Nor were these the only unhappy effects of these holy expeditions, considered with respect to their influence upon the state of religion, and the affairs of the Christian church. For while whole legions of bishops and abbots girded the sword to their thigh, and went as generals, volunteers, or chaplains into *Palestine*, the priests and monks, who had lived under their jurisdiction, and were more or less awed by their authority, threw off all restraint, lived the most lawless and profligate lives, and abandoned themselves to all sorts of licentiousness, committing the most flagitious and extravagant excesses without reluctance or remorse. The monster superstition, which was already grown to an enormous size, received new accessions of strength and influence by this holy war, and exercised with more vehemence than ever its despotic dominion over the minds of the Latins. For the crowd of saints, and tutelary patrons, whose number was prodigious before this period, was now augmented by fictitious saints of Greek and Syrian origin [f], which had hitherto

[e] DU FRESNE, lib. c. p. 52.

[f] The Roman catholic historians acknowledge, that, during the time of the crusades, many saints, unknown to the Latins before that period, were imported into *Europe* from *Greece* and the eastern provinces, and were treated with the utmost respect and the most devout veneration. Among these new patrons, there were some, whose exploits, and even their existence,

hitherto been unknown in *Europe*, and an incredible quantity of relics, the greatest part of which were ridiculous in the highest degree, were imported into the European churches. The armies, that returned from *Asia* after the taking of *Jerusalem*, brought with them a vast number of these saintly relics, which they bought at a high price from the cunning Greeks and Syrians, and which they considered as the noblest spoils that could crown their return from the holy land. These they committed to the custody of the clergy in the churches and monasteries, or ordered them to be most carefully preserved in their families from generation to generation [g].

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II.
PART. I.

CHAP.

istence were called in question. Such, among others, was St. CATHARINE, whom BARONIUS and CASSANDER represent as having removed from *Syria* into *Europe*. See BARONIUS, *Ad Martyrol. Roman.* p. 728.—GEORGE CASSANDER *Schol. ad hymnos Ecclesie*, p. 278, 279. opp. *Paris*. 1616. *Fol.* It is, however, extremely doubtful, whether or no this CATHARINE, who is honoured as the patroness of learned men, ever existed.

[g] The sacred treasures of musty relics, which the French, Germans, Britons, and other European nations, preserved formerly with so much care, and shew even in our times with such pious ostentation, are certainly not more ancient than these holy wars, but were then purchased at a high rate from the Greeks and Syrians. These cunning traders in superstition, whose avarice and fraud were excessive, imposed upon the credulity of the simple and ignorant Latins, and often sold them fictitious relics. RICHARD, king of *England*, bought, in the year 1191, from the famous SALADIN, all the relics that were to be found in *Jerusalem*, as appears from the testimony of MATHEW DE PARIS, *Hist. Major.* p. 138. who tells us also, p. 666. of the same work, that the Dominicans brought from *Palestine* a white stone, in which Jesus Christ had left the print of his feet. The Genoese pretended to have received from BALDWIN, second king of *Jerusalem*, the very dish in which the paschal lamb was served up to Christ and his disciples at the last supper; though this famous dish excites the laughter of even father LABBAT, in his *Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. ii. p. 63. For an account of the prodigious quantity of relics, which S. LOUIS brought from *Palestine* into *France*, we refer the reader to the life of that prince composed by JOINVILLE, and published by DU FRESNE; as also to PLESSIS,

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Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.

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PART I.

The suffer-
ings of the
church un-
der the do-
minion and
usurpations
of the Sara-
cens and
Turks.

I. THE greatest opposition the Christians met with, in this century, was from the Saracens and Turks. To the latter the Christians and Saracens were equally odious, and felt equally the fatal consequences of their increasing dominion. The Saracens, notwithstanding their bloody contests with the Turks, which gave them constant occupation, and the vigorous, though ineffectual, efforts they were continually making to set limits to the power of that fierce nation, which was daily extending the bounds of its empire, persisted still in their cruelty towards their Christian subjects, whom they robbed, plundered, maimed, or murdered in the most barbarous manner, and loaded with all sorts of injuries and calamities. The Turks, on the other hand, not only reduced the Saracen dominion to very narrow bounds, but also seized upon the richest provinces of the Grecian empire, those fertile countries that lay upon the coasts of the *Euxine* sea, and sub-

Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux, tom. i. p. 120. and LANCELOT, *Memoires pour la vie de l'Abbe de St. Cyran*, tom. ii. p. 175. CHRIST's handkerchief, which is worshipped at *Benzancon*, was brought there from the holy land. See JO. JAC. CHIFFLET, *Vie de St. Cyran*, part II. p. 108. and *De Linteis Christi Sepulchralibus*, c. ix. p. 50. Many other examples of this miserable superstition may be seen in ANTON. MATHÆI *Analecti veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 677.—JO. MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.*, tom. vi. p. 52. and principally CHIFFLET's *Crisis Historica de Linteis Christi Sepulchralibus*, c. ix, x. p. 50. and also 50. where we find the following passage: "Sciendum est, viginti, inmani et barbara Turcarum persecutione et eminente Christianæ religionis in oriente naufragio, educta e Sacra et per Christianos quovis modo recondita Ecclesiæ pignora . . . Hisce plane omnibus opibus illecti præ aliis, Sacra Acolutha qua vi, quo pretio, a detinentibus hac illac extorserunt."

jected

jected them to their yoke, while they impoverished and exhausted the rest by perpetual incursions, and by the most severe and unmerciful exactions. The Greeks were not able to oppose this impetuous torrent of prosperous ambition. Their force was weakened by intestine discords, and their treasures were exhausted to such a degree as rendered them incapable of raising new troops, or of paying the armies they had already in their service.

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II. The Saracens in *Spain* opposed the progress of the gospel in a different, yet still more pernicious, way. They used all sorts of methods to allure the Christians into the profession of mahometanism; alliances of marriage, advantageous contracts, flattering rewards, were employed to seduce them with too much success; for great numbers fell into these fatal snares, and apostatized from the truth [b]. And these allurements would have, undoubtedly, still continued to seduce multitudes of Christians from the bosom of the church, had not the face of affairs been changed in *Spain* by the victorious arms of the kings of *Arragon* and *Castile*, and more especially FERDINAND I. for these princes, whose zeal for Christianity was equal to their military courage, defeated the Saracens in several battles, and deprived them of a great part of their territories and possessions [i].

And in the
western
provinces.

The number of those among the Danes, Hungarians, and other European nations, who retained their prejudices in favour of the idolatrous

[b] JO. HENR. HOTTINGER *Histor. Ecclesiast. Sec. xi. § ii. p. 452.* MICHAEL GEDDES'S *History of the expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain*, which is to be found in the *Miscellaneous Tracts of that Author*, tom. i. p. 104.

[i] For an account of these wars between the first Christian kings of *Spain* and the Mahometans or Moors, see the Spanish histories of JO. MARIANA and JO. FERRERA.

CENT. religion of their ancestors, was as yet very considerable; and they persecuted, with the utmost cruelty, the neighbouring nations, and also such of their fellow citizens as had embraced the gospel. To put a stop to this barbarous persecution, Christian princes exerted their zeal in a terrible manner, proclaiming capital punishment against all who persisted in the worship of the Pagan deities. This dreadful severity contributed much more towards the extirpation of paganism, than the exhortations and instructions of ignorant missionaries, who were unacquainted with the true nature of the gospel, and dishonoured its pure and holy doctrines by their licentious lives, and their superstitious practices.

The Prussians, Lithuanians, Sclavonians, Obotriti, and several other nations, who dwelt in the lower parts of *Germany*, and lay still groveling in the darkness of paganism, continued to vex the Christians, who lived in their neighbourhood, by perpetual acts of hostility and violence, by frequent incursions into their territories, and by putting numbers of them to death in the most inhuman manner [*k*].

[*k*] HELMOLDI *Chron. Slavorum*, lib. i. cap. xvi. p. 52.—
ADAM. *Bremens. Histor.* lib. ii. cap. xxvii.

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH,

C H A P T E R I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century

I. **T**HE declining condition of the Grecian empire was fatal to the progress of letters and philosophy. Its glory and power diminished from day to day under the insults and usurpations of the Turks and Saracens; and while the empire suffered by these attacks from without, it was consumed gradually by the internal pestilence of civil discord, by frequent seditions and conspiracies, and by those violent revolutions which shook from time to time the imperial throne, and were attended with the sudden fall and elevation of those that held the reins of government [a]. So many foreign invasions, so many internal troubles, so many emperors dethroned, deprived the political body of its strength and consistence, broke in upon the public order, rendered all things precarious, and dejecting the spirits of the nation, damped the fire of genius, and discouraged the efforts of literary ambition. There were, however, some emperors, such as ALEXIUS COMNENUS, who seemed to cherish and encourage the drooping sciences, and whose zeal was seconded by several prelates, who were willing to lend a

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PART I.

The state
of learning
among the
Greeks.

✠ [a] The sentence which begins with the words *so many foreign*, and ends with the words *literary ambition*, is added by the translator to render the connexion with what follows more evident.

supporting

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PART II.



The prin-
cipal
Greek
writers.

supporting hand to the cause of letters. The controversies also that subsisted between the Greeks and Latins, obliged the former, amidst all their disadvantages, to a certain degree of application to study, and prevented them from abandoning entirely the culture of the sciences. And hence it is, that we find among the Greeks of this century some writers, at least, who have deserved well of the republic of letters.

II. We pass in silence the poets, rhetoricians, and philologists of this century, who were neither highly eminent, nor absolutely contemptible. Among the writers of history, LEO the *gram-
marian*, JOHN SCYLIZES, CEDRENUS, and a few others deserve to be mentioned with a certain degree of approbation; notwithstanding the partiality with which they are chargeable, and the zeal they discover for many of the fabulous records of their nation. But the greatest ornament of the republic of letters at this time, was MICHAEL PSELLUS, a man illustrious in every respect, and deeply versed in all the various kinds of erudition that were known in this age. This great man recommended warmly to his countrymen the study of philosophy, and particularly the system of ARISTOTLE, which he embellished and illustrated in several learned and ingenious productions [b]. If we turn our eyes towards the Arabians, we shall find that they still retained a high degree of zeal for the culture of the sciences; as appears evidently from the number of physicians, mathematicians, and astronomers, who flourished among them in this century [c].

The state
of letters
in the
west.

III. The arts and sciences seemed, in some measure, to revive in the west, among the clergy,

[b] LEO ALLATIUS, *Diatriba De Psellis*, p. 14. edit. Fabricii.

[c] ELMACINI *Historia Saracen.* p. 281.—JO. HENR. HOTTINGER *Histor. Eccles. Sac.* xi. p. 449.

at least, and the monastic orders; they were not indeed cultivated by any other set of men, and the nobility, if we except such of them as were designed to fill certain ecclesiastical dignities, or had voluntarily devoted themselves to a religious solitude, treated all sorts of learning and erudition with indifference and contempt. The schools of learning flourished in several parts of *Italy* about the year 1050; and of the Italian doctors, who acquired a name by their writings or their academical lessons, several removed afterwards into *France*, and particularly into *Normandy*, where they instructed the youth, who had consecrated themselves to the service of the church [d]. The French also, though they acknowledge their obligations to the learned Italians who settled in their provinces, yet give us, at the same time, a considerable list of their own countrymen, who, without any foreign succours, cultivated the sciences, and contributed not a little to the advancement of letters in this century; they mention also several schools erected in different parts of that kingdom, which were in the highest reputation, both on account of the fame of their masters, and the multitude of disciples that resorted to them [e]. And, indeed, it is certain beyond all contradiction, that the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated in *France*, which abounded with learned men, while the greatest part of *Italy* lay as yet covered with a thick cloud of ignorance and darkness. For ROBERT, king of *France*, son and successor of HUGH CAPET, disciple of the famous

[d] See MURATORI *Antiquitates Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 871.—GIANNONE, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 148.

[e] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vii. at the *Introduction*.—DU BOULAY, *Hist. Academ. Paris*. tom. i. p. 355.—LE BOEUF, *Diss. sur l'Etat des Sciences en France depuis la mort du Roi Robert*, which is published among his *Dissertations sur l'Histoire Ecclesiastique et Civile de Paris*. tom. ii. part I.

CENT.
 XI.
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GERBERT, afterwards SYLVESTER II. and the great protector of the sciences, and friend of the learned, reigned so early as the year 1031 [*f*], and exerted upon all occasions the most ardent zeal for the restoration of letters; nor were his generous efforts without success [*g*]. The provinces of *Sicily*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and other southern parts of *Italy*, were indebted, for the introduction of the sciences among them, to the Normans, who became their masters, and who brought with them from *France* the knowledge of letters to a people that sat benighted in the darkest ignorance. To the Normans also was due the restoration of letters in *England*. WILLIAM the Conqueror, a prince of uncommon sagacity and genius, and the great Mæcenas of his time, upon his accession to the throne of *England* in the year 1066, engaged, by the most alluring solicitations, a considerable number of learned men from *Normandy*, and other countries, to settle in his new dominions, and exerted his most zealous endeavours to dispel that savage ignorance, that is always a source of innumerable evils [*h*]. The reception of Christianity had polished and civilized, in an extraordinary manner, the rugged minds of the valiant Normans; for those fierce warriors, who, under the darkness of paganism, had manifested the utmost aversion to all branches of knowledge and every kind of instruction, distinguished themselves, after their conversion, by their ardent

✠ [*f*] ROBERT died in the year 1031, after a reign of thirty-five years.

[*g*] DANIEL, *Histoire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 58.—DU BOULAY, *Hist. Academ. Paris*. tom. i. p. 636. *et passim*.

[*h*] See *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. viii. p. 171.—“The English,” says MATTHEW PARIS, “were so illiterate and ignorant before the time of WILLIAM the Conqueror, that a man who understood the principles of Grammar, was universally looked upon as a prodigy of learning.”

application

application to the study of religion and the pursuit of learning.

IV. This vehement desire of knowledge, that increased from day to day, and became, at length, the predominant passion of the politest European nations, produced many happy effects. To it, more particularly, we must attribute the considerable number of public schools that were opened in various places, and the choice of more able and eminent masters, than those who had formerly presided in the seminaries of learning. Towards the conclusion of the preceding age, there were no schools in *Europe* but those which belonged to monasteries, or episcopal residences, nor were there any other masters, except the Benedictine monks, to instruct the youth in the principles of sacred and profane erudition. But, not long after the commencement of this century, the face of things was totally changed, and that in a manner the most advantageous to the cause of letters. In many cities of *France* and *Italy*, learned men, both among the clergy and laity, undertook the weighty and important charge of instructing the youth, and succeeded much better in this worthy undertaking than the monks had done, not only by comprehending in their course of instruction more branches of knowledge than the monastic doctors were acquainted with, but also by teaching in a better method, and with more perspicuity and success, many of the same branches of science, which the others had taught before them. The most eminent of these new masters were such as had either travelled into *Spain* with a view to study in the schools of the Saracens (which was extremely customary in this age among those that were ambitious of a distinguished reputation for wisdom and knowledge), or had improved their stock of erudition and philosophy by a diligent and attentive perusal of the writings

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Schools opened in several places.

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writings of the Arabians, of which a great number were translated into Latin. For with these foreign succours they were enabled to teach philosophy, mathematics, physic, astronomy, and the other sciences that are connected with them, in a much more learned and solid manner than the monks, or such as had received their education from them alone. The school of *Salernum*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, was renowned above all others for the study of physic in this century, and vast numbers crowded thither from all the provinces of *Europe* to receive instruction in the art of healing: but the medical precepts which rendered the doctors of *Salernum* so famous, were all derived from the writings of the Arabians, or from the schools of the Saracens in *Spain* and *Africa* [i]. It was also from the schools and writings of the Arabian sages, that the absurd and puerile tricks of divination, and the custom of foretelling future events from the position of the stars, the features of the face, and the lines of the hand, derived their origin. These ridiculous practices, proceeding from so respectable a source, and moreover adapted to satisfy the idle curiosity of impatient mortals, were carried on in all the European nations; and in process of time the pretended sciences of astrology and divination acquired the highest reputation and authority.

The sciences that were taught in these schools.

V. The *seven liberal arts*, as they were now stiled, were taught in the greatest part of the schools that were erected in this century for the education of youth. The first stage of these sciences was grammar, which was followed succes-

[i] MURATORI *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 935.—GIANNONE, *Hist. de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 151.—FRIEND'S *History of Physic*.—It is well known, that the famous precepts of the school of *Salernum*, for the preservation of health, were composed in this century, at the request of the king of *England*.

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sively by rhetoric and logic. When the disciple, having learned these three branches, which were generally known by the name of *trivium*, extended his ambition farther, and was desirous of new improvement in the sciences, he was conducted slowly through the *quadrivium* [k] to the very summit of literary fame. But this method of teaching, which had been received in all the western schools, was considerably changed towards the latter end of this century. For as the science of *logic*, under which *metaphysics* were in part comprehended, received new degrees of perfection from the deep meditations and the assiduous industry of certain acute thinkers, and was taught with more detail and subtilty than in former times, the greatest part of the studious youth became so enamoured of this branch of philosophy, as to abandon grammar, rhetoric, and all the other liberal arts, that they might consecrate their whole time to the discussion of logical questions, and the pursuit of metaphysical speculations. Nor was this surprising, when we consider, that, according to the opinion which now prevailed in the republic of letters, a man who was well versed in *dialectics*, i. e. in logical and metaphysical knowledge, was reputed sufficiently learned, and was supposed to stand in need of no other branches of erudition [l]. Hence that contempt

✂ [k] The *trivium* was a term invented in the times of barbarism to express the three sciences that were first learned in the schools, viz. *Grammar, rhetoric, and logic*; and the schools, in which these sciences alone were taught, were called *triviales*. The *quadrivium* comprehended the four mathematical sciences, viz. *arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy*.

[l] See BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 408, 409, 511, 512.—This is too likely to become the prevailing taste even in our times: but it is an ancient taste, as we may easily perceive by casting an eye upon the literary history of the eleventh century. And to confirm still farther the truth of that vulgar saying, that there is *nothing new under the sun*, we shall quote

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Dialectic  
or logic in  
high re-  
pute.

contempt of languages and eloquence, of the more elegant sciences, and the finer arts, which spread its baneful influence through the Latin provinces; and hence that barbarism and pedantic sophistry that dishonoured, in succeeding ages, the republic of letters, and corrupted, in a most hideous manner, the noble simplicity of true theology, and the purest systems of philosophical wisdom.

VI. The philosophy of the Latins, in this century, was absolutely confined within the circle of *dialectis*; while the other philosophical sciences were scarcely known by name [*m*]. This *dialectic*, indeed,

quote the following passage from the *Metalogicum* of JOHN of Salisbury, a writer of no mean abilities, lib. i. cap. iii. p. 741. edit. *Lugdun. Bat.* 1639. “Poetæ, Historiographi, habebantur infames, et si quis incumbere laboribus antiquorum, notabatur ut non modo asello Arcadiæ tardior, sed obtusior plumbo vel lapide, omnibus erat in risum.—Suis enim, aut magistri sui, quisquis incumberebat inventis.—Fiebant ergo summi repente philosophi: nam qui illiteratus accesserat, fere non morabatur in scholis ulterius quam eo curriculo temporis, quo avium pulli plumescunt.—Sed quid docebant novi doctores et qui plus somniorum, quam vigiliarum in scrutinio philosophiæ consumserant? Ecce nova fiebant omnia: innovabatur grammatica, immutabatur dialectica, contemnebatur rhetorica, et novas totius quadrivii vias, evacuatis priorum regulis, de ipsius philosophiæ adytis proferebant. Solam *convenientium*, sive *rationem* loquebantur, argumentum sonabat in ore omnium—ac ineptum nimis aut rude et a philosopho alienum, impossibile credebatur *convenientur* et ad rationis normam quicquam dicere aut facere, nisi *convenientis* et *rationis* mentio expressim erat inserta.” Many more passages of this nature are to be found in this author.

[*m*] We shall, indeed, find many, in the records of this century, honoured with the title of *Philosophers*. Thus we hear of MANEGOLDUS the Philosopher, ADALARDUS the Philosopher, &c. But we must not attribute to the term *philosopher*, when applied to these grammarians, the sense which it bore among the ancient Greeks and Latins, and which it still bears in our times. In the stile of, what we call, the middle age, every man of learning, of whatever kind his erudition might be, was called a *philosopher*, and this title was also given to the interpreters of scripture, though that set of men were, generally speaking, destitute of true philosophy. See the

*Chronicon*

indeed, was miserably dry and barren, as long as it was drawn from no other source than the *ten categories* falsely attributed to St AUGUSTIN, or from the explications of the Aristotelian philosophy composed by PORPHYRY and AVERROES. These, however, were the only guides which the schools had to follow in the beginning of this century; nor had the public teachers either genius or courage enough to enlarge the system, or to improve upon the principles of these dictators in philosophy, whose authority was treated as infallible, and their productions, for a long time, regarded as perfect, to the great detriment of true science. But, about the year 1050, the face of philosophy began to change, and the science of logic assumed a new aspect. This revolution began in *France*, where several of the books of ARISTOTLE had been brought from the schools of the Saracens in *Spain*, and it was affected by a set of men highly renowned for their abilities and genius, such as BERENGER ROSCELLINUS, HILDEBERT, and after them by GILBERT DE LA PORRE, the famous ABELARD, and others. These eminent logicians, though they followed the Stagirite, as their guide, took nevertheless the liberty to illustrate and model anew his philosophy, and to extend it far beyond its ancient limits.

VII. The philosophers of this age, who were most famous for their zealous and successful endeavours to improve the science of logic, and accommodate it to general use, were LANFRANC, an Italian by birth, who was abbot of St STEPHENS at *Caen* in *Normandy*, and was called from thence,

*Chronicon Salernitanum* in MURATORI *Scriptor. rerum Italicar.* tom. ii. part II. cap. cxxiv. p. 265. where we are told, that in the tenth century, in which the sciences were almost totally extinguished in *Italy*, there were thirty-two philosophers at *Benevento*. We learn, however, by what follows, that these philosophers were partly grammarians, and partly persons who were more or less versed in certain liberal arts.

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by WILLIAM the Conqueror, to the see of *Canterbury*, ANSELM his successor, and Odo, whose last promotion was the bishopric of *Cambray*. LANFRANC was so deeply versed in this science, that he was commonly called the *Dialectician*; and he employed with great dexterity the subtilities of logic in the controversy which was carried on between him and the learned Berenger, against whom he maintained the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the holy sacrament. Anselm, in a very learned dialogue *De Grammatico*, throws much light upon the darkness and perplexity in which the science of logic had lain so long involved; and, among other things, investigates, with no small sagacity, the nature of *substance*, and *mode* or *quality*, in order to convey juster notions of these metaphysical entities than had been hitherto entertained [*n*]. This great prelate, who shone with a distinguished lustre in several branches of literature both sacred and profane, was the first of the Latin doctors who dispelled the clouds of ignorance and obscurity that hung over the important sciences of *metaphysic* and *natural theology*, as appears from two books of his composition, wherein the truths concerning the Deity, which are deducible from the mere light of nature, are enumerated and explained with a degree of sagacity which could not well be expected from a writer of this century. He was the inventor of that famous argument, vulgarly and erroneously attributed to Descartes, which demonstrates the existence of God from the idea of an infinitely perfect Being naturally implanted in the mind of man, and which is to be found, without exception, in the breast of every mortal. The solidity of this argument was, indeed, called

[*n*] This dialogue is to be found in the works of ANSELM, published by father GERBERON, tom. i. p. 143.



in question, almost as soon it was proposed, by Gaunilo, a French monk, whose objections were answered by Anselm, in a treatise professedly written for that purpose [o]. Odo, the third restorer of logic whom we mentioned above, taught that science with the greatest applause, and illustrated it in three learned productions, which have not survived the ruins of time [p].

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VIII. The restoration of logic was immediately followed by a vehement dispute between its restorers and patrons, concerning the *object* of that science; such was the term employed by the contending parties. This controversy, which was long agitated in the schools, was in its nature ex-

Disputes  
among the  
logicians  
Nomina-  
lists and  
Realists

[o] GAUNILO's Treatise is to be found in the works of ANSELM, with the answer of that learned prelate. As ANSELM makes such a shining figure in the literary history of *England*, it will not be improper to add here a more ample account of his character and writings than that which is given by DR. MOSHEM. His life and manners were without reproach, though his spiritual ambition exposed him justly to censure. His works are divided into three parts. The first contains his dogmatical tracts, and begins with a discourse concerning the *Existence of God*, the *Divine Attributes*, and the *Trinity*. This discourse is called *Monologia*, because it is drawn up in the form of a soliloquy. In this first part of the works of ANSELM, there are many curious researches upon subjects of a very difficult and mysterious nature, such as the *Fall of Satan*, the *Reason why God created Man*, the doctrine of *Original Sin*, and the *Manner of its Communication to ADAM's Posterity*, the *Liberty of the Will*, and the *Consistency of Freedom with the Divine Prescience*. The second and third parts of the writings of this eminent prelate contain his practical and devotional performances, such as *Homilies*, *Poems*, *Prayers*, &c. and his *Letters*, which are divided into four books.

[p] The titles of these three treatises, are as follows, *De Sophista*, *De Complexionibus*, *De Re et Ente*. The learned HERIMAN, in his *Narratio restorationis Abbatie Sti. Martini Tornacensis*, which is published in DACHERIUS's *Spirilegium Scriptor. Veter.* tom. ii. p. 889. speaks of ODO in the following honourable manner: "Cum Odo septem liberalium artium esset peritus, præcipue tamen in dialectica eminebat, et pro ipsa maxime clericorum frequentia cum expetebat."



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tremely trivial and unimportant ; but considered in its consequences, it became a very serious and weighty affair : since the disputants on both sides made use of their respective opinions in explaining the doctrines of religion, and reciprocally loaded each other with the most odious invectives and the most opprobrious accusations. In one point only they were unanimous, acknowledging that *logic* or *dialectic* had for its essential *object* the consideration of *universals* in their various relations and points of comparison, since *particular* and individual things, being liable to change, could not be the objects of a sure and immutable science. But the great question was, whether these *universals*, which came within the sphere of logical inquiries, belonged to the class of real *things*, or to that of mere *denominations* ? One set of these subtle disputants maintained that *universals* were undoubted *realities*, and supported their hypothesis by the authority of PLATO, BOETIUS, and other ancient sages ; the other affirmed, that they were mere *words* and outward denominations, and pleaded in behalf of their cause the respectable suffrages of ARISTOTLE and PORPHYRY. The former were called Realists on account of their doctrine, and the latter Nominalists for the same reason. Each of the contending parties were, in process of time, subdivided into various sects, on account of the different ways in which many explained the doctrine that was the badge and characteristic of their sect [q]. This controversy made

[q] The learned BRUCKER, in his *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iii. p. 904. gives an ample account of the sect of the Nominalists, and enlarges a good deal upon the nature and circumstances of this logical contest ; he also mentions the various writers, who have made this sect and its doctrine the object of their researches. Among these writers, the principal was JOHN SALABERT, presbyter in the diocese of Agen, who published at Paris, in the year 1651, in 8vo, a treatise, entitled

made a prodigious noise in all the schools throughout *Europe* during many succeeding ages, and produced often unhappy contentions and animosities between philosophers and divines. Some are of opinion, that it derived its origin from the disputes that were carried on between BERENGER and his adversaries, concerning the eucharist [*r*]; a notion which, though it be advanced without authority, is yet by no means destitute of probability, since the hypothesis of the Nominalists might be very successfully employed in defending the doctrine of BERENGER, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

IX. The sect of the Nominalists had for their chief a certain person called JOHN, who, on account of his logical subtilty, was surnamed the *Sophist*, which is the only circumstance we know of his history [*s*]. His principal disciples were  
ROBERT

titled *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata*. This book, which is extremely rare, has been seen by none of the authors who have written professedly concerning the sect of the Nominalists. A copy of it, taken from the manuscript in the French king's library, was communicated to me, from which it appears, that SALABERT, who was certainly a very acute and ingenious logician, employed his labour rather in defending the doctrine of the Nominalists than in giving an accurate account of their sect. There are, however, several things to be found in his book, which are far from being generally known, even among the learned.

[*r*] DU BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 443.—GERH. DU BOIS, *Histor. Ecclesias. Paris.* tom. i. 770.

[*s*] This account we have from the unknown author of the *Fragmentum Historiæ Francicæ a Roberto rege ad mortem Philippi I.* which is published in DU CHESNE's *Scriptores Historiæ Francicæ*, tom. iv. p. 90. whose words are as follows: "In Dialectica hi potentes extiterunt Sophistæ, Johannes, qui artem Sophisticam vocalem esse disseruit," &c.—DU BOULAY (*Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 443. et 612.) conjectures that this JOHN the Sophist was the same person with JOHN of *Chartres*, surnamed the *Deaf*, who was first physician to HENRY I. king of *France*, and had acquired a high degree of renown by his genius and erudition. The same author (p. 377.) tells us, that

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Robert of *Paris*, Roscelin of *Compiègne*, and Arnoul of *Laon*, who propagated his doctrine with industry and success, to whom we may add, with some probability, Raimbert, the master of a famous school at *Lisle* in *Flanders*, who is said, according to the quibbling humour of the times, to *have read NOMINAL logic to his disciples, while* Odo, whom we have already occasion to mention, *instructed his scholars in REALITY* [t]. The most renowned of all the *nominal* philosophers of this age was Roscelin; and hence it is that many have considered him as the chief and founder of that sect, and that he is still considered as such by several learned men.

## C H A P. II.

*Concerning the doctors and ministers of the Church, and its form of government during this century.*

The corruption of the clergy.

I. **A**LL the records of this century loudly complain of the vices that reigned among the rulers of the church, and, in general, among all the sacerdotal orders; they also deplore that universal decay of piety and discipline, that was the consequence of this corruption in a set of men, who were bound to support, by their example,

JOHN had for his master GIRALDUS of *Orleans*, who was an incomparable poet, and an excellent rhetorician, but he advances this without any proof. MABILLON, on the other hand, in his *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. lib. lxxvii. § lxxviii. p. 261. supposes, that JOHN the Nominalist was the same person who made known to ANSELM the error of ROSCELINUS concerning the three Persons in the Godhead.

[t] The passage in the original is: "Qui dialecticam clericis suis in voce legebat, quum ODO in re discipulis legeret. See HERIMANNUS, *Histor. restaurationis Monasterii Sti. Martini Tornacensis.* in DACHERII *Spicilegio Veter. Scriptor.* tom. ii. p. 889.

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their authority, and their instructions, the sacred interests of religion and virtue. The western bishops were no sooner elevated to the rank of dukes, counts, and nobles, and enriched with ample territories, than they gave themselves up entirely to the dominion of pleasure and ambition, and wholly employed in displaying the magnificence of their temporal stations, frequented the courts of princes, accompanied always with a splendid train of attendants and domestics [u]. The inferior orders of the clergy were also licentious in their own way; few among them preserved any remains of piety and virtue, we might add, of decency and discretion. While their rulers were wallowing in luxury, and basking in the beams of worldly pomp and splendour, they were indulging themselves, without the least sense of shame, in fraudulent practices, in impure and lascivious gratifications, and even in the commission of the most flagitious crimes. The Grecian clergy were somewhat less chargeable with these shocking irregularities, as the calamities under which their country groaned, imposed a restraint upon their passions, and gave a check to their licentiousness. Yet, notwithstanding these salutary restraints, there were few examples of piety and virtue to be found among them.

II. The authority and lustre of the Latin church, or, to speak more properly, the power and dominion of the Roman pontifs, arose in this century to their highest period, though they arose by degrees, and had much opposition and many difficulties to conquer. In the preceding age the

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thority of  
the Ro-  
man pon-  
tif.

[u] See among other examples of this episcopal grandeur, that of ADALBERT, in ADAM, *Bremens.* lib. iii. cap. xxiii. p. 38. lib. iv. cap. xxxv. p. 52. that of GUNTHER, in th *Lectioes Antiquæ* of CANISIUS, tom. iii. part I. p. 185. and that of MANASSI, in the *Museum Italicum* of MABILLON, tom. i. p. 114. Add to all these MURATORII *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi.

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pontifs had acquired a great degree of authority in religious matters, and in every thing that related to the government of the church; and their credit and influence increased prodigiously towards the commencement of this century. For then they received the pompous titles of *masters of the world*, and *popes*, i. e. *universal fathers*; they presided also every where in the councils by their legates; assumed the authority of supreme arbiters in all controversies that arose concerning religion or church discipline; and maintained the pretended rights of the church against the encroachments and usurpations of kings and princes. Their authority, however, was confined within certain limits; for, on the one hand, it was restrained by sovereign princes, that it might not arrogantly aim at civil dominion; and on the other, it was opposed by the bishops themselves, that it might not arise to a spiritual despotism, and utterly destroy the liberty and privileges of synods and councils [*w*]. From the time of LEO IX. the popes employed every method, which the most artful ambition could suggest, to remove these limits, and to render their dominion both despotic and universal. They not only aspired to the character of supreme legislators in the church, to an unlimited jurisdiction over all synods and councils whether general or provincial, to the sole distribution of all ecclesiastical honours and benefices as divinely authorised and appointed for that purpose, but they carried their insolent pretensions so far as to give themselves out for

[*w*] The very learned LAUNOY (in his *Assertio contra Privilegium Sti. Medardi*, part II. cap. xxxi. opp. tom. iii. part II. p. 307,) has given us an accurate account of the ecclesiastical laws, and of the power of the hierarchy, during this century, which he collected from the letters of pope Gregory VII. from which account it appears, that GREGORY, ambitious as he was, did not pretend to a supreme and despotic authority in the church,

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lords of the universe, arbiters of the fate of kingdoms and empires, and supreme rulers over the kings and princes of the earth. Before LEO IX. no pope was so enormously impudent as to claim this unbounded authority, or to assume the power of transferring territories and provinces from their lawful possessors to new masters. This pontif gave the example of such an amazing pretension to his *holy* successors, by granting to the Normands, who had settled in *Italy*, the lands and territories which they had already usurped, or were employed in forcing out of the hands of the Greeks and Saracens [x]. The ambition, however, of the aspiring popes was opposed by the emperors, the kings of *France*, by WILLIAM the Conqueror, who was now seated on the throne of *England*, and was the boldest assertor of the rights and privileges of royalty against the high claims of the apostolic see [y], and also by several other princes.

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[x] See GAUFR. MALLATERRA *Hist. Sicula*, lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 553. tom. v. *Scriptor. Ital.* MURATORI. The translator has here incorporated the note [s] of the original into the text.

[y] See EADMERI *Historia novorum*, lib. i. p. 29. which is published at the end of the works of ANSELM, archbishop of *Canterbury*. It is proper to observe here, that if it is true on the one hand, that WILLIAM the Conqueror opposed, on many occasions, with the utmost vehemence and zeal, the growing power of the Roman pontifs, and of the aspiring bishops; it is no less certain, on the other, that, to accomplish his ambitious views, he, like many other European princes, had recourse to the influence of the pontifs upon the minds of the multitude, and thereby nourished and encouraged the pride and ambition of the court of *Rome*. For while he was preparing all things for his expedition into *England*, he sent ambassadors to Pope ALEXANDER II. “in order (as MATTHEW PARIS says, *Hist. Major.* lib. i. p. 2.) to have his undertaking approved and justified by apostolical authority; and the pope, having considered the claims of the contending parties, sent a STANDARD to WILLIAM as the omen of his approaching royalty.” It is highly probable, that the Normans in *Italy* had made the same humble request to LEO IX. and demanded his confirmation both of  
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Nor did the bishops, particularly those of *France* and *Germany*, sit tamely silent under the papal yoke; many of them endeavoured to maintain their rights and the privileges of the church; but as many, seduced by the allurements of interest or the dictates of superstition, sacrificed their liberties, and yielded to the pontifs. Hence it happened, that these imperious lords of the church, though they did not entirely gain their point, nor satisfy to the full their raging ambition, yet obtained vast augmentations of power, and extended their authority from day to day.

III. The see of *Rome*, after the death of Sylvester II. which happened in the year 1003, was filled successively by John XVII. John XVIII. and Sergius IV. none of whose pontificates were distinguished by any memorable events; it is, however, proper to observe, that these three popes were confirmed in the see of *Rome* by the approbation and authority of the emperors under whose reign they were elected to that high dignity. Benedict VIII. who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1012, being obliged by his competitor Gregory to leave *Rome*, fled into *Germany* for succour, and threw himself at the feet of Henry II. by whom he was reinstated in the Apostolic chair, which he possessed in peace until the year 1024. It was during his pontificate, that those famous Normans, who make such a shining figure in history, came into *Italy*, and reduced several of its richest provinces under their dominion. Benedict was succeeded by his brother John XIX. who ruled the church until the year 1033. The five pontifs

the possessions they had acquired, and of those they designed to usurp. And when we consider all this, it will not appear so surprising that the popes aimed at universal empire, since they were encouraged to this by the mean submissions and servile homage of the European princes.

we have now been mentioning were not chargeable with dishonouring their high station by that licentiousness and immorality that rendered so many of their successors infamous; their lives were virtuous; at least their conduct was decent. But their examples had little effect upon Benedict IX. a most abandoned profligate, and a wretch capable of the most horrid crimes, whose flagitious conduct drew upon him the just resentment of the Romans, who in the year 1038, degraded him from his office. He was afterwards indeed restored, by the emperor Conrad, to the papal chair; but instead of learning circumspection and prudence from his former disgrace, he grew still more scandalous in his life and manners, and so provoked the Roman people by his repeated crimes, that they deposed him a second time A. D. 1044, and elected in his place John bishop of *Sabina*, who assumed the name of Sylvester III. About three months after this new revolution, the relations and adherents of Benedict rose up in arms, drove Sylvester out of the city, and restored the degraded pontif to his forfeited honours, which, however, he did not enjoy long; for, perceiving that there was no possibility of appeasing the resentment of the Romans, he sold the pontificate to John Gratian, arch-presbyter of *Rome*, who took the name of Gregory VI. Thus the church had, at the same time, two chiefs, Sylvester and Gregory, whose rivalry was the occasion of much trouble and confusion. This contest was terminated in the year 1046, in the council held at *Sutri* by the emperor Henry III. who so ordered matters, that Benedict, Gregory, and Sylvester were declared unworthy of the pontificate, and Suidger, bishop of *Bamberg*, was raised to that dignity,

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nity, which he enjoyed for a short time under the title of CLEMENT II. [z].

IV. After the death of CLEMENT II. which happened in the year 1047, BENEDICT IX. though twice degraded, aimed anew at the papal dignity, and accordingly forced himself into St PETER's chair for the third time. But the year following he was obliged to surrender the pontificate to POPPO, bishop of *Brixen*, known by the name of DAMASUS II. whom HENRY II. elected pope in *Germany*, and sent from thence into *Italy* to take possession of that dignity. Upon the death of DAMASUS, who ruled the see of *Rome* but three and twenty days, the same emperor, in the diet held at *Worms* A. D. 1048, appointed BRUNO, bishop of *Toul*, to succeed him in the pontificate. This prelate is known in the list of the popes by the name of LEO IX.; and his private virtues, as well as his public acts of zeal and piety in the government of the church, were deemed meritorious enough to entitle him to a place among the saintly order. But if we deduce from these pretended virtues his vehement zeal for augmenting the opulence and authority of the church of *Rome*, and his laudible severity in correcting and punishing certain enormous vices [a], which were common among the clergy during his

[z] In this compendious account of the popes, I have followed the relations of FRANCIS and ANTHONY PAGI, PAPEBROCK, and also those of MURATORI, in his *Annales Italice*, persuaded that the learned and judicious reader will justify my treating with the utmost contempt, what BARONIUS and others have alleged in favour of GREGORY VI.

✿ [a] In several councils which he assembled in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, he proposed rigorous laws against simony, sodomy, incestuous and adulterous marriages) the custom of carrying arms that was grown universal among the clergy; the apostacy of the monks, who abandoned their habit and renounced their profession, &c.

pontificate,

pontificate, there will remain little in the life and administration of this pontif, that could give him any pretension to such a distinction. It is, at least, certain, that many, who industriously conceal or excuse the numerous infirmities and failings of the pontifs, censure, with the utmost freedom, the temerity and injustice of the measures he took towards the conclusion of his days. Such, among others, was the war which he inconsiderately entered into, in the year 1053, with the Normans, whose neighbourhood he did not like, and whom he was grieved to see in the possession of *Apulia*. His temerity, indeed, was severely punished by the issue of this war, from which he derived the bitterest fruits, being taken prisoner by the enemy, and led captive to *Benevento*. Here dismal reflexions upon his unhappy fate preyed upon his spirits, and threw him into a dangerous fit of sickness; so that after a year's imprisonment he was sent to *Rome*, where he concluded his days on the 19th of *April*, A. D. 1054 [b].

V. After the death of LEO the papal chair was filled, in the year 1055, by GEBHARD, bishop of *Eichstadt*, who assumed the name of VICTOR II. and after governing the church about three years, was succeeded by STEPHEN IX. brother to GODFREY, duke of *Lorrain*, who died a few months after his election. Nothing memorable happened under the administration of these two pontifs. GERRARD, bishop of *Florence*, who obtained the papacy A. D. 1058, and took the name of NICOLAS II. makes a greater figure in history than several of his predecessors [c]. We pass in silence

[b] See the *Acta Sanctorum ad d. xix. Aprilis*, tom. iii. p. 642.—*Hist. Litteraire de la France*, tom. vii. p. 459.—GIANNONE *Hist. de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 52.

[c] Besides the accounts given of NICOLAS II. by the writers of the papal history, there is a particular and accurate history of this pontif drawn up by the Benedictine monks, in the *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. vii. p. 515.

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John, Bishop of *Veletri*, who usurped the pontificate, as also the title of Benedict X. after the death of Stephen, and who was deposed with ignominy, after having possessed about nine months the dignity, to which he had no other title, than what he derived from lawless violence. Nicolas, upon the removal of this usurper, assembled a council at *Rome* A. D. 1059, in which, among many salutary laws designed to heal the inveterate disorders that had afflicted the church, one remarkable decree was passed for changing the ancient form of electing the Roman pontif; this alteration was designed to prevent the tumults and commotions which arose in *Rome*, and the factions which divided *Italy*, when a new pope was to be elected. The same pontif received the homage of the Normans, and solemnly created Robert Guiscard duke of *Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily*, on condition that he should observe, as a faithful vassal, an inviolable allegiance to the Roman church, and pay an annual tribute in acknowledgment of his subjection to the apostolic see. By what authority Nicolas confirmed the Norman prince in the possession of these provinces, is more than we know; certain it is, that he had no sort of property in the lands which he granted so liberally to the Normans, who held them already by the odious right of conquest [d]. Perhaps the lordly pontif founded this right of cession upon the fictitious donation of Constantine, which has been already taken notice of in the course of this history; or probably, seduced by the artful and ambitious suggestions of Hildebrand, who had himself an eye upon the pontificate, and afterwards filled it, in effect, under the adopted name of Gregory VII. he imagined

[d] See MURATORI *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 186.—BARONIUS *Annal. ad A. 1060.*

that,

that, as Christ's vicegerent, the Roman pontif was the king of kings, and had the whole universe for his domain. It is well known that Hildebrand had a supreme ascendant in the counsels of Nicolas, and that the latter neither undertook nor executed any thing without his direction. Be that as it may, it was the feudal grant made to Guiscard by this pope, that laid the foundation of the kingdom of *Naples*, or of the two *Sicilies*, and of the sovereignty over that kingdom which the Roman pontifs constantly claim, and which the Sicilian monarchs annually acknowledge.

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VI. Before the pontificate of Nicolas II. the popes were chosen not only by the suffrages of the *cardinals*, but also by those of the whole Roman clergy, the nobility, the burgesses, and the assembly of the people. An election, in which such a confused and jarring multitude was concerned, could not but produce continual factions, animosities, and tumults. To prevent these, as far as was possible, this artful and provident pontif had a law passed by which the *cardinals*, as well presbyters as bishops, were empowered upon a vacancy in the see of *Rome*, to elect a new pope, without any prejudice to the ancient privileges of the Roman emperors in this important matter [e]. Nor were the rest of the clergy, with the burgesses

The privileges of the cardinals in the election of the pope.

✿ [e] It does not appear, that NICOLAS was at all solicitous about the privileges of the emperor, and his authority in the election of the bishop of *Rome*; for the words of the decree in all the various copies of it are to this import: "The
" cardinals shall first deliberate concerning the election of a
" pontif, and the consent of the other clergy and of the people shall be required to confirm their choice. The pope
" shall be chosen out of the members that compose the church
" of *Rome*, if a proper person can be found among them: if
" not, he shall be elected elsewhere. *All this without any*
" *prejudice to the honour of our dear son HENRY (who is now*
" *king and shall be soon emperor, as we have already promised*
" *him)*

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burghesses and people, excluded from all part in this election, since their consent was solemnly demanded, and also esteemed of much weight [f]. In consequence, however, of this new regulation, the *Cardinals* acted the principal part in the creation of the new pontif; though they suffered for

“him) or to the honour of his successors on whom the apostolic see
“shall confer personally and successively the same high privi-
“lege.” Here we see the good pontif taking manifestly advantage of the minority of HENRY IV. to depreciate and diminish the ancient prerogatives of the imperial crown, and to magnify the authority of the papal mitre; for he declares as a personal right granted by the Roman see to each emperor for himself, the privilege of confirming the pope’s election; whereas it is well known that that privilege had been vested in the emperors of Germany during many preceding ages. See FLEURY, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. xiii. livre lx. p. 64, 65. Brussels edition.—It is proper to observe here, that the cringing and ignoble submission of CHARLES the Bald, who would not accept of the title of emperor before it was conferred upon him by the Roman pontif, occasioned, in process of time, that absurd notion, that the papal consecration was requisite in order to qualify the kings of Germany to assume the title of Roman emperors, though, without that consecration, these kings had all Italy under their dominion, and exercised in every part of it various rights and prerogatives of sovereignty. Hence the kings of Germany were first styled kings of the Franks and Lombards, afterwards kings of the Romans until the year 1508, when MAXIMILIAN I. changed the title of king into that of emperor.

[f] The decree of NICOLAS concerning the election of the Roman pontif is to be found in many authors, and particularly in the *Concilia*. But upon comparing together several copies of this famous decree, I found them in many respects very different from each other. In some copies the decree appears abridged; in others, it is long and prolix. In some it seems favourable to the rights and privileges of the Roman emperors; in others, it appears to have the contrary tendency. The most ample copy is that which we find in the *Chronicon Farfense* in MURATORI’S *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, tom. ii. part II. p. 645, which differs however, in various circumstances, from that which is published by HUGO FLORIACENSIS, in his book *De regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate*, in BALUZII *Miscellaneis*, tom. iiv. p. 62. Notwithstanding the diversity that there is in the copies of this famous decree, they all agree in confirming the accounts we have given of the plans and pontificate of NICOLAS.

a long

a long time much opposition both from the sacerdotal orders and the Roman citizens, who were constantly either reclaiming their ancient rights, or abusing the privilege they yet retained of confirming the election of every new pope by their approbation and consent. In the following century there was an end put to all these disputes by ALEXANDER III. who was so lucky as to finish and complete what NICOLAS had only begun, and who transferred and confined to the college of *cardinals* the right of electing to the apostolic see, excluding the nobility, the people, and the rest of the clergy, from all concern in this important matter [g].

It may not be improper here to give some account of the origin of the *cardinals* [h], and the nature of their privileges and functions. Many writers [i] have treated this subject in an ample manner, and have shed upon it a profusion of erudition, which deserves, no doubt, the highest applause; but they are, generally speaking, defective in perspicuity and precision; nor do I know of any, who have confined themselves to the true state of the question, and investigated, in a satis-

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factory

[g] See MABILLON, *Com. in Ord. Roman.* tom. ii. *Muscei Italici*, p. 114.—CONSTANT. CENNI *Præf. ad Concilium Lateran. Stephani* iii. p. 18. *Rom.* 1735, in 4to.—FRANC. PAGI *Breviarium Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 374.

[h] The translator has here incorporated into the text the long and important note [c] of the original concerning the *cardinals*. The citations and references only are thrown into the notes.

[i] The authors who have written concerning the name, origin, and rights of the *cardinals*, are enumerated by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS; in his *Bibliogr. Antiquar.* p. 455, 456.—CASTR. SAGITTARIUS *Introd. ad Historiam. Ecclesiast.* cap. xxix. p. 771. et JO. AND. SCHMIDIUS in *supplement.* p. 644.—CHRIST. GRYPHIUS *Isagoge ad Historiam Sæculi xvii.* p. 430. add to these LUDOV. THOMASSINI *Disciplina Ecclesiæ vetus et nova*, tom. i. lib. ii. cap. 115, 116. p. 616. & LUD. ANT. MURATORI, whose learned dissertation *De Origine Cardinalatus* is published in his *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 155.

I i

C E N T. factory manner, the true origin of the office of
 XI. cardinal, and the reasons that occasioned the insti-
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 learned men have employed much time and labour in fixing the sense of the word *cardinal*, and in illustrating its meaning from ancient monuments and records; but, however worthy of a curious philologist these researches may be, yet they contribute little or nothing to clear up the point in question, or to convey an accurate and satisfactory notion of the true origin of the college of cardinals, and the nature of that ecclesiastical dignity. It is certain, that the word *cardinal*, when applied to persons or things, or more especially to the sacred order, was, according to the language of the middle age, a term of dubious signification, and was susceptible of various senses. It is also well known, that in former times this title was, by no means, peculiar to the priests and ministers of the church of *Rome*, but was in use in all the Latin churches, and that not only the *secular* clergy, but also the *regular*, such as abbots, canons, and monks, were capable of this denomination, and were stiled *cardinals*, though in different senses. But after the pontificate of ALEXANDER III. the common use of the term *cardinal* was gradually diminished, and it was confined to such only as were immediately concerned in the election of the pope, and who had the right of suffrage in this weighty matter. So that when we inquire into the origin of the college of *cardinals* at *Rome*, the question is not, who they were, that in the remoter periods of the church were distinguished, among the Latins in general, or at *Rome* in particular, from the rest of the clergy, by the name of *cardinals*; nor do we inquire into the proper signification of that term, or into the various senses in which it was formerly employed; the true state of the question is this: Who the persons

sons were that NICOLAS II. comprehended under the denomination of *cardinals*, when he vested in the Roman *cardinals* alone the right of electing the new pontif, and excluded from that important privilege the rest of the clergy, the nobility, the burgesses, and the people? When this is known with certainty, then we shall have a just notion of the College of Cardinals in its first rise, and shall also perceive the difference there is between the first Cardinals, and those of our times. Now this may easily be learned from the edict of NICOLAS II. which sets the matter in the clearest light. “We have thought proper to enact, (says the pontif,) that, upon the decease of the bishop of the Roman Catholic or universal church, the affair of the election, be treated principally and previously to all other deliberations, among the CARDINAL BISHOPS alone, who shall afterwards call in to their council the CARDINAL CLERKS, and require finally the consent of the rest of the clergy, and the people to their election [k].” Here we see, that the pontif divides into two classes the Cardinals who were to have the right of suffrage in the election of his successors, one of which he calls Cardinal Bishops, and the other Cardinal Clerks. By the former we are manifestly to understand the seven bishops, who belonged to the city and territory of Rome, whom NICOLAS calls, in the same edict, *comprovinciales episcopi* (an epithet which had been used before by LEO I.) and who had been distinguished by the title of Cardinal Bishops long before the present century. The words of NICOLAS confirm this account of the matter, and place it beyond all possibility of contradiction;

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for

[k] The passage of the edict (which we have here translated from HUGO FLORIACUS in BALUZII *Miscell.* tom. iv. p. 62.) runs thus in the original: ‘Constituimus ut, obeunte hujus Romanæ universales Ecclesiæ Pontifice, imprimis, CARDINALES EPISCOPI diligentissima simul consideratione tractantes, mox sibi CLERICOS CARDINALES adhibeant, sicque reliquos Clerus et Populus ad consensum novæ electionis accedant.’

C E N T. XI. P A R T II. for he declares, that by *cardinal bishops* he understands those to whom it belonged to consecrate the pontif elect ; “ Since the apostolic see,” observes the papal legislator, “ cannot be under the jurisdiction of any superior or metropolitan [l], the *cardinal bishops* must necessarily supply the place of a metropolitan, and fix the elected pontif on the summit of apostolic exaltation and empire” [m]. Now it is well known, that the seven bishops of *Rome*, above mentioned, had the privilege of consecrating the Roman pontif.

All these things being duly considered, we shall immediately perceive the true nature and meaning of the famous edict, according to which it is manifest, that, upon the death of a pontif, the CARDINAL BISHOPS were first to deliberate *alone* concerning a proper successor, and to examine the respective merit of the candidates that might pretend to this high dignity, and afterwards to call in the CARDINAL CLERKS, not only to demand their council, but also to join with them in the election. The word *clerk* here bears the same sense with that of *presbyter*, and it is undeniably certain, that the name of *cardinal presbyters* was given to the ministers of the eight and twenty Roman *parishes*, or principal churches. All the rest of the clergy, of whatever order or rank they might be, were, together with the people, expressly excluded from the right of voting in the election of the pontif, tho’ they were allowed what is called a *negative* suffrage, and their consent was required to what the others had done. From all which it appears, that

✠ [l] In the consecration of a new bishop in any province, the metropolitan always bore the principal part ; as therefore there was no metropolitan to instal the pope, CARDINAL BISHOPS performed that ceremony.

[m] Such are the swelling and bombastic terms of the edict :
 ‘ Quia sedes apostolica super se metropolitanum habere non potest ; cardinales episcopi metropolitani vice procul dubio fungantur, qui electum antistatem ad apostolici culminis apicem provebant.’

that the college of electors, who chose the Roman C^P N^T. pontif, and who after this period were called *car-*^{XI.}
dinals in a new and unusual acceptation of that ^{P A N T IL} term, consisted, according to their original establishment, by NICOLAS II. of only two orders, namely, *cardinal bishops* and *cardinal clerks*, or presbyters [n].

It is necessary to observe, before we finish this digression, that the famous decree of NICOLAS could not obtain the force of a law. “ It is evident, says ANSELM, *bishop of Lucca* [o], that the edict of NICOLAS is, and always has been, without the smallest degree of weight or authority. But in affirming this, I have not the least design to cast any reflection upon the blessed memory of that pontif, or to derogate from the applause that is due to his virtues. . . . As a man, however, he was fallible, and, through the weakness that is inseparable from humanity, was liable to be seduced into measures that were inconsistent with equity
 “ and
 l i 3

[n] We must therefore take care that we be not misled by the error of ONUPHR. PANVINIUS, who affirms, * that the *cardinal bishops* were not added to the college of cardinals before the pontificate of ALEXANDER III. Nor are we to listen to the supposition of those writers, who imagine that certain *deacons* were, from the beginning, members of that college of *cardinals*, by whom the popes were elected. There were indeed, in the Roman church long before the edict of NICOLAS, and there still remain, *cardinal deacons*, i. e. superintendants of those churches which have hospitals annexed to them, and whose revenues are appropriated to the support of the poor; but they were evidently excluded from the election of the pope, which, by the edict of NICOLAS, was to be made by the *cardinal bishops and clerks* alone. Hence we find the *cardinals* plainly distinguished from the deacons in the diploma that was drawn up for the election of GREGORY VII. to the pontificate.

[o] ANSELM *Luccensis*, lib. ii. *contra WIBERTUM, Antipapam, et sequaces ejus*, in CANISII *Lectioib. Antiquis*, tom. iii. part I. p. 383.

* See MABILLON, *Comment. in Ordinem Rom.* p. 115, tom. ii. *Musci Italici*.

C E N T “ and justice.” It is true, the prelate has here
 XI.
 P A R T II. principally in view that part of the edict in which
 NICOLAS acknowledges and confirms the right
 of the emperors to ratify the election of the Roman
 pontif; yet what he says is undoubtedly true of
 the whole edict in all its parts. For the seven
Palatine judges [p], who were excluded by this
 decree from the important privilege they had for-
 merly enjoyed of voting in the election to the
 apostolic see, complained loudly of the injury that
 was done them, and, seconded in their com-
 plaints by the various orders of the clergy, and
 by the clamours of the army, the citizens, and
 the multitude, they declared their opposition to
 the execution of this edict, and gave much trou-
 ble and uneasiness to the *cardinals*, who had been
 constituted electors by NICOLAS. To appease
 these tumults, ALEXANDER III. augmented the
 college of the electing *cardinals*, by conferring that
 dignity upon the prior, or arch-presbyter, of *St*
John Lateran, the arch-presbyters of *St Peter's*
 and *St Mary Magiore*, the abbots of *St Paul's*
 and *St Laurence without the wall*, and lastly, up-
 on the seven *Palatine judges* [q]. By this dexterous
 stratagem, the highest order of the clergy was de-
 feated, and ceased to oppose the measures of
 the *cardinal* electors; nor, indeed, could their
 opposition be of any significancy, since their
 chiefs and leaders were become members of the
 sacred college instituted by NICOLAS. The *infe-*
rior clergy continued yet obstinate; but their op-
 position was vanquished in the same manner, and
 they were reduced to silence by the promotion of
 their

[p] These judges were the *Primicerius*, *Secundicerius*, *Arca-*
rius, *Saccellarius*, *Protoscriniarius*, *Primicerius Defensorum*,
et Adminiculator; for a particular account of whose respec-
 tive offices, services, and privileges, see GRÆVII *Thesaurus*
Antiquit. DU CANGE, &c.

[q] CENNI *Præf. ad Concil. Lateran. Stephan. iii.* p. 19.—
 MABILLON, *Comment. ad Ord. Roman.* p. 115. *ex Panvinio.*

their chiefs, the *cardinal deacons*, to the dignity of C E N T. XI. P A R T II. electors. Who it was, whether ALEXANDER III. or some other pontif, that raised the principal Roman deacons to the rank of *cardinals*, is not certain; but nothing is more evident than that the design of this promotion was to put an end to the murmurs and complaints of the inferior clergy, who resented highly the violation of their privileges.

When the various orders of the clergy were drawn off from the opposition, it was no difficult matter to silence the people, and to exclude them from all part in the election of the pontif. And accordingly, when, upon the death of ALEXANDER III. it was proposed to chuse LUCIUS III. [r] as his successor, the contest and approbation of the clergy and people, which had hitherto been always esteemed necessary to ratify the election, were not so much as demanded, and the affair was transacted by the college of *cardinals* alone, who have continued to maintain that exclusive and important privilege even to our times. Some writers affirm, that INNOCENT II. had been elected in the same manner, by the *cardinals* alone, without the consent of the clergy or the people, several years before the pontificate of LUCIUS [s]; this may be true, but it is nothing to the purpose; for as the election of INNOCENT II. was irregular, it cannot be alleged in the cause before us.

VII. From what has been observed in the preceding section, we may conclude, that the college of *cardinals*, and the extensive authority and important privileges they enjoy at this day, derive their origin from the edict published at the request and under the pontificate of NICOLAS II.;

I i 4

that,

[r] In the original, instead of LUCIUS III. we read VICTOR III. which was certainly a mistake of inadvertency in the learned author.

[s] See PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 615.

C E N T. that, under the title of *cardinals*, this pontif com-
 prehended the seven Roman bishops, who were
 XI.
 P A R T II. considered as his *suffragans*, and of whom the
 bishop of *Ostia* was the chief, as also the eight
 and twenty ministers, who had inspection over the
 principal Roman churches; and that to these
 were added, in process of time, under ALEXAN-
 DER III. and other pontifs, new members, in or-
 der to appease the resentment of those who look-
 ed upon themselves as injured by the edict of
 NICOLAS, and also to answer other purposes of
 ecclesiastical policy. We see, also, from an at-
 tentive view of this matter, that though the
 high order of purpled prelates, commonly called
cardinals, had its rise in the eleventh century, yet
 it does not seem to have acquired the stable and
 undisputed authority of a legal council before
 the following age and the pontificate of ALEX-
 ANDER III.

VIII. Though NICOLAS II. had expressly ac-
 knowledged and confirmed in his edict the right
 of the emperor to ratify by his consent the elec-
 tion of the pontif; his eyes were no sooner closed,
 than the Romans, at the instigation of HILDE-
 BRAND, archdeacon, and afterwards bishop of
Rome, violated this imperial privilege in the
 most presumptuous manner. For they not only
 elected to the pontificate ANSELM, bishop of
Lucca, who assumed the name of ALEXANDER
 II. but also solemnly installed him in that high
 office without so much as consulting the em-
 peror HENRY IV. or giving him the least in-
 formation of the matter. AGNES, the mother
 of the young emperor, no sooner received an
 account of this irregular transaction by the bishops
 of *Lombardy*, to whom the election of ANSELM
 was extremely disagreeable, than she assembled
 a council at *Basil*, and, in order to maintain the
 authority of her son, who was yet a minor,
 caused

caused CADOLAUS, bishop of *Parma*, to be created pontif, under the title of HONORIUS II. Hence arose a long and furious contest between the two rival pontifs, who maintained their respective pretensions by the force of arms; and presented a scene of bloodshed and horror in the church of CHRIST, which was designed to be the centre of charity and peace. In this violent contention ALEXANDER triumphed, though he could never engage his obstinate adversary to desist from his pretensions [1].

IX. This contest, indeed, was of little consequence when viewed in comparison with the dreadful commotions which HILDEBRAND, who succeeded ALEXANDER, and assumed the name of GREGORY VII. excited both in church and state, and nourished and fomented until the end of his days. This vehement pontif, who was a Tuscan, born of mean parents, rose, by various steps, from the obscure station of a monk of *Clugni*, to the rank of archdeacon in the Roman church, and, from the time of LEO IX. who treated him with peculiar marks of distinction, was accustomed to govern the Roman pontifs by his counsels, which had acquired the highest degree of influence and authority. In the year 1073, and the same day that ALEXANDER was interred, he was raised to the pontificate by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and people, and, consequently, without any regard being paid to the edict of NICOLAS II. and his election was confirmed by the approbation and consent of HENRY IV. king of the Romans, to whom ambassadors had been sent for that purpose. This prince, indeed, had soon reason to repent

[1] FERDIN. UGHELLI *Italia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 166.—JO. JAC. MASCOVIUS, *De rebus imperii sub Henrico IV. et V.* lib. i. p. 7.—FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontificum Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 385.—MURATORI *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 214.

C. E. N. T. XL
 PART II. repent of the consent he had given to an election, which became so prejudicial to his own authority, so fatal to the interests and liberties of the church, and so detrimental, in general, to the sovereignty and independence of kingdoms and empires [u]. HILDEBRAND was a man of uncommon genius, whose ambition in forming the most arduous projects was equalled by his dexterity in bringing them into execution; sagacious, crafty, and intrepid, nothing could escape his penetration, defeat his stratagems, or daunt his courage; haughty and arrogant beyond all measure; obstinate, impetuous, and intractable; he looked up to the summit of universal empire with a wishful eye, and laboured up the steep ascent with uninterrupted ardour, and invincible perseverance; void of all principles, and destitute of every pious and virtuous feeling, he suffered little restraint in his audacious pursuits, from the dictates of religion or the remonstrances of conscience. Such was the character of HILDEBRAND, and his conduct was every way suitable to it; for no sooner did he find himself in the papal chair, than he displayed to the world the most odious marks of his tyrannic ambition. Not contented to enlarge the jurisdiction, and to augment the opulence of the see of *Rome*, he laboured indefatigably to render the universal church subject to the despotic government

[u] The writers, who have given the amplest accounts of the life and exploits of GREGORY VII. are enumerated by CASP. SAGITTARIUS, in his *Introd. ad Hist. Ecclesiast.* tom. i. p. 687. and by AND. SCHMIDIUS, in his *Supplement.* tom. ii. p. 627.—See also the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. v. *Martii ad d. xxv.* p. 568. and MABILLON, *Acta Sanctor. Ordin. Benedicti Sæcul.* vi. p. 406. Add to these the *Life of GREGORY VII.* published at *Frankfort* in the year 1710, by JUST. CHRISTOPHER DITHMAR, as also the authors who have written the history of the contests that arose between the Empire and the Hierarchy of *Rome*, and of the wars that were occasioned by the dispute concerning *Investitures*.

vernment and the arbitrary power of the pontif^{O E N T,}
alone, to dissolve the jurisdiction which kings and^{XI.}
emperors had hitherto exercised over the various^{P A R T II.}
orders of the clergy, and to exclude them from
all part in the management or distribution of the
revenues of the church. Nay, this outrageous
pontif went still farther, and impiously attempted
to submit to his jurisdiction the emperors, kings,
and princes of the earth, and to render their do-
minions tributary to the see of *Rome*. Such were
the *pious* and *apostolic* exploits that employed the
activity of GREGORY VII. during his whole life,
and which render his pontificate a continual scene
of tumult and bloodshed. Were it necessary to
bring any farther proofs of his tyranny and arro-
gance, his fierce impetuosity and boundless ambi-
tion, we might appeal to those famous *sentences*,
which are generally called, after him, the *dictates*
of HILDEBRAND, and which shew, in a lively man-
ner, the spirit and character of this restless pon-
tif [w].

• • X. Under

[w] *Dictatus Hildebrandini*. By these are understood twen-
ty-seven apophthegms, or short sentences, relating to the su-
preme authority of the Roman pontifs over the universal
church, and the kingdoms of the world, which are to be found
in the second book of the Epistles of GREGORY VII. between
the fifty-fifth and the fifty-sixth Epistle, under the title of
Dictatus Pape, i. e. *Dictates of the Pope*. See HARDUIN
Concilia, tom. vi. part 1. p. 1304, and the various writers of
Ecclesiastical History. BARONIUS LUPUS*, and other histo-
rians, who have signalized, upon all occasions, their vehe-
ment attachment to the Roman pontifs, maintain, that these
Dictates were drawn up by GREGORY VII. and proposed as
laws in a cert in council; and hence the *Protestant* writers
have ventured to attribute them to HILDEBRAND. But the
learned JOHN LAUNOY, NATALIS ALEXANDER, ANTONY †
and FRANCIS PAGI ‡, ELIAS DU PIN, and other authors of
note,

* LUPUS, in his *Notæ et Dissertationes in Concilia*, tom. vi. opp. p. 164.
has given us an ample commentary on the Dictates of HILDEBRAND, which
he looks upon as both authentic and sacred.

† See ANTON. PAGI *Critica in Baronium*.

‡ See FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 473.

C E N T X. Under the pontificate of HILDEBRAND, the
 P X. face of the Latin church was entirely changed,
 A. D. II its government subverted, and the most impor-
 His ex- tant and valuable of those rights and privileges
 ploits. that had been formerly vested in its councils, bi-
 shops, and sacred colleges, were usurped by the
 greedy pontif. It is, however, to be observed,
 that the weight of this tyrannic usurpation did
 not fall equally upon all the European provinces ;
 several of these provinces preserved some remains
 of their ancient liberty and independence, in the
 possession

note, affirm in the most positive manner that these *sentences*, or *dictates*, were a downright forgery imposed upon the world under the name of GREGORY, by some perfidious impostor, who proposed thereby to flatter the Roman pontifs in their ambitious pretensions. As a proof of this assertion, they observe, that while some of these *sentences* express indeed in a lively manner the ambitious spirit of GREGORY, there are others which appear entirely opposite to the sentiments of that pontif, as they are delivered in several parts of his *Epistles*. The French writers have important reasons (which it is not necessary to mention here) for affirming that no Roman pontif ever presumed to speak of the papal power and jurisdiction in such arrogant terms as are here put into the mouth of GREGORY. It may be easily granted, that these *sentences*, in their present *form*, are not the composition of this famous pontif; for many of them are obscure, and they are all thrown together without the least order, method, or connexion, and it is not to be imagined, that a man of such genius, as GREGORY discovered, would have neglected either perspicuity or precision in describing the authority, and fixing, what he looked upon to be, the rights and privileges of the bishops of Rome. But, notwithstanding all this, if we consider the *matter* of these *sentences*, we shall be entirely persuaded that they belong originally to HILDEBRAND, since we find the greatest part of them repeated word for word in several places in his *Epistles*, and since such of them as appear inconsistent with some passages in these epistles, are not so in reality, but may be easily explained in perfect conformity with what they are said to contradict. The most probable account of the matter seems to be this: That some mean author extracted these sentences, partly from the epistles of GREGORY that are yet extant, partly from those that have perished in the ruins of time, and published them in the form in which they now appear, without judgment or method.

possession of which a variety of circumstances happily concurred to maintain them.

But, as we insinuated above, the views of HILDEBRAND were not confined to the erection of an absolute and universal monarchy in the church; they aimed also at the establishment of a civil monarchy equally extensive and despotic; and this aspiring pontif, after having drawn up a system of ecclesiastical canons for the government of the church, would have introduced also a new code of political laws, had he been permitted to execute the plan he had formed. His purpose was to engage in the bonds of fidelity and allegiance to St PETER, *i. e.* to the Roman pontifs, all the kings and princes of the earth, and to establish at *Rome* an annual assembly of bishops, by whom the contests that might arise between kingdoms or sovereign states were to be decided, the rights and pretensions of princes to be examined, and the fate of nations and empires to be determined. This ambitious project met, however, with the warmest opposition, particularly from the vigilance and resolution of the emperors, and also from the British and French monarchs [x].

That HILDEBRAND laid this audacious plan is undoubtedly evident, both from his own epistles, and also from other authentic records of antiquity. The nature of the oath which he drew up for the king or emperor of the Romans, from whom he demanded a profession of subjection and allegiance [y], shews abundantly the arrogance of his

[x] The long note [g] in the original, which contains the ambitious exploits of HILDEBRAND, is inserted in the following paragraph, except the citations, which are thrown into notes.

[y] See the ninth book of his epistles, *Epist.* iii. the form of the oath runs thus: ‘Ab hac hora et deinceps fidelis ero per rectam fidem B. Petro Apostolo, ejusque vicario Papæ Gregorio et quodcunque ipse Papa præceperit sub his videlicet verbis: PER VERAM OBEDIENTIAM, fideliter, sicut oportet

C E N T. his pretensions. But his conduct towards the
 kingdom of *France* is worthy of particular notice:
 XL
 PART II. It is well known, that whatever dignity and do-
 minion the popes enjoyed was originally derived
 from the kingdom of *France*, or, which is the
 same thing, from the princes of that nation; and
 yet HILDEBRAND, or (as we shall hereafter entitle
 him) GREGORY VII. pretended that the kingdom
 of *France* was tributary to the see of *Rome*, and
 commanded his legates to demand yearly, in the
 most solemn manner, the payment of that tribute
 [z]; their demands, however, were treated with
 contempt, and the tribute was never either ac-
 knowledged or offered. Nothing can be more
 insolent than the language in which GREGORY ad-
 dressed himself to PHILIP I. king of *France*, to
 whom he recommends an humble and obliging
 carriage, from this consideration, that both his
kingdom and his soul were under the dominion of
St PETER (i. e. his vicar the Roman pontif), who
had the power to BIND and to LOOSE him, both in
heaven and upon earth [a]. Nothing escaped the
 all-grasping ambition of GREGORY; he pre-
 tended that *Saxony* was a feudal tenure held in
 subjection to the see of *Rome*, to which it had
 been formerly yielded by CHARLEMAGNE as a
 pious

‘ oportet Christianum, observabo. Et eo die, quando eum
 ‘ primitus videro, fideliter per manus meas miles Sancti Petri
 ‘ et ILLIUS efficiat.’ What is this else than a *formal oath of*
allegiance?

[z] *Epist. lib. viii. ep. xxiii. in HARDUIN’S Concilia, tom.*
vi. p. 1476. ‘ Dicendum autem est omnibus Gallis et per
 ‘ veram obedientiam præcipiendum, ut unaquæque domus sal-
 ‘ tem unum denarium annuatim solvat Beato Petro, si eum
 ‘ recognoscant patrem et pastorem suum more antiquo.’ Every
 one knows that the demand that was made with the form, *per*
veram obedientiam, was supposed to oblige indispensably.

[a] *Lib. vii. epist. xx. in HARDUIN’S Concilia, tom. vi. p.*
1468. ‘ Maxime enitere ut B. Petrum, in cujus potestate
 ‘ est, regnum tuum et anima tua, qui te potest in cælo et in
 ‘ terra ligare et absolvere, tibi facias debitorem.’

pious offering to ST PETER. He extended also C E N T.
 his pretensions to the kingdom of *Spain*, main-^{XI.}
 taining, in one of his letters [b], that it was the P A R T II.
 property of the apostolic see from the earliest
 times of the church, yet acknowledging in ano-
 ther [c], that the transaction by which the suc-
 cessors of ST PETER had acquired this property,
 had been lost among other ancient records. His
 claims, however, were more respected in *Spain*
 than they had been in *France*; for it proved
 most evidently by authentic records, that the
 king of *Arragon*, and BERNHARD, count of *Be-*
salu, gave a favourable answer to the demands of
 GREGORY, and paid him regularly an annual tri-
 bute [d]; and their example was followed by
 other Spanish princes, as we could shew, were it
 necessary, by a variety of arguments. The des-
 potic views of this lordly pontif were attended
 with less success in *England*, than in any other
 country. WILLIAM the Conqueror was a prince
 of great spirit and resolution, extremely jealous of
 his rights, and tenacious of the prerogatives he
 enjoyed as a sovereign and independent monarch;
 and accordingly, when GREGORY wrote him a
 letter demanding the arrears of the *Peter-pence* [e],
 and

[b] Lib. x. ep. vii. 'Regnum Hispaniæ ab antiquo proprii ju-
 ris S. Petri fuisse et soli Apostolicæ sedi ex æquo pertinere.'

[c] Lib. x. epist. xxviii.

[d] See PETRUS DE MARCA, *Histoire de Bearn*, lib. iv. p.
 331, 332.

[e] *Peter-pence* (so called from its being collected on the
 festival of *St Peter in Vinculis*) was an ancient tax of a penny
 on each house, first granted in the year 725, by INA, king of
 the West Saxons, for the establishment and support of an
 English college at *Rome*, and afterwards extended, in the year
 794, by OFFA, over all *Mercia* and *East Anglia*. In process
 of time it became a standing and general tax throughout all
England, and though it was for some time applied to the sup-
 port of the English college according to its original design, the
 popes found means to appropriate it to themselves. It was
 confirmed

C E N T. and at the same time summoning him to do homage for the kingdom of *England*, as a fief of the apostolic see. WILLIAM granted the former, but refused the latter [*f*] with a noble obstinacy, declaring that he held his kingdom of God only and his own sword. Obligated to yield to the obstinacy of the English monarch, whose name struck terror into the boldest hearts, the restless pontif addressed his imperious mandates where he imagined they would be received with more facility. He wrote circular letters to all the most powerful German princes [*g*], to GEUSA king of *Hungary*, [*b*], and SUENO, or SWEIN, king of *Denmark* [*i*], soliciting them to make a solemn grant of their kingdoms and territories to the prince of the apostles, and to hold them under the jurisdiction of his vicar at *Rome*, as fiefs of the apostolic see. What success attended his demands upon these princes, we cannot say; but certain it is, that in several places his efforts were effectual,

confirmed by the laws of CANUTE, EDWARD the Confessor, WILLIAM the Conqueror, &c. and was never totally abolished till the reign of HENRY VIII.

[*f*] The letter of WILLIAM is extant in the *Miscellanea* of BALUZIUS, tom. vii. p. 127. as also in COLLIER's *Ecclesiastical History*, in the *Collection of Records*, at the end of the first volume, p. 713. No. 12. 'Hubertus legatus tuus (says the resolute monarch to the audacious pontif) admonuit me, quatenus tibi et successoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, et de pecunia, quam antecessores mei ad ecclesiam mittere solebant, melius cogitarem. Unum admisi, alterum non admisi. FIDELITATEM FACERE, NOLUI NEC VOLO,' &c.

[*g*] See in HARDUIN's *Concilia*, his famous letter (lib. ix. epist. iii.) to the bishop of *Padua*, exhorting him to engage WELPHO, duke of *Bavaria*, and other German princes, to submit themselves and their dominions to the apostolic jurisdiction. 'Admonere te volumus (says the pontif) Ducem Welphonem, ut fidelitatem B. Petro faciat . . . Illum enim totum in gremio Beati Petri collocare desideramus et ad ejus servitium specialiter provocare. Quam voluntatem si in eo, vel etiam in aliis potentibus viris amore B. Petri ductis cognoveris, ut perficiant elabora."

[*b*] Lib. ii. ep. lxx.

[*i*] Lib. ii. ep. li.

effectual, and his *modest* proposals were received with the utmost docility and zeal. The son of DEMETRIUS, king of the *Russians*, set out for *Rome*, in consequence of the pontif's letter [k], in order to *obtain, as a gift from St PETER, by the hands of GREGORY, after professing his subjection and allegiance to the prince of the apostles, the kingdom* which was to devolve to him upon the death of his father; and his *pious request* was readily granted by the officious pope, who was extremely liberal of what did not belong to him. DEMETRIUS SUINIMER, duke of *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, was raised to the rank and prerogatives of royalty by the same pontif in the year 1076; and solemnly proclaimed king by his legate at *Salona*, upon condition that he should pay an annual tribute of two hundred pieces of gold to St. PETER at every Easter festival [l]. This bold step was injurious to the authority of the emperors of *Constantinople*, who, before this time, comprehended the province of *Croatia* within the limits of their sovereignty. The kingdom of *Poland* became also the object of GREGORY's ambition, and a favourable occasion was offered for the execution of his iniquitous views; for BASILAIUS II. having assassinated STANISLAUS bishop of *Cracow*, the pontif not only excommunicated him with all the circumstances of infamy that he could invent, but also pulled him from his throne, dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken, and, by an express and imperious edict, prohibited the nobles and clergy of *Poland* from electing a new king without the consent of the Roman pontif [m]. Many more examples might be alleged of the phrenetic ambition of GREGORY, but those

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[k] Lib. ii. ep. lxxiv.

[l] See DU MONT, *Corps Diplomatique* tom. i. part I. n. 88. p. 53.—JO. LUCIUS, *De regno Dalmatie*, lib. ii. p. 85.

[m] See DLUGOSSI *Histor. Polon.* tom. i. p. 295.

CENT. which have been already mentioned are sufficient
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 PART II. to excite the indignation of every impartial reader.
 ~~~~~ Had the success of that pontif been equal to the  
 extent of his insolent views, all the kingdoms of  
*Europe* would have been this day tributary to the  
 Roman see, and its princes the soldiers or vassals  
 of ST PETER, in the person of his pretended vicar  
 upon earth. But though his most important pro-  
 jects were ineffectual, yet many of his attempts  
 were crowned with a favourable issue; for, from  
 the time of his pontificate the face of *Europe* un-  
 derwent a considerable change, and the preroga-  
 tives of the emperors and other sovereign princes  
 were much diminished. It was particularly, un-  
 der the administration of GREGORY, that the em-  
 perors were deprived of the privilege of ratifying,  
 by their consent, the election of the Roman pon-  
 tif; a privilege of no small importance, and which  
 as yet they have never recovered.

XI. The zeal and activity which GREGORY em-  
 ployed in extending the jurisdiction of the Roman  
 see, and enriching the patrimony of ST PETER,  
 met, no where, with such remarkable success as  
 in *Italy*. His intimate familiarity with MATHIL-  
 DA, the daughter of BONIFACE duke of *Tuscany*,  
 and the most powerful and opulent princess in that  
 country (who found by experience that neither  
 ambition nor grace had extinguished the tender  
 passions in the heart of GREGORY), contributed  
 much to this success; for he engaged that prin-  
 cess, after the death of her husband GODFREY,  
 duke of *Lorrain*, and her mother BEATRIX, which  
 happened in the years 1076 and 1077, to settle  
 all her possessions in *Italy* and elsewhere upon the  
 church of *Rome*, and thus to appoint ST PETER  
 and his pretended vicar the heirs of her immense  
 treasures. This rich donation was, indeed, con-  
 siderably invalidated by the second marriage,  
 which MATHILDA contracted, in the year 1809,  
 with



with WELPH, or GUELPH, the son of the duke of *Bavaria*, and that with the consent of the Roman pontif, URBAN II. She, however, renewed it in a solemn manner in the year 1102, about seven years after her separation from her second husband, by which she again became sole mistress of her vast possessions [u]. But, notwithstanding this new act, the Roman pontifs did not remain in the peaceful possession of this splendid inheritance. It was warmly and powerfully disputed, first by the emperor HENRY V. and afterwards by several other princes; nor were the pontifs so successful in this contest as to preserve the whole inheritance, though, after various struggles and efforts, they remained in the possession of a considerable part of it, which they still enjoy [o].

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[u] The life and exploits of this heroic princess (who was one of the strongest bulwarks of the Roman church against the power of the emperors, and the most tender and obedient of all the *spiritual* daughters of GREGORY VII.) has been written by BENED. LUCHINUS, DOMIN. MELLINUS, FELIX CONTELORIUS, JULIUS DE PUTEO, but more amply by FRANCIS MARIA FLORENT. in his *Records concerning the Countess Mathilda*, written in Italian, and BENED. BACHINIUS, in his *Historia Monasterii Podalironensis*. The famous LEIBNITZ, in his *Scriptoris Brunsvic*, tom. i. p. 629. and LUD. ANT. MURATORI, in his *Scriptores rerum Italic*, tom. v. p. 335. have published, with annotations, the ancient histories of the life of MATHILDA, composed by DONIZO, and another writer, whose name is unknown, together with the copy of the second act of cession by which that princess confirmed her former grant to the church of *Rome*. We may add here, that nothing relating to this extraordinary woman is more worthy of perusal than the accounts that we find of her, and her second husband, in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. v. p. 444. et tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 303.

[o] Many learned men conclude from the very act by which this *donation* was confirmed to the see of *Rome*, that MATHILDA comprehended in this donation only her *allodial* possessions, and not the territories which she held as *fiefs* of the empire, such as the marquisate of *Tuscany*, and the duchy of *Spoleto*. For the words of the act run thus: *Ego Mathildis . . . dedi et obtuli ecclesie S. Petri . . . omnia mea bona JURE PROPRIETARIO, tam que*



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crees of  
Gregory  
VII.

XII. The plan that GREGORY had formed for raising the church above all human authority, to a state of perfect supremacy and independence, had many kinds of opposition to encounter, but none more unsurmountable than that which arose from the two reigning vices of *concubinage* and

*tunc habueram, quam ea, que in antea acquisitura eram, sive juris successionis, sive alio quocunque jure ad me pertineant.* See the *Origines Guelphice*, tom. i. lib. iii. p. 448. But it is much to be questioned, whether this distinction is so evident as is pretended. For the words *JURE PROPRIETARIO*, from which it is inferred that MATHILDA disposed of only her *allodial* possessions in favour of St. PETER, do not, in my opinion, relate to the possessions of the testatrix, but to the nature of the gift, and must be interpreted in conjunction with the preceding verbs, *dedi et obtuli*. For the princess does not say, *dedi omnia bona que JURE PROPRIETARIO possideo et habeo*, i. e. *I have granted that part of my property which I hold by a supreme and independent right*, in which case the opinion of the learned men above mentioned would be well founded, but she says, *dedi omnia bona mea ecclesie JURE PROPRIETARIO*, i. e. *my will is, that the church shall possess as its own property the inheritance I have left it.* Besides, the following words manifestly shew, that the opinion of these learned men is destitute of all foundation; since MATHILDA could not possibly add, *sive jure successionis, sive ALIO QUOCUNQUE JURE ad me pertineant*, i. e. *I grant all my possessions under whatever title I enjoy them, whether by right of succession, or by ANY OTHER RIGHT, &c.* had she designed to confine her donation to her *allodial* possessions. Certain it is, that in this ample grant she excepts no particular part of her property, but evidently comprehends in it her whole substance. If it be objected to this, that the Roman pontiffs never affirmed that the *fiefs of the empire*, which MATHILDA possessed, were comprehended in this grant to their church, and that they only claimed her *allodial* and independent possessions; I answer, by questioning the fact, since many circumstances occur to prove, that these pontiffs claimed the whole substance of MATHILDA, all her possessions without exception, as their undoubted right. But suppose for a moment, that the case was otherwise, and that the Roman church had never made such an universal claim, this would, by no means, invalidate the opinion I here maintain; since the question under consideration is not, how far the Roman pontiffs may have moderated their pretensions to the territories of MATHILDA, but what is the true and genuine sense of the words in which her donation is expressed.

simony,

*simony*, that had infected the whole body of the European clergy. The Roman pontifs, from the time of STEPHEN IX. had combated, with zeal and vehemence, these monstrous vices [*p*], but without

[*p*] *Monstrous vices* we may justly call them, For though it be true, that in the methods GREGORY took to extirpate these vices, he violated not only the laws of religion, but also the dictates of natural equity and justice, and, under the mask of a pious zeal, committed the most crying and abominable enormities; yet it is certain, on the other hand, that these vices produced the most unhappy effects both in church and state, and that the suppression of them was now become absolutely necessary. There were indeed, among the clergy, several men of piety and virtue, who lived in the bonds of wedlock, and these GREGORY ought to have spared. But there was also a prodigious number of ecclesiastics throughout *Europe*, not only of priests and canons, but also of monks, who lived in the bonds of a criminal love, kept, under the title of wives, mistresses which they dismissed, at pleasure, to enjoy the sweets of a licentious variety, and who not only spent, in the most profuse and scandalous manner, the revenues and treasures of the churches and convents to which they belonged, but even distributed a great part of them among their bastards. As to the vice of *simony*, its universal extent and its pernicious fruits appear evidently from those records, which the Benedictine monks have published in several places of their *Gallia Christiana*, not to mention a multitude of other ancient papers to the same purpose. One or two examples will be sufficient to give the reader an idea of this matter. We find in the first volume of the admirable work now mentioned (in the *Append. Document.* p. 5.) a public act, by which BERNARD a viscount, and FROTIERUS bishop of *Alby*, grant, or rather sell, openly to BERNARD AIMARD and his son, the bishopric of *Alby*, reserving to themselves a considerable part of its revenues. This act is followed by another, in which count PONTIUS bequeaths to his wife the same bishopric of *Alby* in the following terms: *Ego Pontius dono tibi dilecta sponse meae episcopatum Albiensem—cum ipsa ecclesia et cum omnia adjacentia sua—et medietatem de episcopatu Nemauso—et medietatem de abbazia Sti. Ægidii—post obitum tuum remaneat ipsius alodis ad infantes qui de me erunt creati.*—In the second volume of the same learned work (in the *Append. Document.* p. 173) there is a letter of the clergy of *Limoges*, beseeching WILLIAM, count of *Aquitain*, not to sell the bishopric, but to give them a pastor, and not a devourer of the flock. *Rogamus tuam pietatem, ne propter mundiale lucrum vendas*

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without success, as they were become too inveterate and too universal to be extirpated without the greatest difficulty and the most extraordinary efforts. Accordingly GREGORY, in the year 1074, which was the second of his pontificate, exerted himself with much more vigour than his predecessors had done in opposition to the vices already mentioned. For this purpose he assembled a council at *Rome*, in which all the laws of the former pontiffs against *simony* were renewed and confirmed, and the buying or selling ecclesiastical benefices prohibited in the strictest and severest manner. It was also decreed in the same council, that the sacerdotal order should abstain from marriage; and that such of them as had already wives, or concubines, should immediately dismiss them, or quit the priestly office. These decrees were accompanied with circular letters wrote by the pontif to all the European bishops, enjoining the strictest obedience to the decisions of this solemn council, under the severest penalties. GREGORY did not stop here, but sent ambassadors into *Germany* to HENRY VI. king of the Romans, in or-

vendas Sti. Stephani locum, quia si tu vendis episcopalia, ipse nostra manducabit communia—Mitte nobis ovium custodem, non devertentem. ADEMAR, viscount of Limoges, laments (tom. ii. p. 179.), that he himself had formerly made traffic of the cure of souls by selling benefices to simoniacal abbots. The barefaced impudence of the sacerdotal orders, in buying and selling benefices, exceeded all measure, and almost all credibility. And they carried matters so far as to justify that abominable traffic, as may be seen in a remarkable passage in the *Apolegeticum* of ABERNETHY, which is added by PITHOU, to the *Codex Can. Ecclesie Romanæ*; this passage which deserves to be quoted, is as follows: *Nihil pene ad ecclesiam pertinere videtur, quod ad pretium non largiatur, scilicet episcopatus, presbyteratus, diaconatus, et aliqui minores gradus, archidiaconatus quoque, decania, prepositura, thesauri custodia, baptisterium—et hujusmodi negociatores, subdola responsione solent abstruere, non se emere benedictionem, quam percipitur gratia spiritus sancti, sed res ecclesiarum vel possessiones episcopi.* An accurate distinction truly!

deq

der to engage that prince to summon a council for the trial and punishment of such ecclesiastics as had been hitherto guilty of simoniacal practices.

XIII. These decrees, which were in part equitable and just, and which were, in every respect, conformable with the notions of religion that prevailed in this age, were looked upon by the people as highly salutary, since they rendered a free election, and not a mercenary purchase, the way to ecclesiastical promotion, and obliged the priests to abstain from marriage, which was absurdly considered as inconsistent with the sanctity of their office. Yet both these decrees were attended with the most deplorable tumults and dissensions, and were fruitful, in their consequences, of innumerable calamities. No sooner was the law concerning the *Celibacy of the Clergy* published, than the priests, in the several provinces of *Europe*, who lived in the bonds of marriage with lawful wives, or of lasciviousness with hired concubines [q], complained loudly of the

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The severe proceedings of the pontif against concubinage produce much trouble.

[q] All the historians who give any account of this century, mention the tumults excited by such priests, as were resolved to continue with their wives or concubines. For an account of the seditions which arose in *Germany* upon this occasion see SIGONIUS *De regno Italix* lib. ix. p. 557. tom. ii. as also TENGNAGEL's *Collectio Veter. Monument.* p. 45. 47. 54. Those that the priests excited in *England* are mentioned by M. PARIS, in his *Histor. Major.* lib. i. p. 7. The tumults occasioned by the same reason in the Belgic and Gallic provinces, are described in the *Epistola Clericorum Cameracensium ad Remenses pro uxeribus suis*, published in MABILLON's *Annal. Benedictin.* tom. v. p. 634. and in the *Epistola Noviomensium Clericorum ad Cameranses*, published in MABILLON's *Museum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 128. Great was the flame which the laws of GREGORY excited in *Italy*, and particularly in the province of *Milan*, of which we have an ample relation given by ARNULPH and LANDULPH, two Milanese historians, whose works are published with annotations, by MURATORI, in his *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, tom. iv. p. 36. Both these historians maintain, against GREGORY and his successors, the cause of the injured priests, and the lawfulness of their marriages.

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severity


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severity of this council, and excited the most dreadful tumults in the greatest part of the European provinces. Many of these ecclesiastics, especially the Milanese priests, chose rather to abandon their spiritual dignities than their sensual pleasures, and to quit their benefices that they might cleave to their wives. They went still farther: for they separated themselves entirely from the church of *Rome*, and branded with the infamous name of *Paterini* [*r*], i. e. Mani-

[*r*] *Paterinus* is one of the names by which the Paulicians or Manichæans (who came during this century from *Bulgaria* into *Italy*, and were also known by the title of *Catbari* or *Pure*) were distinguished among the Italians. But in process of time the term *Paterinus* became a common name for all kinds of heretics, as we might shew by many examples taken from the writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There are various opinions concerning the origin of this word, the most probable of which is, that which supposes it derived from a certain place called *Pataria*, in which the heretics held their assemblies; and it is well known, that a part of the city of *Milan* is, to this very day, called *Pataria*, or *Contrada de Patarri*. See *Annotat. ad Annulphum Mediolanensis* in MURATORI's *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* tom. iv. p. 39. see also SAXIUS *ad Sigonium de Regno Italice*, lib. ix. p. 536. tom. ii. opp. *Sigonii*. An opinion (of which, if I am not mistaken, SIGONIUS was the author) prevailed, that the name in question was given to the Milanese priests, who separated from the church of *Rome*, and retained their wives in opposition to the laws of the pontifs. But this opinion is without foundation; and it appears evidently from the testimony of ARNULPH and other historians, that it was not the married priests, but the faction of the pontifs, who condemned their conjugal bonds, that were branded with the opprobrious name of *Paterini*. See ARNULPH, lib. iii. c. x.—ANTON. PAGI. *Crit. in Ann. Bar. t. iii. ad A. 1057*, § iii.—LUD. ANT. MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 82. who have demonstrated this in the most ample, learned, and satisfactory manner. Nor need we, indeed, look any where else for the origin of this word. It is abundantly known, that the Manichæans, and their brethren the Paulicians, were extremely averse to marriage, which they looked upon as an institution invented by the *evil principle*; they, of consequence, who considered the marriages of the clergy as lawful, employed the ignominious name of *Paterini*, to shew that the pontifs, who prohibited these marriages, were followers of the odious doctrine of the Manichæans,

chæans,

chæans, the pontif and his adherents, who condemned so unjustly the conduct of such priests as entered into the bonds of a lawful and virtuous wedlock. The proceedings of GREGORY appeared to the wiser part, even of those who approved of the celibacy of the clergy, unjust and criminal in two respects: First, in that his severity fell indiscriminately, and with equal fury, upon the virtuous husband and the licentious rake; that he dissolved, with a merciless hand, the chastest bonds of wedlock, and thus involved husbands and wives, with their tender offspring, in disgrace, perplexity, anguish, and want [s]. The second thing criminal in the measures taken by this pontif was, that instead of chastising the married priests with wisdom and moderation, and according to the laws of ecclesiastical discipline, whose nature is wholly spiritual, he gave them over to the civil magistrate, to be punished as

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[s] We must always remember that the priests, to whom their wives or mistresses were much dearer than the laws of the pontifs, were not all of the same character; nor were such of them as might be justly esteemed criminal, all criminal in the same degree. The better sort of these ecclesiastics (among which we may count the Belgic and Milanese clergy) desired nothing more than to live after the manner of the Greeks, maintaining that it was lawful for a priest, before his consecration, to marry one virgin, though a plurality of wives was justly prohibited; and they grounded this their opinion upon the authority of St. AMBROSE. See Jo. PETRI PURICELLI *Dissertatio utrum S. Ambrosius clero suo Mediolan. permiserit, ut virgini semel nubere possent*, republished by MURATORI, in his *Scriptores Italic.* tom. iv. p. 123. GREGORY and his successors ought to have dealt more gently with this kind of ecclesiastics (as the warmest admirers of the pontifs acknowledge) than with those priests, who were either the patrons of concubinage, or who pretended to justify their espousing a plurality of wives. It was also unjust to treat, in the same manner, the monks, who, by the nature of their profession and vows, were necessarily excluded from the nuptial state; and the priests, who could not bear the thoughts of being torn from the chaste partners of their bed, whom they had espoused with virtuous sentiments and upright intentions, nor from the tender offspring which were the fruit of virtuous love.

disobedient

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The dispute concerning investitures occasioned by the laws against simony.

disobedient and unworthy subjects, with the loss of their substance, and with the most shocking marks of undeserved infamy and disgrace [t].

XIV. This vehement contest excited great tumults and divisions, which, however, were gradually calmed through length of time, and also by the perseverance of the obstinate pontif; nor did any of the European kings and princes concern themselves so much about the marriages of the clergy as to maintain their cause, and thereby to prolong the controversy. But the troubles that arose from the law that regarded the extirpation of *simony* were not so easily appeased; the tumults it occasioned grew greater from day to day; the methods of reconciliation more difficult; and it involved both state and church during several years in the deepest calamities and in the most complicated scenes of confusion and distress [u]. HENRY IV. received indeed graciously the

[t] THEODORICUS, *Verdun. Epistola ad Gregorium VII. in Martene Thesauro Anecdotorum*, tom. i. p. 218.—*Faciem meam in eo vel maxime confusione perfundunt, quod legem de Clericorum incontinentia PER LAICORUM INSANIAS cobibendi unquam susceperim. —Nec putetis eos qui ita sentiunt et ecclesiasticorum graduum incontinentiam talibus defensionibus fovere velle. Ecclesiastem conversationem in desiderio habent, nec aliter, quam oportet, ECCLESIASTICÆ ULTIONIS CENSURAM ententari gaudent.*

[u] We have extant a great number both of ancient and modern writers, who have related the circumstances of this dispute concerning *investitures*, which was begun by GREGORY VII. was carried on by him and his successors on the one side, and the emperors HENRY IV. and V. on the other, and became a source of innumerable calamities, to the greatest part of *Europe*. But few or none of these writers have treated this weighty subject with an entire impartiality. They all plead either the cause of the pontifs, or that of the emperors, and decide the controversy, not by the laws then in being (which ought, no doubt, to be principally consulted), nor by the opinions that generally prevailed at the time of this contest, but by laws of their own invention, and by the opinions of modern times. The famous GREYSER, in his *Apologia pro Gregorio VII.* which is published in the sixth volume of his works, and also separately, has collected the principal of the ancient writers who maintained


the legates of GREGORY, and applauded his zeal for the extirpation of *simony*; but neither this prince, nor the German bishops, would permit these legates to assemble a council in *Germany*, or to proceed judicially against those, who, in time past, had been chargeable with simoniacal practices. The pontif exasperated at this restraint in the execution of his designs, called another council to meet at *Rome* in the year 1075, in which he pursued his adventurous project with greater impetuosity and vehemence than ever; for he not only excluded from the communion of the church several German and Italian bishops and certain favourites of HENRY, whose counsels that prince was said to make use of in the traffic of ecclesiastical dignities, but also pronounced, in a formal edict, *Anathema against whoever received the investiture of a bishopric or abbacy from the hands of a layman, as also against those by whom the*

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maintained the cause of the pontif: in opposition to whom, they who defended the cause of HENRY IV. are collected by MELCHIOR GOLDASTUS, in his *Replicatio contra Gretserum et Apologia pro Henrico IV.* Hanov. 1611, 4to. Among the modern writers who have treated this subject, we may count the *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses*, BARONIUS, the German and Italian historians, and those who have wrote the life of the famous MATHILDA. But, beside these, it will be highly proper to consult JO. SCHILTERUS, *De libertate Ecclesie Germanice*, lib. iv. p. 481.—CHRIST. THOMASIVS, *Historia contentione inter Imperium et Sacerdotium*—HEN. MEIBOMIUS, *Lib. de jure Investiture Episcopalis*, tom. iii. *Scriptorum rer. Germanicar.*—JUST. CHR. DITHMARUS, *Historia belli inter Imperium et Sacerdotium*, published at *Francfort*, in 1741. in 8vo; and, above all, the famous Cardinal NORIS, who far surpasses in point of erudition those whom we have mentioned, and whose *Istoria delle Investiture, della dignita Ecclesiastiche*, which was published at *Mantua*, after his death, in the year 1741, is a most learned work, though it be imperfect and probably maimed, and also extremely partial in favour of the pontifs; which is not surprising from the pen of a cardinal. See also JO. JAC. MASCOVIV *Commentarii de rebus imperii Germanici sub Henrico IV. et V.* published at *Leipsick*, in 4to, in the year 1749.

*investiture*



CENT. <sup>II.</sup>  
PART II.  investiture should be performed [w]. This decree was every way proper to surprise the emperors, kings, and princes of *Europe*, who in consequence of a prevailing custom, had the right of conferring the more important ecclesiastical dignities, and the government of monasteries and convents, of which they disposed, in a solemn manner, by the well-known ceremony of the *ring* and the *staff*, or *crozier*, which they presented to the candidate on whom their choice fell. This solemn investiture was the main support of that power of creating bishops and abbots, which the European princes claimed as their undoubted right, and the occasion of that corrupt commerce called *simony*, in consequence of which, ecclesiastical promotion was suddenly sold to the highest bidder; and hence the zeal and ardour of GREGORY to annul these investitures, that he might extirpate *simony* on the one hand, and diminish the power of princes in ecclesiastical matters on the other.

*A short digression concerning INVESTITURES [x].*

IT will not be improper to cast some illustrations upon the custom now mentioned, of investing bishops and abbots in their respective dignities by the ceremony of the *ring* and *crozier*, since this custom has been ill understood by some, and but imperfectly explained by others. Even the learned Cardinal NORIS appears highly defective here; for though, in his *History of Investitures*[y], there are many pertinent reflections upon the reasons which engaged GREGORY to prohibit *investitures* altogether, yet that learned prelate does

[w] ANT. PAGI *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iii. ad A. 1075.  
—HEN. NORIS *Hist. Investiturarum*, p. 39.—CHRIST. LUFUS, *Scholia et Dissertation. ad Concilia*, tom. vi. opp. p. 39—44.

[x] Here the translator has transposed the note [r] of the original into text, under the form of a dissertation.

[y] Chap. iii. p. 56.

not

not seem to have had a complete notion of this important matter, since he omits in his history certain points that are necessary to the understanding it thoroughly. The *investiture* of bishops and abbots commenced, undoubtedly, at that period of time when the European emperors, kings, and princes made grants to the clergy of certain territories, lands, forests, castles, &c. According to the laws of those times (laws which still remain in force) none were considered as lawful possessors of the lands or tenements which they derived from the emperors or other princes, before they repaired to court, took the oath of allegiance to their respective sovereigns, as the supreme proprietors, and received from their hands a solemn mark, by which the property of their respective grants was transferred to them. Such was the manner in which the nobility, and those who had distinguished themselves by military exploits, were confirmed in the possessions which they owed to the liberality of their sovereigns. But the custom of *investing* the bishops and abbots with the *ring* and the *crosier*, which are the ensigns of the sacred function, is of a much more recent date, and was then first introduced, when the European emperors and princes, annulling the elections that were made in the church according to the ecclesiastical laws that had been from the earliest times established for that purpose, assumed to themselves the power of conferring on whom they pleased, the bishoprics and abbeys that became vacant in their dominions, nay, even of selling them to the highest bidder. This power, then, being once usurped by the kings and princes of *Europe*, they at first confirmed the bishops and abbots in their dignities and possessions, with the same forms and ceremonies that were used in investing the counts, knights, and others, in their feudal tenures, even by written contracts, and

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and the ceremony of presenting them with a wand or bough [z]. And this custom of *investing* the *clergy* and the *laity* with the same ceremonies would have, undoubtedly, continued had not the *clergy*, to whom the right of electing bishops and abbots originally belonged, eluded artfully the usurpation of the emperors and other princes by the following stratagem. When a bishop or abbot died, they who looked upon themselves as authorised to fill up the vacancy, electing immediately some one of their order in the place of the deceased, and were careful to have him consecrated without delay. The consecration being thus performed, the prince, who had proposed to himself the profit of selling the vacant benefice, or the pleasure of conferring it upon some of his favourites, was obliged to desist from his purpose, and to consent to the election, which the ceremony of consecration rendered irrevocable. Many examples of the success of this stratagem, which was practised both in chapters and monasteries, and which disappointed the liberality or avarice of several princes, might here be alledged; they abound in the records of the tenth century, to which we refer the curious reader. No sooner did the emperors and princes perceive this artful management, than they turned their attention to the properest means of

[z] This appears from a passage in Cardinal HUMBERT's third Book, *Adversus Simoniacos*, which was composed before GREGORY had set on foot the dispute concerning *Investitures*, and which is published in MARTENE's *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 787. The passage is as follows: "Potestas secularis primo ambitiosis ecclesiasticarum dignitatem vel possessionum cupidis favebat prece, dein minis, deinceps verbis concessivis: in quibus omnibus cernens sibi contradictorem neminem, nec qui moveret pennam, vel aperiret os et ganniret, ad majora progreditur, et jam sub nomine INVESTITURÆ DARE PRIMO TABILLAS VEL QUATASCUMQUE PORRIGERE VIRGULAS, DEIN BACULOS.—Quod maximum nefas sic inolevit, ut id solum canonicum credatur, nec quæ sit ecclesiastica regula sciatur aut attendatur."

rendering

rendering it ineffectual, and of preserving the valuable privilege they had usurped. For this purpose they ordered, that as soon as a bishop expired, his *ring* and *crozier* should be transmitted to the prince, to whose jurisdiction his diocese was subject. For it was by the solemn delivery of the *ring* and *crozier* of the deceased to the new bishop that his election was irrevocably confirmed, and this ceremony was an essential part of his *consecration*; so that, when these two badges of the episcopal dignity were in the hands of the sovereign, the clergy could not *consecrate* the person whom their suffrages had appointed to fill the vacancy. Thus their stratagem was defeated, as every election that was not confirmed by the ceremony of consecration might be lawfully annulled and rejected; nor was the bishop qualified to exercise any of the episcopal functions before the performance of that important ceremony. As soon, therefore, as a bishop drew his last breath, the magistrate of the city in which he had resided, or the governor of the province, seized upon his *ring* and *crozier*, and sent them to court [a]. The emperor or prince conferred the vacant see upon the person whom he had chosen by delivering to him these two badges of the episcopal office, after which the new bishop, thus invested by his sovereign, repaired to his me-

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[a] We see this fact confirmed in the following passage in F. BBO's *Life of Otho, bishop of Bamberg*, lib. i. § 89. in *Actis Sanctor. mensis Julii*, tom. i. p. 426. "Nec multo post annulus cum virga pastorali Bremensis episcopi ad aulam regiam translata est. Eo siquidem tempore ecclesia liberam electionem non habebant . . . sed cum quilibet antistes viam universæ carnis ingressus fuisset, mox capitanci civitatis illius annulum et virgam pastorem ad Palatium trans mittebant, sicque regia auctoritate, communicato cum aulicis consilio, orbatæ plebi idoneum constituere præsum . . . Post paucos vero dies rursum annulus et virga pastoralis Bambergensis episcopi Domino imperatori transmissa est. Quo audito, multi nobiles—ad aulam regiam confluebant, qui alteram haram prece vel pretio sibi comparare tentabant."

tropolitan,

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metropolitan, to whom it belonged to perform the ceremony of consecration, and delivered to him the *ring* and *crozier* which he had received from his prince, that he might receive it again from his hands, and be thus doubly confirmed in his sacred function. It appears, therefore, from this account, that each new bishop and abbot received twice the *ring* and the *crozier*; once from the hands of the sovereign, and once from those of the metropolitan bishop, by whom they were consecrated [b].

It is highly uncertain by what prince this custom of creating the bishops by the ceremonies of the *ring* and *crozier* was first introduced. If we may believe ADAM of *Bremen* [c], this privilege was exercised by LEWIS the Meek, who, in the ninth century, granted to the new bishops the use and possession of the episcopal revenues, and confirmed this grant by the ceremony now under consideration. But the accuracy of this historian is liable to suspicion; and it is extremely probable, that he attributed to the transactions of ancient times the same form that accompanied similar transactions in the eleventh century in which he lived. For it is certain, that in the ninth century the greatest part of the European

[b] This appears from a variety of ancient records. See particularly HUMBERT, lib. iii. *contra Simoniacos*, cap. vi. in MARTENE'S *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 779, in which we find the following passage: *Sic enaniatus* (i. e. the bishops invested by the emperor) *violentus in vadit clerum, plebem et ordinem prius dominaturus, quam ab eis cognoscatur, queratur, petatur. Sic metropolitanum aggreditur, non ab eo judicandus, sed ipsum judicaturus,—Quid enim sibi jam pertinet aut prodest baculum et annulum, quos portat REDERE? Numquid quia laica persona dati sunt? Cur redditur quod habetur, nisi ut aut denuo res ecclesiastica sub hac specie jussionis vel donationis vendatur, aut certe ut presumptio laice ordinationis pallietur colere et velamento quodam disciplinae clericalis.*

[c] In his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. i. cap. xxxii. p. 10. xxxix. p. 12. published in the *Scriptores Septentrionales* of LINDENBROGIUS.

princes

princes made no opposition to the right of elect-<sup>C E N T.</sup>  
 ing the bishops, which was both claimed and ex-<sup>XI.</sup>  
 ercised by the clergy and the people, and of con-<sup>P A R I II.</sup>  
 sequence, there was then no occasion for the in-  
 vestiture mentioned by ADAM of *Bremen* [*d*]. We  
 therefore chuse to adopt the supposition of Cardi-  
 nal HUMBERT [*e*], who places the commence-  
 ment of the custom now under consideration in  
 the reign of OTHO the Great ; for though this opi-  
 nion has not the approbation of LEWIS THOMAS-  
 SIN and NATALIS ALEXANDER, yet these learned  
 men, in their deep researches into the origin of  
 investitures [*f*], have advanced nothing sufficient  
 to prove it erroneous. We learn also from HUM-  
 BERT [*g*], that the emperor HENRY III. the son  
 of CONRAD II. was desirous of abrogating these  
*investitures*, though a variety of circumstances con-  
 curred to prevent the execution of his design ; but  
 he represents HENRY I. king of *France* in a dif-  
 ferent point of light, as a turbulent prince, who  
 turned all things into confusion, and indulged  
 himself beyond all measure in simoniacal practi-  
 ces, and loads him, of consequence, with the bit-  
 terest invectives.

In this method of creating bishops and abbots,  
 by presenting to them the *ring* and *crozier*, there  
 were two things that gave particular offence to  
 the Roman pontifs. The first was, that by this  
 the ancient right of election was totally changed,  
 and the power of chusing the rulers of the church  
 was usurped by the emperors and other sovereign  
 princes, and was confined to them alone. This

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indeed

[*d*] Add to this the refutation of ADAM of *Bremen*, by DA-  
 NIEL PAPEBROCH, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. *Febr.* p. 557.

[*e*] HUMBERT, lib. iii. *contra Simoniacos*, cap. vii. p. 780.  
 et cap. xi. p. 787.

[*f*] See LUDOV. THOMASSINI *Disciplina Eccles. circa Benef.*  
 tom. ii. lib. ii. p. 434. and NATAL. ALEXANDER, *Select. His-*  
*tor. Eccl. Capit. Sac.* xi, xii. *Diss.* iv. p. 725.

[*g*] L. c. cap. vii. p. 780.

CENT. indeed was the most plausible reason of complaint,  
 XI.  
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 times, which were by no means favourable to the  
 conduct of the emperors in this matter. Another  
 circumstance that grievously distressed the  
 pretended vicars of St PETER, was, to see the *ring*  
 and *crozier*, the venerable badges of spiritual au-  
 thority and ghostly distinction, delivered to the bi-  
 shop elect by the profane hands of unsanctified  
 laymen; an abuse this, which they looked upon  
 as little better than sacrilege. HUMBERT, who,  
 as we already observed, wrote his book against si-  
 mony before the contest between the emperor and  
 GREGORY had commenced, complains [b] heavily  
 of this supposed profanation, and shudders to  
 think, that that *staff* which denotes the ghostly  
 shepherd, and that *ring* which seals the mysteries  
 of heaven [i], deposited in the bosoms of the epis-  
 copal order should be polluted by the unhallow-  
 ed touch of a civil magistrate; and that empe-  
 rors and princes, by presenting them to their  
 favourites, should thereby usurp the preroga-  
 tives of the church, and exercise the pastoral au-  
 thority and power. This complaint was entire-  
 ly consistent, as we have already observed, with  
 the opinions of the times in which it was made;  
 for as the *ring* and the *crozier* were general-  
 ly

[b] See HUMBERT, lib. iii. *contra Simoniac.* cap. vi. p. 779.  
 795. His words are: 'Quid ad laicas pertinet personas sa-  
 'cramenta ecclesiastica et pontificalem seu pastorem grati-  
 'am distribuere, camyros scilicet baculos et annulos, quibus  
 'præcipue perficitur, militat et innititur tota episcopalis con-  
 'secratio? Equidem in camyris baculis—designatur, quæ eis  
 'committitur cura pastoralis.—Porro annulus signaculum se-  
 'cretorum cœlestium indicat, præmonens prædicatores, ut se-  
 'cretam Dei sapientiam cum apostolo dissignent.—Quicun-  
 'que ergo his duobus aliquem initiant, procul dubio omnem  
 'pastoralem auctoritatem hoc præsumendo sibi vendicant.'

[i] HUMBERT mistook the proper signification of this  
 holy *ring*, which was the emblem of a nuptial bond between  
 the bishop and his see.



ly esteemed the marks and badges of pastoral power, and spiritual authority, so he who conferred these sacred badges was supposed to confer and communicate with them the ghostly authority of which they were the emblems.

All these things being duly considered, we shall immediately perceive what it was that rendered GREGORY VII. so averse to the pretensions of the emperors, and so zealous in depriving them of the privilege they had assumed of investing the bishops with the ceremony of the *ring* and *crozier*. In the first council which he assembled at *Rome*, he made no attempt indeed, against *investitures*, nor did he aim at any thing farther than the abolition of *simony*, and the restoration of the sacerdotal and monastic orders to their ancient right of electing their respective bishops and abbots. But when he afterwards came to know that the affair of *investitures* was inseparably connected with the pretension of the emperors, and indeed supposed them empowered to dispose of the higher ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, he was then persuaded that *simony* could not be extirpated as long as *investitures* were in being; and therefore, to pluck up the evil by the root, he opposed the custom of *investitures* with the utmost vehemence. All this shews the true rise of the war that was carried on between the pontif and the emperor with such bitterness and fury.

And to understand still more clearly the merits of this cause, it will be proper to observe, that it was not *investitures*, considered in themselves, that GREGORY opposed with such keenness and obstinacy, but that particular kind of *investitures* which were in use at this time. He did not pretend to hinder the bishops from swearing allegiance to kings and emperors, nor even to become their *vassals*; and so far was he from prohibiting that kind of investiture that was performed



C E N T. by a verbal declaration of a written deed, that,  
 XI.  
 P A R T II. on the contrary, he allowed the kings of *Eng-*  
*land* and *France* to *invest* in this manner, and  
 probably consented to the use of *sceptre* in this  
 ceremony, as did also after him CALLIXTUS II.  
 But he could not bear the ceremony of *investiture*  
 that was performed with the ensigns of the sa-  
 cerdotal order, much less could he endure the  
 performance of the ceremony before the solemn  
 rite of consecration; but what rendered *investi-*  
*tures* most odious to the pontif was their destroy-  
 ing entirely the free elections of bishops and ab-  
 bots. It is now time to resume the thread of our  
 history.

History of  
 the war.  
 that was  
 kindled a-  
 bout inves-  
 titures.

XV. The severe law that had been enacted  
 against *investitures*, by the influence and autho-  
 rity of GREGORY, made very little impression up-  
 on HENRY. He acknowledged, indeed, that in ex-  
 posing ecclesiastical benefices to sale, he had done  
 amiss, and he promised amendment in that re-  
 spect; but he remained inflexible against all at-  
 tempts that were made to persuade him to re-  
 sign his power of creating bishops and abbots,  
 and the right of *investiture*, which was intimately  
 connected with this important privilege. Had  
 this emperor been seconded by the German prin-  
 ces, he might have maintained this refusal with  
 dignity and success; but this was far from being  
 the case; a considerable number of these princes,  
 and among others the states of *Saxony*, were the  
 secret or declared enemies of HENRY; and this  
 furnished GREGORY with a favourable opportunity  
 of extending his authority and executing his ambi-  
 tious projects. This opportunity was by no means  
 neglected; the imperious pontif took occasion,  
 from the discords that divided the empire, to in-  
 sult and depress its chief; he sent, by his legates,  
 an insolent message to the emperor at *Goslar*,  
 ordering him to repair immediately to *Rome*,  
 and

and clear himself before the council that was to C E N T.  
 be assembled there, of the various crimes that XI.  
 were laid to his charge. The emperor, whose high P A R T II.  
 spirit could not brook such arrogant treatment,  
 was filled with the warmest indignation at the  
 sight of that insolent mandate, and, in the vehe-  
 mence of his just resentment, assembled without  
 delay a council of the German bishops at *Worms*,  
 where GREGORY was charged with several flagi-  
 tious practices, deposed from the pontificate, of  
 which he was declared unworthy, and an order  
 issued out for the election of a new pontif. GRE-  
 GORY opposed violence to violence; for no sooner  
 had he received by the letters and ambassadors  
 of HENRY, an account of the sentence that had  
 been pronounced against him, than in a raging fit  
 of vindictive frenzy, he thundered his anathemas  
 at the head of that prince, excluded him both  
 from the communion of the church and from the  
 throne of his ancestors, and impiously dissolved  
 the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken  
 to him as their lawful sovereign. Thus war was  
 declared on both sides; and the civil and ecclesi-  
 astical powers were divided into two great factions,  
 of which one maintained the rights of the emper-  
 or, while the other seconded the ambitious views  
 of the pontif. No terms are sufficient to express  
 the complicated scenes of misery that arose from  
 this deplorable schism.

XVI. At the entrance upon this war, the Swa-  
 bian chiefs, with duke RODOLPH at their head, re-  
 volted against HENRY; and the Saxon princes,  
 whose former quarrels with the emperor had been  
 lately terminated by their defeat and submission[k],

L 1 3

followed

[k] This same RODOLPH had, the year before this re-  
 volt, vanquished the Saxons, and obliged them to submit to  
 the emperor. Besides the Swabian and Saxon chiefs, the  
 dukes of *Bavaria* and *Carinthia*, the bishops of *Wurtzbourg*  
 and *Worms*, and several other eminent personages, were con-  
 cerned in this revolt.

C E N T. followed their example. These united powers, being solicited by the pope to elect a new emperor in case HENRY persisted in his obstinate disobedience to the orders of the church, met at *Tribur* in the year 1076, to take counsel together concerning a matter of such high importance. The result of their deliberations was far from being favourable to the emperor; for they agreed, that the determination of the controversy between him and them should be referred to the Roman pontif, who was to be invited for that purpose to a congress at *Augsburg* the year following, and that, in the mean time, HENRY should be suspended from his royal dignity, and live in the obscurity of a private station; to which rigorous conditions they also added, that he was to forfeit his kingdom, if, within the space of a year, he was not restored to the bosom of the church, and delivered from the anathema that lay upon his head. When things were come to this desperate extremity, and the faction, which was formed against this unfortunate prince, grew more formidable from day to day, his friends advised him to go into *Italy*, and implore in person the clemency of the pontif. The emperor yielded to this ignominious counsel, without, however, obtaining from his voyage the advantages he expected. He passed the *Alps*, amidst the rigour of a severe winter, arrived, in the month of *February* 1077, at the fortress of *Canusium*, where the sanctimonious pontif resided at that time with the young MATHILDA, contess of *Tuscany*, the most powerful patroness of the church, and the most tender and affectionate of all the spiritual daughters of GREGORY. Here the suppliant prince, unmindful of his dignity, stood, during three days, in the open air at the entrance of this fortress, with his feet bare, his head uncovered, and with no other raiment but a wretched piece of coarse woollen cloth thrown over his body

body to cover his nakedness. The fourth day he <sup>C E N T.</sup> was admitted to the presence of the lordly pontif, <sup>XI.</sup> <sup>P A R T II.</sup> who, with a good deal of difficulty, granted him the absolution he demanded; but, as to what regarded his restoration to the throne, he refused to determine that point before the approaching congress, at which he made HENRY promise to appear, forbidding him, at the same time, to assume during this interval, the title of king, as also to wear the ornaments, or to exercise the functions, of royalty. This opprobrious convention excited, and that justly, the indignation of the princes and bishops of *Italy*, who threatened HENRY with all sorts of evils, on account of his base and pusillanimous conduct, and would, undoubtedly, have deposed him, had not he diminished their resentment by violating the convention which he had been forced to enter into with the imperious pontif, and resuming the title and other marks of royalty which he had been obliged to lay down. On the other hand, the confederate princes of *Swabia* and *Saxony* were no sooner informed of this unexpected change in the conduct of HENRY, than they assembled at *Forcheim* in the month of *March*, A. D. 1077, and unanimously elected RODOLPH, duke of *Swabia*, emperor in his place [1].

XVII. This rash step kindled a terrible flame in *Germany* and *Italy*, and involved, for a long time, those unhappy lands in the calamities of war. In *Italy*, the Normans, who were masters of the lower parts of that country, and the armies

L 1 4

of

[1] The ancient and modern writers of Italian and German history have given ample relations of all these events, though not all with the same fidelity and accuracy. In the brief account I have given of these events, I have followed the genuine sources, and those writers whose testimonies are the most respectable and sure, such as SIGONIUS, PAGI, MURATORI, MASCOVIUS, NORIS, &c. who, though they differ in some minute circumstances, are yet agreed in those matters that are of the most importance.

**C E N T.** of the powerful and valiant MATHILDA, maintained successfully the cause of GREGORY against the Lombards, who espoused the interests of HENRY ; while this unfortunate prince, with all the forces he could assemble, carried on the war in *Germany* against RODOLPH and the confederate princes. GREGORY, considering the events of war as extremely doubtful, was at first afraid to declare for either side, and therefore observed, during a certain time, an appearance of neutrality ; but, encouraged by the battle of *Fladenheim*, in which HENRY was defeated by the Saxons, A. D. 1080, he excommunicated anew that vanquished prince, and sending a crown to the victor RODOLPH, declared him lawful king of the Germans. The injured emperor did not let this new insult pass unpunished ; seconded by the suffrages of several of the Italian and German bishops, he deposed GREGORY a second time in a council which met at *Metz*, and, in a synod that was soon after assembled at *Brixen*, in the province of *Tirol*, he raised to the pontificate GUIBERT, archbishop of *Revenna*, who assumed the title of CLEMENT III. when he was consecrated at *Rome*, A. D. 1084, four years after his election.

XVIII. This election was followed soon after by an event which gave an advantageous turn to the affairs of HENRY ; this event was a bloody battle fought upon the banks of the river *Elster*, where RODOLPH received a mortal wound, of which he died at *Mersburg*. The emperor, having got rid of this formidable enemy, marched directly into *Italy* the following year (1081), with a design to crush GREGORY and his adherents, whose defeat he imagined would contribute effectually to put an end to the troubles in *Germany*. Accordingly he made several campaigns, with various success, against the valiant troops of MATHILDA ; and, after having raised twice the siege of  
of

of *Rome*, he resumed a third time that bold enter-C E N T.  
prise, and became, at length, master of the greatestX.  
part, of that city, in the year 1084. The first step P A R T II.  
that HENRY took after this success was to place  
GUIBERT in the papal chair, after which he re-  
ceived the imperial crown from the hands of the  
new pontif, was saluted emperor by the Roman  
people, and laid close siege to the castle of *Sr*  
*Angelo*, whither his mortal enemy, GREGORY, had  
fled for safety. He was, however, forced to raise  
this siege; by the valour of ROBERT GUISCARD,  
duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, who brought GRE-  
GORY in triumph to *Rome*; but, not thinking  
him safe there, conducted him afterwards to *Sa-*  
*ternum*. In this place the famous pontif ended his  
days the year following, A. D, 1085, and left  
*Europe* involved in those calamities which were  
the fatal effects of his boundless ambition. He  
was certainly a man of extensive abilities, endowed  
with a most enterprising genius, and an invin-  
cible firmness of mind; but it must, at the same  
time, be acknowledged, that he was the most  
arrogant and audacious pontif that had hitherto  
sat in the papal chair. The Roman church wor-  
ships him as a saint, though it is certain that he  
was never placed in that order by a regular cano-  
nization. PAUL V. about the beginning of the  
seventeenth century, appointed the twenty-fifth  
day of *May*, as a festival sacred to the memory of  
this pretended saint [*w*]; but the emperors of  
*Germany*, the kings of *France*, and other European  
princes, have always opposed the celebration of  
this festival, and have thus effectually prevented  
its becoming universal. In our times, BENEDICT  
XIII. zealous to secure to GREGORY the saintly  
honours,

[*m*] See the *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp. ad d. xxv. Maii*, and  
JO. MABILLON, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedict. Sec. vi. part II.*

C E N T. honours, occasioned a contest, whose issue was by  
 no means favourable to his superstitious views[*n*]:  
 PART II. <sup>XI.</sup>

XIX. The death of GREGORY neither restored peace to the church, nor tranquillity to the state; the tumults and divisions which he had excited still continued, and they were augmented from day to day by the same passions to which they owed their origin. CLEMENT III. who was the emperor's pontif [*o*], was master of the city of *Rome*, and was acknowledged as pope by a great part of *Italy*. HENRY carried on the war in *Germany* against the confederate princes. The faction of GREGORY supported by the Normans, chose for his successor, in the year, 1086, DIDERIC, abbot of mount *Cassin*, who adopted the title of VICTOR III. and was consecrated in the church of *St Peter*, in the year 1087, when that part of the city was recovered by the Normans from the dominion of CLEMENT. But this new pontif was of a character quite opposite to that of GREGORY; he was modest and timorous, and also of a mild and gentle disposition; and finding the papal chair beset with factions, and the city of *Rome* under the dominion of his competitor, he retired to his monastery, where soon after he ended his days in peace. But, before his abdication, he held a council at *Benevento*, where he confirmed and renewed the laws that GREGORY had enacted for the abolition of *investitures*.

XX. OTHO,

[*n*] The reader will find an ample and curious account of this matter in a French book published in *Holland* in the year 1743, in three volumes, under the following title *L'Avocat du Diable, ou Memoires Historiques et Critiques, sur la Vie et sur la Legende du Pape Gregoire VII.*

[*o*] The very learned JO. GOTTL. HORNIUS engaged himself, in the *Miscell. Lips.* tom. viii. p. 609. to publish the Life of CLEMENT III. This pontif died in the year 1100, as appears evidently from the *Chronicon Beneventanum*, published by MURATORI, in his *Antiq. Ital.* tom. i. p. 262. See also RUBEI *Historia Ravennas.* lib. v. p. 307.



XX. ORHO, bishop of *Ostia*, and monk of *Clugni*, was, by VICTOR's recommendation, chosen to succeed him. This new pontif was elected at *Terracina* in the year 1088, and assumed the name of URBAN II. Inferior to GREGORY in fortitude and resolution, he was, however, his equal in arrogance and pride, and surpassed him greatly in temerity and imprudence [p]. The commencement of his pontificate had a fair aspect, and success seemed to smile upon his undertakings; but upon the emperor's return into *Italy* in the year 1090, the face of affairs was totally changed; victory crowned the arms of that prince, who, by redoubled efforts of valour, defeated, at length, GUELPH, duke of *Bavaria*, and the famous MATHILDA, who were the formidable heads of the papal faction. The abominable treachery of his son CONRAD, who, yielding to the seduction of his father's enemies, revolted against him, and, by the advice and assistance of URBAN and MATHILDA, usurped the kingdom of *Italy*, revived the drooping spirits of that faction, who hoped to see the laurels of the emperor blasted by this odious and unnatural rebellion. The consequences, however, of this event were less fatal to HENRY, than his enemies expected. In the mean time the troubles of *Italy* still continued, nor could URBAN, with all his efforts, reduce the city of *Rome* under his lordly yoke. Finding all his ambitious measures disconcerted, he assembled a council at *Placentia* in the year 1095, where he confirmed the laws and the anathemas of GREGORY;

[p] We find in the *Posthumous Works* of MABILLON, tom. iii. p. i. the Life of URBAN II. composed by THEOD. RUIXART, with much learning and industry, but with too little impartiality and fidelity, as we may naturally suppose even from the name of its author, since it is well known that no monkish writer dare attempt to paint the Roman pontiffs in their true colours.—See also, for an account of URBAN, the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, tom. viii. p. 514.



C E N T. GORY ; and afterwards undertook a journey into  
 XI. France, where he held the famous council of *Cler-*  
 PART II. *mont*, and had the pleasure of kindling a new war  
 against the infidel possessors of the holy land. In this council, instead of endeavouring to terminate the tumults and desolations that the dispute concerning *investitures* had already produced, this unworthy pontif added fuel to the flame, and so exasperated matters by his imprudent and arrogant proceedings, as to render an accommodation between the contending parties more difficult than ever. GREGORY, notwithstanding his insolence and ambition, had never carried matters so far as to forbid the bishops and the rest of the clergy to take the oath of allegiance to their respective sovereigns. This rebellious prohibition was reserved for the audacious arrogance of URBAN, who published it as a law in the council of *Clermont* [q]. After this noble expedition, the restless pontif returned into *Italy*, where he made himself master of the castle of *St Angelo*, and soon after ended his days in the year 1099 ; he was not long survived by his antagonist CLEMENT III. who died the following year, and thus left RAYNIER, a Benedictine monk, who was chosen successor to URBAN, and assumed the name of PASCHAL II. sole possessor of the papal chair at the conclusion of this century.

The state  
 of the mon-  
 astic orders.

XXI. Among the eastern monks in this century, there happened nothing worthy of being consigned to the records of history, while those of the

[q] To the fifteenth canon of this council the following words were added : *Ne episcopus vel sacerdos regi vel alicui laico in manibus ligiam fidelitatem faciant*, i. e. *It is enacted that no bishop or priest shall promise upon oath liege obedience to any king or any layman.* They are entirely mistaken, who affirm that GREGORY prohibited the bishops from taking oaths of allegiance to their respective sovereigns, as Cardinal NORIS has sufficiently demonstrated in his *Istoria delle Investiture*, chap. xi. p. 279.

the west were concerned immediately in transactions of great consequence, and which deserve the attention of the curious reader. The western monks were remarkable for their attachment to the Roman pontifs; this connexion had been long formed, and it was originally owing to the avarice and violence of both bishops and princes, who, under various pretexts, were constantly encroaching upon the possessions of the monks, and thus obliged them to seek for security against these invasions of their property in the protection of the popes. This protection was readily granted by the pontifs, who seized, with avidity, every occasion of enlarging their authority; and the monks, in return, engaged themselves to pay an annual tribute to their ghostly patrons. But in this century things were carried still farther; and the pontifs, more especially GREGORY VII. who was eagerly bent upon humbling the bishops, and transferring their privileges to the Roman see, enlarged their jurisdiction over the monks at the expence of the episcopal order. They advised and exhorted the monks to withdraw themselves and their possessions from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and to place both under the inspection and dominion of St PETER [r]. Hence it happened that, from the time of GREGORY, the number of monasteries that had received *immunities*, both from the temporal authority of the sovereign and the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops, were multiplied beyond measure throughout all *Europe*, and the rights of princes, together

[r] A specimen of this may be seen in the seventh Epistle of GREGORY, in which he reduces the monks of *Redon* under the jurisdiction of the Roman see by a mandate conceived in terms that had never been used before his time; see MARTENE *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 204. We may add to this several like mandates of URBAN II. and the succeeding pontifs, which are to be found in the collection now cited, and in others of that kind.

C E N T.ther with the interests and privileges of the epis-  
 XI.  
 PART II. copal order, were violated and trampled upon,  
 or rather ingrossed, to swell the growing despotism  
 of the all-grasping pontifs [s].

Their cor-  
 ruption.

XXII. All the writers of this age complain of  
 the ignorance, licentiousness, frauds, debaucheries,  
 dissensions, and enormities, that dishonoured  
 by far the greatest part of the monastic orders,  
 not to mention the numerous marks of their dissolution  
 and impiety that have been handed down to our times [t].  
 However astonished we may be at such horrid irregularities  
 among a set of men whose destination was so sacred,  
 and whose profession was so austere, we shall still be more  
 surprised to learn that this degenerate order, so far from  
 losing aught of their influence and credit on account of  
 their licentiousness, were promoted, on the contrary,  
 to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, and beheld their  
 opulence and authority increasing from day to day. Our  
 surprise, indeed, will be diminished, when we consider the  
 gross ignorance and superstition, and the unbounded  
 licentiousness and corruption of manners, that reigned in  
 this century among all ranks and orders of men [u].  
 Ignorance and corruption  
 pervert

[s] There is not, perhaps, in *Germany*, one single instance,  
 of this pernicious *immunity* before the time of GREGORY VII.

[t] See JO. LAUNOY, *Assert. in privileg. S. Medardi*, cap. xxvi. sect. vi. opp. tom. iii. part II. p. 499. and SIMON, *Biblioth. Critique*, tom. iii. cap. xxxii. p. 331.

[u] For an account of the astonishing corruption of this age,  
 see BLONDEL, *De Formula regnante Christo*, p. 14.—BOULAINVILLIERS, *De l'Origine et des Droits de la Noblesse* in MOLET'S *Memoires de Litterature et d'Histoire*, tom. ix. part I. p. 63. The corruption and violence that reigned with impunity in this horrid age, gave occasion to the institutions of chivalry or knighthood, in consequence of which a certain set of equestrian heroes undertook the defence of the poor and feeble, and particularly of the fair sex, against the insults of powerful oppressors and ravishers. This order of knights-errant was certainly of great use in these miserable times, when  
 the

pervert the taste and judgment of even those who are not void of natural sagacity, and often prevent their being shocked at the greatest inconsistencies. Amidst this general depravation of sentiments and conduct, amidst the flagitious crimes that were daily perpetrated, not only by the laity, but also by the various orders of the clergy, both *secular* and *regular*, all such as respected the common rules of decency, or preserved in their external demeanor the least appearance of piety and virtue, were looked upon as saints of the highest rank, and considered as the peculiar favourites of heaven. This circumstance was, no doubt, favourable to many of the monks who were less profligate than the rest of their order, and might contribute more or less to support the credit of the whole body. Besides, it often happened, that princes, dukes, knights and generals, whose days had been consumed in debauchery and crimes, and distinguished by nothing but the violent exploits of unbridled lust, cruelty, and avarice, felt at the approach of old age, or death, the inexpressible anguish of a wounded conscience, and the gloomy apprehensions and terrors it excites. In this dreadful condition, what was their resource? What were the means by which they hoped to disarm the uplifted hand of divine justice, and render the governor of the world propitious? They purchased at an enormous price the prayers of the monks to screen them from judgment, and devoted to God and to the saints a large portion of the fruits of their rapine, or entered themselves into the monastic order, and bequeathed their possessions to their new brethren.

And

the majesty of laws and government was fallen into contempt, and they who bore the title of sovereigns and magistrates, had neither resolution nor power to maintain their authority, or to perform the duties of their stations.

C E N T. And thus it was that monkery received perpetually new accessions of opulence and credit.

XI  
P A R T II.

The monks  
of Clugni.

XXIII. The monks of *Clugni* in *France* surpassed all the other religious orders in the renown they had acquired, from a prevailing opinion of their eminent sanctity and virtue. Hence their discipline was universally respected, and hence also their rules were adopted by the founders of new monasteries, and the reformers of those that were in a state of decline. These famous monks arose, by degrees, to the very highest summit of worldly prosperity, by the presents which they received from all quarters; and their power and credit grew, with their opulence, to such a height, that, towards the conclusion of this century, they were formed into a separate society, which still subsists under the title of the *order*, or *congregation of Clugni* [*w*]. And no sooner were they thus established, than they extended their spiritual dominion on all sides, reducing, under their jurisdiction, all the monasteries which they had reformed by their counsels, and engaged to adopt their religious discipline. The famous Hugo, sixth abbot of *Clugni*, who was in high credit at the court of *Rome*, and acquired the peculiar protection and esteem of several princes, laboured with such success, in extending the power and jurisdiction of his order, that, before the end of this century, he saw himself at the head of five-and-thirty of the principal monasteries in *France*, besides a considerable number of smaller convents that acknowledged him as their chief. Many other religious societies, though they refused entering

[*w*] For a particular account of the rapid and monstrous strides which the order of *Clugni* made to opulence and dominion, see STEPH. BALUZIUS *Miscellan.* tom. v. p. 343. and tom. vi. p. 436. as also MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. *passim.*

tering into this new order, and continued to choose their respective governors, yet shewed such respect for the *abbot* of *Clugni*, or the *Arch-abbot*, as he styled himself, that they regarded him as their spiritual chief [x]. This enormous augmentation of opulence and authority was, however, fruitful of many evils; it increased the arrogance of these aspiring monks, and contributed much to the propagation of the several vices that dishonoured the religious societies of this licentious and superstitious age. The monks of *Clugni* degenerated soon from their primitive sanctity, and, in a short space of time, were distinguished by nothing but the peculiarities of their discipline from the rest of the monastic orders.

XXIV. The example of these monks excited several pious men to erect particular monastic fraternities, or congregations, like that of *Clugni*, the consequence of which was, that the Benedictine order, which had been hitherto one great and universal body, was now divided into separate societies, which, though they were subject to one general rule, yet differed from each other in various circumstances, both of their discipline and manner of living; and rendered their division still more conspicuous by reciprocal exertions of animosity and hatred. In the year 1023, ROMUALD, an Italian fanatic, retired to *Camaldoli* [y], on the mount *Apennine*, and, in that solitary retreat, founded the order, or *congregation of the Camaldolites*, which still remains in a flourishing state, particularly in *Italy*. His followers were distinguished into two classes, of which the one were Cœnobites, and the other Eremites. Both ob-

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served

[x] MABILLON *Præf. ad Sec. v. Actor. SS. Ord. Bened.* p. 26.—*Hist. Generale de Bourgogne par les Moines Benedictins*, tom. i. p. 151. published at *Paris* in folio, in the year 1739.—*Hist. Littér. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 470.

[y] Otherwise called *Campo Malduli*.

C E N T. served a severe discipline ; but the Cœnobites had  
 P A R T II. <sup>XI.</sup> degenerated much from their primitive auster-  
 rity [z].

Some time after this, GUALBERT, a native of Florence, at Val-Ombroso, situated in the congregation of Benedictine monks, was, in a short space of time, propagated their discipline in several parts of Italy [a]. To these two Italian monasteries we may add that of *Hirsauge* in Germany [b], erected by WILLIAM, an eminent abbot, who had reformed many ancient convents, and was the founder of several new establishments. It is, however, to be observed, that the monastery of *Hirsauge* was rather a branch of the congregation of *Clugni*, whose laws and manner of living it had adopted, than a new fraternity.

The Cister-  
 tian monks.

XXV. Towards the conclusion of this century [c], ROBERT, abbot of *Moleme* in *Burgundy*, having employed, in vain, his most zealous efforts to revive the decaying piety and discipline of

[z] The writers who have given any satisfactory accounts of the order of the *Camoldolites*, are enumerated by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 895.—Add to these ROMUALDI *Vita. in Acta Sanctor. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 101. and in MABILLON's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sæc. vi.* part I. p. 247.—HELYOT. *Hist. des Ordres.* tom. v. p. 236.—MABILLON, *Annal. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 261.—MAGNOALDI ZEIGELBAVER, *Centifolium Camaldulense, sive Notitia Scriptor. Camaldulensium*, published at Venice in the year 1750.

[a] See the life of GUALBERT in MABILLON's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sæc. vi.* part II. p. 273. HELYOT. *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. v. p. 298. Many interesting circumstances relating to the history of this order have been published by the learned LAMI, in the *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, published at Florence, tom. ii. p. 238. as also p. 272. 279. where the ancient laws of the order are enumerated; see also tom. iii. of the same work, p. 177. 212.

[b] See MABILLON, *Acta Sanct. Bened. Sæc. vi.* part II. p. 716.—HELYOT. *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. v. p. 332.

[c] In the year 1098.



of his convent, and to oblige his monks to ob-<sup>C F N T.</sup>  
 serve, with more exactness, the rule of St BENE-<sup>XL</sup>  
 DICT, retired, with about twenty monks, who <sup>P A K II.</sup>  
 had not been infected with the dissolute turn of  
 their brethren, to a place called *Citeaux*, in the  
 diocese of *Chalons*. In this retreat, which was  
 at that time a miserable desert, covered on all  
 sides with brambles and thorns, but which bears,  
 at present, a quite different aspect, ROBERT laid  
 the foundations of the famous order, or *congrega-*  
*tion of Cistertians*, which, like that of *Clugni*, made  
 a most rapid and astonishing progress, was pro-  
 pagated through the greatest part of *Europe* in the  
 following century, and was not only enriched  
 with the most liberal and splendid donations,  
 but also acquired the form and privileges of a  
 spiritual republic, and exercised a sort of do-  
 minion over all the monastic orders [d]. The  
 great and fundamental law of this new fraterni-  
 ty, was the rule of St BENEDICT, which was to  
 be solemnly and rigorously observed; to this  
 were added several other institutions and injunc-  
 tions, which were designed to maintain the au-  
 thority of this rule, to ensure its observance, and  
 to defend it against the dangerous effects of opu-  
 lence, and the restless efforts of human corrup-  
 tion to render the best establishments imperfect.  
 These injunctions were excessively austere, grie-  
 vous to nature, but pious and laudable in the  
 esteem of a superstitious age. They did not,  
 however, secure the sanctity of this holy congre-  
 gation; since the seducing charms of opulence,  
 that corrupted the monks of *Clugni* much sooner  
 than was expected, produced the same effect  
 among the Cistertians, whose zeal, in the rigor-  
 M m 2. ous

[d] In about an hundred years after its first establishment, this order boasted of 1300 abbeys, and was become so powerful, that it governed almost all *Europe*, both in spirituals and temporals.



C E N T.ous observance of their rule, began gradually  
 XI.  
 P. A R T II. to diminish, and who, in process of time, grew  
 as negligent and dissolute as the rest of the Be-  
 nedictines [e].

New mon-  
 astic or-  
 ders.

XXVI. Besides these convents, that were found-  
 ed upon the principles, and might be considered  
 as branches, of the Benedictine order, several  
 other monastic societies were formed, which were  
 distinguished by peculiar laws, and by rules of  
 discipline and obedience, which they had drawn  
 up for themselves. To many of those gloomy  
 and fanatical monks, whose austerity was rather  
 the fruit of a bad habit of body, than the result  
 of a religious principle, the rule of BENEDICT  
 appeared too mild ; to others it seemed incom-  
 plete and defective, and not sufficiently accom-  
 modated to the exercise of the various duties we  
 owe to the Supreme Being. Hence STEPHEN, a  
 nobleman of *Auvergne* (who is called by some  
 STEPHEN *de Muret*, from the place where he first  
 erected the convent of his order) obtained, in  
 the year 1073, from GREGORY VII. the privi-  
 lege of instituting a new species of monastic dis-  
 cipline. His first design was to subject his fra-  
 ternity to the rule of St BENEDICT ; but he  
 changed his intention, and composed himself the  
 body of laws, which was to be their rule of life,  
 piety, and manners. In these laws there were  
 many injunctions, that shewed the excessive au-  
 sterity

[e] The principal historian of the *Cistercian order*, is ANG.  
 MANRIQUES, whose *Annales Cisterciensis*, an ample and learn-  
 ed work, were published in four volumes folio, at *Lyons*, in the  
 year 1642. After him we may place PIERE LE NAIN, whose  
*Essai de l'Histoire de l'Ordre des Citeaux*, was printed in the  
 year 1696, at *Paris*, in nine volumes in 8vo. The other histo-  
 rians, who have given accounts of this famous order, are enu-  
 merated by FABRICIUS, in his *Biblioth. Latina medii ævi*, tom.  
 i. p. 1066. Add to these HELYOT's *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. v.  
 p. 341. and MABILLON, who, in the fifth and sixth volumes of  
 his *Annales Benedictini*, has given a learned and accurate ac-  
 count of the origin and progress of the Cisterrians.

sterity of their author. Poverty and obedience were the two great points which he inculcated with the warmest zeal, and all his regulations were directed to promote and secure them in this new establishment; for this purpose it was solemnly enacted, that the monks should possess no lands beyond the limits of their convent; that the use of flesh should be allowed to none, not even to the sick and infirm; and that none should be permitted to keep cattle, that they might not be exposed to the temptation of violating their frugal regimen. To these severe precepts many others of equal rigour were added; for this gloomy legislator imposed upon his fraternity the solemn observance of a profound and uninterrupted silence, and insisted so much upon the importance and necessity of solitude, that none but a few persons of the highest eminence and authority were permitted to pass the threshold of his monastery. He prohibited all intercourse with the female sex, and, indeed, excluded his order from all the comforts and enjoyments of life. His followers were divided into two classes, of which the one comprehended the *clerks*, and the other what he called the *converted brethren*. The former were totally absorbed in the contemplation of divine things, while the latter were charged with the care and administration of whatever related to the concerns and necessities of a present life. Such were the principal circumstances of the new institution founded by STEPHEN, which arose to the highest pitch of renown in this and the following century, and was regarded with the most profound veneration as long as its laws and discipline were observed; but two things contributed to its decline, and at length brought on its ruin; the first was, the violent contest which arose between the *clerks* and the *converts*, on account of the pre-eminence which the latter pre-

C F N T. tended over the former ; and the second was, the  
 P <sup>XL</sup> <sub>XL</sub> gradual diminution of the rigour and austerity of  
 STEPHEN'S rule, which was softened and mitigated from time to time, both by the heads of the order, and by the Roman pontifs. This once famous monastic society was distinguished by the title of the *Order of Grandmontains*, as *Muret*, where they were first established, was situated near *Grammont*, in the province of *Limoges* [*f*].

The order  
 of the Car-  
 thusians.

XXVII. In the year 1084 [*g*], was instituted the famous order of Carthusians, so called from *Chartreux*, a dismal and wild spot of ground near *Grenoble* in *Dauphine*, surrounded with barren mountains and craggy rocks. The founder of this monastic society, which surpassed all the rest in the extravagant austerity of their manners and discipline, was BRUNO, a native of *Cologne*, and canon of the cathedral of *Rheims* in *France*. This zealous ecclesiastic, who had neither power to reform, nor patience to bear, the dissolute manners of his archbishop MANASSE, retired from his church with six of his companions, and, having obtained the permission of HUGH, bishop of *Grenoble*, fixed his residence in the miserable desert already mentioned [*b*]. He adopted at first the

[*f*] The origin of this order is related by BERNARD GUIDON, whose treatise upon that subject is published in the *Bibliotheca Manuscriptorum*, PHIL. LABBEI. tom. ii. p. 275. For an account of the history of this celebrated society, see JO. MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. v. p. 65. s. p. 99. tom. vi. p. 116. and *Præf. ad Actor. SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. vi.* part II. p. 34. HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 409.—*Gallia Christ. Monachor, Bened.* tom. ii. p. 645.—BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 158. et *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 486.—The life and ghostly exploits of STEPHEN, the founder of this order, are recorded in the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. Febr. p. 199.

[*g*] Some place the institution of this order in the year 1080, and others in the year 1086.

[*b*] The learned FABRICIUS mentions, in his *Bibl. Lat. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 784. several writers who have composed the history

the rule of St BENEDICT, to which he added a C E N T.  
 considerable number of severe and rigorous pre-<sup>XI.</sup>  
 cepts; his successors, however, went still farther, P A R T II.  
 and imposed upon the Carthusians new laws, much  
 more intolerable than those of their founder,  
 laws which inculcated the highest degrees of au-  
 sterity that the most gloomy imagination could  
 invent [i]. And yet, notwithstanding all this,  
 it is remarkable, that no monastic society dege-  
 nerated so little from the severity of their pri-  
 mitive institution and discipline as this of the Car-  
 thusians. The progress of their order was indeed  
 less rapid, and their influence less extensive in  
 M m 4 the

history of BRUNO and his order, but his enumeration is incom-  
 plete; since there are yet extant many histories of the Carthu-  
 sians, that have escaped his notice. See INNOCENT. MASSONI  
*Annales Carthusian.* published in the year 1687.—PETRI OR-  
 LANDI *Chronicon Carthusianum*, and the elegant, though im-  
 perfect history of the order in question, which is to be found in  
 HELYOT's *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 366. Many impor-  
 tant illustrations on the nature and laws of this famous society  
 have been published by MABILLON, in his *Annal. Benedict.*  
 tom. vi. p. 638. 683. A particular and accurate account of  
 BRUNO has been given by the Benedictine monks in their *Hist.*  
*Litter. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 233.; but a yet more ample  
 one will be undoubtedly given by the compilers of the *Acta*  
*Sanctorum*, when they shall have carried on their work to the  
 sixth of October which is the festival consecrated to the memo-  
 ry of BRUNO. It was a current report in ancient times, that  
 the occasion of BRUNO's retreat, was the miraculous restora-  
 tion of a certain priest to life, who, while the funeral service  
 was performing, raised himself up and said, *By the just judgment*  
*of God I am damned:* and then expired anew. This story is  
 looked upon as fabulous by the most respectable writers, even  
 of the Roman church, especially since it has been refuted by  
 LAUNOY, in his treatise *De causa Secensus Brunonis in Deser-*  
*tum*. Nor does it seem to preserve its credit among the Car-  
 thusians, who are more interested than others in this pretended  
 miracle. Such of them, at least, as affirm it, do it with a good  
 deal of modesty and diffidence. The arguments on both sides  
 are candidly and accurately enumerated by CÆS. EGASS. DU  
 BOULAY, in his *Histor. Académ. Paris.* tom. i. p. 467.

[i] See MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sac. vi. part II. Actor. SS.*  
*Ord. Bened.* p. 37.

C E, N T. the different countries of *Europe*, than the progress and influence of those monastic establishments, whose laws were less rigorous, and whose manners were less austere. It was a long time before the tender sex could be engaged to submit to the savage rules of this melancholy institution; nor had the Carthusian order ever reason to boast of a multitude of females subjected to its jurisdiction; it was too forbidding to captivate a sex, which, though susceptible of the seduction of enthusiasm, is of a frame too delicate to support the severities of a rigorous self-denial [*k*].

The order  
of St Anthony of  
Vienne.

XXVIII. Towards the conclusion of this century [*l*], the order of St ANTHONY of *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, was instituted for the relief and support of such as were seized with grievous disorders, and particularly with the disease called *St Anthony's fire*. All who were infected with that pestilential disorder repaired to a cell built near *Vienne* by the Benedictine monks of *Grammont*, in which the body of St ANTHONY was said to repose

[*k*] The Carthusian nuns have not sufficiently attracted the attention of the authors who have written concerning this famous order; nay, several writers have gone so far as to maintain, that there was not in this order a single convent of nuns. This notion, however, is highly erroneous; as there were formerly several convents of Carthusian virgins, of which, indeed, the greatest part have not subsisted to our times. In the year 1368, there was an extraordinary law passed, by which the establishment of any more female Carthusian convents was expressly prohibited. Hence there remain only five at this day; four in *France*, and one in *Bruges* in *Flanders*. See the *variétés Historiques Physiques et Littéraires*, tom. i. p. 80. published at *Paris* in 8vo, in the year 1752. Certain it is, that the rigorous discipline of the Carthusians is quite inconsistent with the delicacy and tenderness of the female sex; and, therefore, in the few female convents of that order that still subsist, the austerity of that discipline has been diminished, as well from necessity as from humanity and wisdom; it was more particularly found necessary to abrogate those severe injunctions of *silence* and *solitude*, that are so little adapted to the known character and genius of the sex.

[*l*] In the year 1095.

pose, that, by the prayers and intercessions of this C E N T.  
 eminent saint, they might be miraculously heal-<sup>XI.</sup>  
 ed. GASTON, an opulent nobleman of *Vienne*,<sup>PART II.</sup>  
 and his son GUERIN, pretended to have experienced, in their complete recovery, the marvelous efficacy of St ANTHONY's intercession, and, in consequence thereof, devoted themselves and their possessions, from a principle of pious gratitude, to the service of St ANTHONY, and to the performance of generous and charitable offices towards all such as were afflicted with the miseries of poverty and sickness. Their example was followed, at first, but by eight persons; their community, however, was afterwards considerably augmented. They were not bound by particular vows like the other monastic orders, but were consecrated, in general, to the service of God, and lived under the jurisdiction of the monks of *Grammont*. In process of time, growing opulent and powerful by the multitude of pious donations they received from all parts, they withdrew themselves from the dominion of the Benedictines, propagated their order in various countries, and, at length, obtained, in the year 1297, from BONIFACE VIII. the dignity and privileges of an independent congregation, under the rule of St AUGUSTIN [*m*].

XXIX. The licentiousness and corruption that <sup>The order</sup> had infected all the other ranks and orders of the <sup>of canons</sup> clergy, were also remarkable among the *canons*, which was a middle sort of order between the monks and secular priests, and whose first establishment

[*m*] See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. *Januarii.* p. 160.—HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres.* tom. ii. p. 108.—GABR. PENOTT. *Histor. Canonorum regular.* lib. ii. cap. 70.—JO. ERH. KAPPEL *Diss. de fratribus S. Anton.* published at *Leipsick*, in the year 1737.—For an account of the present state of the principal hospital, or residence of this order where the abbot remains, see MERTENE and DURAND, *Voyage Litter. de deux Benedictins de la Congreg. de St Maur.* tom. i. p. 262.

C E N T.ment was in the eighth century. In certain  
<sup>XL.</sup>  
 P A R T II. provinces of *Europe*, the *canons* were corrupted to  
 a very high degree, and surpassed, in the scandalous dissolution of their manners, all the other ecclesiastical and monastic orders. Hence several pious and virtuous persons exerted their zeal for the reformation of this degenerate body ; some pontifs appeared in this good cause; and more especially NICOLAS II. who in a council held at *Rome* in the year 1059, abrogated the ancient rule of the canons, which had been drawn up at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and substituted another in its place [n]. These laudable attempts were attended with considerable success, and a much better rule of discipline was established in almost all the canonical orders, than that which had been formerly in use. It was not, however, possible to regulate them all upon the same footing, and to subject them to the same degree of reformation and discipline ; nor indeed was this necessary. Accordingly, a certain number of these canonical colleges were erected into communities, the respective members of which had one common dwelling, and a common table, which was the point chiefly insisted upon by the pontifs, as this alone was sufficient to prevent the *canons* from entering into the bonds of matrimony. It did not, however, exclude them from the possession or enjoyment of private property; for they reserved to themselves the right of appropriating to their own use the fruits and revenues of their benefices, and of employing them as they thought expedient. Other canonical congregations subjected themselves to a rule of life less agreeable and commodious, in consequence

[n] This decree of NICOLAS II. by which the primitive rule of the *canons* was changed, is published by MABILLON among the papers, which serve as proofs to the fourth volume of his *Annales Bened.* and also in the *annals* themselves. See tom. iv. *Annal. Bened.* p. 748. as also lib. lxi. sect xxxv. p. 586.



quence of the zealous exhortations of Ivo or IVES, <sup>C E N T.</sup> bishop of *Chartres*, renouncing all their worldly <sup>XI.</sup> possessions and prospects, all private property, <sup>P A R T II.</sup> and living in a manner that resembled the austerity of the monastic orders. Hence arose the well-known distinction between the *secular* and the *regular canons*; the former of which observed the decree of NICOLAS II. while the latter, more prone to mortification and self-denial, complied with the directions and jurisdictions of Ivo; and as this austere prelate imitated St AUGUSTIN [o], in the manner of regulating the conduct of his clergy, his *canons*, were called, by many, *the regular canons of St Augustin* [p].

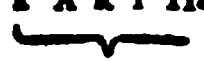
## XXX. The

[o] St AUGUSTIN committed to writing no particular rule for his clergy; but his manner of ruling them may be learned from several passages in his *Epistles*.

[p] See MABILION, *Annal. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 586. et *Opera Posthuma*, tom. ii. p. 102. 115.—HELYOT, *Hist des Ordres*, tom. ii. p. 11.—LUD. THOMASSINI *Disciplina Ecclesiæ circa Beneficia*, tom. i. part. I. l. iii. c. xi. p. 657.—MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 257.—In the *Gallia Christiana* of the Benedictine monks, we find frequent mention made both of this reformation of the *canons*, and also of the division into *seculars and regulars*. The *regular canons* are much displeased with all the accounts that render the origin of their community so recent; they are extremely ambitious of appearing with the venerable character of an ancient establishment, and therefore trace back their first rise, through the darkness of the remotest ages, to CHRIST himself, or, at least, to St AUGUSTIN. But the arguments and testimonies, by which they pretend to support this imagined antiquity of their order, are a proof of the weakness of their cause, and of the vanity of their pretensions, and are not, therefore, worthy of a serious refutation. It is true, the title of *canons* is, undoubtedly, of much more ancient date than the eleventh century, but not as applied to a particular order or institution, for at its first rise it was used in a very vague general sense (See CLAUD. DE VERT. *Explications des Ceremonies de la Messe*, tom. i. p. 58.) and therefore the mere existence of the title proves nothing. At the same time, it is evident, beyond all possibility of contradiction, that we find not the least mention made of the division of the *canons* into *regular* and *secular* before the eleventh



C E N T. XXX. The most eminent Greek writers in this  
 XI.  
 P A R T II. century, were,

 THEOPHANES *Cerameus*, i. e. the *potter*, of whom there is yet extant a volume of *Homilies*, that are not altogether contemptible ;

The prin-  
cipal Greek  
writers.

NILUS DOXOPATRIUS, who was remarkable for his knowledge in matters relating to ecclesiastical polity ;

NICETAS PECTORATUS, who was a most strenuous defender of the religious sentiments and customs of the Greek church ;

MICHAEL PSELLUS, whose vast progress in various kinds of learning and science procured him a most distinguished and shining reputation ;

MICHAEL CERULARIUS, bishop or patriarch of *Constantinople*, who imprudently revived the controversy between the Greeks and Latins, which had been for some time happily suspended ;

SIMEON  
 eleventh century. And it is equally certain, that those *canons* who had nothing in *common* but their *dwelling* and *table*, were called *secular* ; while those who had divested themselves of all private property, and had every thing, without exception, in common with their fraternity, were distinguished by the title of *regular canons*.

✠ To Dr MOSHEIM's account of the *canons*, it may not be improper to add a few words concerning their introduction into *England*, and their progress and establishment among us. The *order of regular canons of St Augustin* was brought into *England* by ADELWALD, confessor to HENRY I. who first erected a priory of his order at *Nostel* in *Yorkshire*, and had influence enough to have the church of *Carlisle* converted into an episcopal see, and given to regular canons, invested with the privilege of chusing their bishop. This order was singularly favoured and protected by HENRY I. who gave them, in the year 1107, the priory of *Dunstable*, and by Queen MAUD, who erected for them, the year following, the priory of the *Holy Trinity* in *London*, the prior of which was always one of the twenty-four aldermen. They increased so prodigiously, that besides the noble priory of *Merton*, which was founded for them, in the year 1117, by GILBERT, an earl of the Norman blood, they had, under the reign of EDWARD I. fifty-three priories, as appears by the catalogue presented to that prince, when he obliged all the monasteries to receive his protection, and to acknowledge his jurisdiction.

SIMEON, the Younger, author of a book of *Medi-* C E N T.  
*tations on the Duties of the Christian Life*, which <sup>XI.</sup> P A R T I L.  
 is yet extant ;

THEOPHYLACT, a bulgarian, whose illustrations of the sacred writings were received with universal approbation and esteem [q].

XXXI. The writers, who distinguished them- Latin wri-  
 selves most among the Latins, were they that tera  
 follow :

FULBERT, bishop of *Chartres*, eminent for his love of letters, and his zeal for the education of youth, as also for various compositions, particularly his epistles, and famous for his excessive and enthusiastic attachment to the Virgin MARY [r].

HUMBERT, a Cardinal of the Roman church, who far surpassed all the Latins, both in the vehemence and learning which appeared in his controversial writings against the Greeks [s].

PETRUS DAMIANUS, who, on account of his genius, candour, probity, and various erudition, deserves to be ranked among the most learned and estimable writers of this century ; though he was not altogether untainted with the reigning prejudices and defects of the times [t].

MARIANUS SCOTUS, whose *Chronicle*, with several other compositions, is yet extant.

ANSELM, archbishop of *Canterbury*, a man of great genius and subtilty, deeply versed in the dialectics of this age, and most illustriously distinguished

[q] For a more ample account of these Greek writers, the reader may consult the *Bibliotheca Græca* of FABRICIUS.

[r] For a farther account of this eminent man, see the *Hist. Litter de la France*, tom. vii. p. 261.

[s] See MARTENE, *Tbesaurus anecdot.* tom. v. p. 629.—*Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. vii. p. 527.

[t] See the *Acta Sanctor. Febr.* tom. iii. p. 406.—*General Dictionary*, at the article DAMIEN.—CASIM. OUDINI *Diss.* in tom. ii. *Comm. de Scriptor. Eccles.* p. 686.

C E N T. tinguished by his profound and extraordinary  
 XI knowledge in theology [u].  
 P A R T II.

LANFRANC, also archbishop of *Canterbury*, who acquired a high degree of reputation by his *Commentary upon the Epistles of St PAUL*, as also by several other productions [w], which, considering the age in which he lived, discover an uncommon measure of sagacity and erudition [x];

BRUNO of mount *Cassin*, and the other famous ecclesiastic of that name, who founded the monastery of the *Carthusians*;

Ivo, bishop of *Chartres*, who was so eminently distinguished by his zeal and activity in maintaining the rights and privileges of the church;

HILDEBERT, archbishop of *Tours*, who was a philosopher and a poet, as well as a divine, without being either eminent or contemptible in any of these characters [y]; but, upon the whole, a man of considerable learning and capacity;

GREGORY VII. that imperious and arrogant pontif, of whom we have several productions, beside his *Letters*,

## CHAP.

[u] See the *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 398.—RAPIN THOYRAS, *Hist. d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. p. 65. 166. de l'ed. en 4to—COLONIA, *Hist. Litter. de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 210.—We have already given a more ample account of the eminent abilities and learned productions of ANSELM.

[w] Among these productions we may reckon LANFRANC's *Letters* to Pope ALEXANDER II. to HILDEBRAND, while archdeacon of *Rome*, and to several bishops in *England* and *Normandy*; as also a *Commentary upon the Psalms*, a *Treatise concerning Confession*, an *Ecclesiastical History*, which is not extant, and a remarkable *Dissertation concerning the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist*. In this last performance, LANFRANC endeavours to prove, against BERENGER, the reality of a *corporal presence* in the eucharist; though it is manifest that this opinion was not the doctrine of the church of *England*, in the conclusion of the tenth, or the commencement of the following century. See COLLIER's *Eccles. History of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 260. 263.

[x] *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. viii. p. 260.

[y] The Benedictine monks published in folio, at *Paris*, in the year 1708, the *Works* of HILDEBERT, illustrated by the observations of BEAUGENDRE.

## C H A P. III.

*Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church in this century.*

I. **I**T is not necessary to draw at full length the C E N T. XI. PART II. hideous portrait of the religion of this age. The state of religion. It may easily be imagined, that its features were full of deformity, when we consider that its guardians were equally destitute of knowledge and virtue, and that the heads and rulers of the Christian church, instead of exhibiting models of piety, held forth in their conduct scandalous examples of the most flagitious crimes. The people were sunk in the grossest superstition ; and employed all their zeal in the worship of images, and relics, and in the performance of a trifling round of ceremonies, which were imposed upon them by the tyranny of a despotic priesthood. The more learned, it is true, retained still some notions of the truth, which however, they obscured and corrupted by a wretched mixture of opinions and precepts, of which some were ludicrous, others pernicious, and the most of them equally destitute of truth and utility. There were, no doubt, in several places, judicious and pious men, who would have willingly lent a supporting hand to the declining cause of true religion ; but the violent prejudices of a barbarous age rendered all such attempts not only dangerous, but even desperate : and those chosen spirits, who had escaped the general contagion, lay too much concealed, and had therefore too little influence, to combat, with success, the formidable patrons of impiety and superstition, who were extremely numerous, in all ranks and orders, from the throne to the cottage.

II. Not-

C E N T. II. Notwithstanding all this we find, from the  
 P A R T II. <sup>XL</sup> time of GREGORY VII. several proofs of the zealous efforts of those, who are generally called, by  
 Witnesses of the truth. the protestants, the *witnesses of the truth*; by whom are meant, such pious and judicious Christians, as adhered to the pure religion of the gospel, and remained uncorrupted amidst the growth of superstition; who deplored the miserable state to which Christianity was reduced, by the alteration of its divine doctrines, and the vices of its profligate ministers; who opposed, with vigour, the tyrannic ambition both of the lordly pontif and the aspiring bishops; and in some provinces privately, in others openly, attempted the reformation of a corrupt and idolatrous church, and of a barbarous and superstitious age. This was, indeed, bearing witness to the truth in the noblest manner, and it was principally in *Italy* and *France* that the marks of this heroic piety were exhibited. [Nor is it at all surprising, that the reigning superstition of the times met with this opposition; it is astonishing, on the contrary, that this opposition was not much greater and more universal, and that millions of Christians suffered themselves to be hoodwinked with such a tame submission, and closed their eyes upon the light with so little reluctance.] For, notwithstanding the darkness of the times, and the general ignorance of the true religion, that prevailed in all ranks and orders, yet the very fragments of the gospel (if we may use that term) which were still read and explained to the people, were sufficient, at least, to convince the most stupid and illiterate, that the religion, which was now imposed upon them, was not the true religion of Jesus; that the discourses, the lives, and morals of the clergy were directly opposite to what the divine Saviour required of his disciples, and to the rules he had laid down for the direction of their conduct; that

that the pontifs and bishops abused, in a scandalous manner, their power and opulence ; and that the favour of God, and the salvation exhibited in his blessed gospel, were not to be obtained by pompous donations to churches and priests, or by founding and enriching monasteries, but by real sanctity of heart and manners.

III. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that they who undertook, with such zeal and ardour, the reformation of the church, were not, for the most part, equal to this arduous and important enterprise, and that, by avoiding, with more vehemence than circumspection, certain abuses and defects, they rushed unhappily into the opposite extremes. They all perceived the abominable nature of those inventions with which superstition had disfigured the religion of Jesus ; but they had also lost sight of the true nature and genius of that celestial religion, that lay thus disfigured in the hands of a superstitious and dissolute priesthood. They were shocked at the absurdities of the established worship ; but few of them were sufficiently acquainted with the sublime precepts and doctrines of genuine Christianity, to substitute in the place of this superstitious worship a rational service. Hence their attempts of reformation, even where they were successful, were extremely imperfect, and produced little more than a motley mixture of truth and falsehood, of wisdom and indiscretion ; of which we might allege a multitude of examples. Observing, for instance, that the corruption and licentiousness of the clergy were, in a great measure, occasioned by their excessive opulence and their vast possessions, they conceived rashly the highest ideas of the salutary effects of indigence, and looked upon voluntary poverty as the most eminent and illustrious virtue of a

Vol. II. N n Christian

**C E N T.** Christian minister. They had also formed to  
**XI.** themselves a notion, that the primitive church  
**P A R T II.** was to be the standing and perpetual model, ac-  
 cording to which the rites, government, and wor-  
 ship of all Christian churches were to be regu-  
 lated in all the ages of the world ; and that the  
 lives and manners of the holy apostles were to  
 be rigorously followed, in every respect, by all the  
 ministers of **CHRIST**. [These notions, which  
 were injudiciously taken up, and blindly entertain-  
 ed (without any regard to the difference of times,  
 places, circumstances, and characters ; without  
 considering that the provident wisdom of **CHRIST**  
 and his apostles left many regulations to the pru-  
 dence and piety of the governors of the church)  
 were productive of many pernicious effects, and  
 threw these good reformers, whose zeal was not  
 always according to knowledge, from the extreme  
 of superstition into the extreme of enthusiasm.]  
 Many well-meaning persons, whose intentions  
 were highly laudable, fell into great errors in  
 consequence of these ill-grounded notions. Just-  
 ly incensed at the conduct of the superstitious mul-  
 titude, who placed the whole of religion in ex-  
 ternal services, and hoped to secure their salvation  
 by the performance of a laborious round of un-  
 meaning rites and ceremonies, they rashly main-  
 tained, that true piety was to be confined entirely  
 to the inward motions and affections of the soul,  
 and to the contemplation of spiritual and divine  
 things. In consequence of this specious, yet er-  
 roneous principle, they treated with the utmost  
 contempt all the external parts of religious wor-  
 ship, and aimed at nothing less than the total sup-  
 pression of {sacraments, churches, religious as-  
 semblies of every kind, and Christian ministers of  
 every order.

Commenta-  
 tors and ex-  
 positors.

IV. Several of both the Greek and Latin writers  
 employed their learned and pious labours in the  
 exposition

exposition and illustration of the holy scriptures: C E N T, XI. Among the Latins, BRUNO wrote a commentary P A R T I E on the *Book of Psalms*, LANFRANC upon the *Epistles of St Paul*, BERENGER upon the *Revelations of St John*, GREGORY VII. upon the *Gospel of St Matthew*, and others upon other parts of the sacred writings. But all these expositors, in compliance with the prevailing custom of the times, either copied the explanations of the ancient commentators, or made such whimsical applications of certain passages of scripture, both in explaining the doctrines, and in inculcating the duties of religion, that it is often difficult to peruse them without indignation or disgust. The most eminent of the Grecian expositors was THEOPHYLACT, a native of *Bulgaria*; though he also is indebted to the ancients, and, in a particular manner, to St CHRYSOSTOM, for the greatest part of his most judicious observations [z]. Nor must we pass in silence the commentary upon the *Book of Psalms* and the *Song of Solomon*, that was composed by the learned MICHAEL PSELLUS; nor the *Chain* of commentaries upon the *Book of Job*, which we owe to the industry of NICETAS.

V. All the Latin doctors, if we except a few <sup>Scholastic</sup> Hibernian divines, who blended with the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, the perplexing subtleties of an obscure philosophy, had hitherto derived their system of religion, and their explanations of divine truth, either from the holy scriptures alone, or from these sacred oracles explained by the illustrations, and compared with the theology, of the ancient doctors. But in this century certain writers, and among others, the famous

N n 2

BERENGER,

[z] For an account of THEOPHYLACT, see RICH. SIMON. *Hist Critique des principaux Commentateurs du N. T.* ch. xxviii. p. 390. & *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, par DU PIN, tom. i. p. 310. where he also speaks largely concerning NICETAS and OECUMENIUS.



C E N T. BERENGER [a], went much farther, and employ-  
 ed the rules of logic and the subtilties of meta-  
 physical discussions, both in explaining the doc-  
 trines of scripture, and in proving the truth of  
 their own particular opinions. Hence LAN-  
 FRANC, the antagonist of BERENGER, and after-  
 wards archbishop of *Canterbury*, introduced into  
 the field of religious controversy the same phi-  
 losophical arms, and seemed, in general, desir-  
 ous of employing the dictates of reason to illu-  
 strate and confirm the truths of religion. His  
 example, in this respect, was followed by AN-  
 SELM, his disciple and successor in the see of *Can-  
 terbury*, a man of a truly metaphysical genius, and  
 capable of giving the greatest air of dignity and  
 importance to the *first philosopher*. Such were  
 the beginnings of that philosophical theology,  
 which grew afterwards, by degrees, into a cloudy  
 and enormous system, and from the public schools  
 in which it was cultivated, acquired the name  
 of *scholastic divinity* [b]. It is, however, necessa-  
 ry to observe, that the eminent divines, who first  
 set on foot this new species of theology, and thus  
 laudably maintained that most noble and natural  
 connexion of FAITH with REASON, and of RELI-  
 GION with PHILOSOPHY, were much more pru-  
 dent and moderate than their followers, in the use  
 and application of this conciliatory scheme. They  
 kept, for the most part, within bounds, and wisely  
 reflected

[a] Otherwise called BERENGARIUS, and famous for the  
 noble opposition he made to the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*,  
 which LANFRANC so absurdly pretended to support upon phi-  
 losophical principles. The attempt of this latter to introduce  
 the rules of logic into religious controversy would have been  
 highly laudable, had not he perverted this respectable science  
 to the defence of the most monstrous absurdities.

[b] See CHR. AUGUST. HEUMANNI *Præfat. ad Tribbe-  
 chovii Librum de Doctoribus Scholasticis*, p. 14.—The senti-  
 ments of the learned, concerning the first author or inventor  
 of the scholastic divinity, are collected by JO. FRANC. BUD-  
 DEUS, in his *Isagoge ad Theolog.* tom. i. p. 38.

reflected upon the limits of reason; their language C E N T.  
 was clear; the questions they proposed were in-Xl.  
 structive and interesting; they avoided all dis-P A R T II.  
 cussions that were only proper to satisfy a vain  
 and idle curiosity; and, in their disputes and de-  
 monstrations, they made, generally speaking, a  
 wise and sober use of the rules of logic, and of  
 the dictates of philosophy [c]. [✠ Their fol-  
 lowers,

[c] We shall here transcribe a passage from the works of LANFRANC, who is considered by many as the father of the scholastic system, that the reader may see how far the first schoolmen surpassed their disciples and followers in wisdom, modesty, and candour. We take this passage from that prelate's book concerning *The body and blood of Christ* \*, and it is as follows: "Testis mihi Deus est et conscientia mea, quia in tractatu divinarum literarum nec proponere nec ad propositas respondere cupere dialecticas quæstiones, vel earum solutiones. Et si quando materia disputandi talis est, ut hujus artis regulis valeat enucleatius explicari, in quantum possum, per æquipollentias propositionum tego artem, ne videar magis arte, quam veritate, sanctorumque patrum auctoritate confidere." LANFRANC here declares in the most solemn manner, even by an appeal to God and his conscience, that he was so far from having the least inclination to propose or to answer logical questions in the course of his theological labours, that, on the contrary, when he was forced to have recourse to the science of dialectic, in order the better to illustrate his subject, he concealed the succours he derived from thence with all possible care, lest he should seem to place more confidence in the resources of *art*, than in the simplicity of *truth*, and the *authority of the holy fathers*. These last words shew plainly the *two* sources from whence the Christian doctors had hitherto derived all their tenets, and the arguments by which they maintained them, *viz.* from the holy scriptures, which LANFRANC here calls the *truth*, and from the writings of the ancient fathers of the church. To these two sources of theology and argumentation, a *third* was added in this century, even the science of logic, which, however, was only employed by the managers of controversy to repulse their adversaries, who came armed with syllogisms, or to remove difficulties which were drawn from reason and from the nature of things. But, in succeeding times, the two former sources were either entirely neglected or sparingly employed, and philosophical demonstration, or, at least, something that bore that name, was regarded as a sufficient support to the truths of religion.

\* Cap. vii. p. 236. Opp. ed. LUC. DACHERII.

C E N T. lowers, on the contrary, ran with a metaphysical  
 P A R T <sup>XI.</sup> II frenzy into the greatest abuses, and, by the most  
 unjustifiable perversion of a wise and excellent  
 method of searching after, and confirming truth,  
 they banished evidence out of religion, common  
 sense out of philosophy, and erected a dark and  
 enormous mass of pretended *science*, in which  
*words* passed for *ideas*, and *sounds* for *sense*.]

VI. No sooner was this new method introduc-  
 ed, than the Latin doctors began to reduce all the  
 doctrines of religion into one permanent and con-  
 nected system, and to treat theology as a science;  
 an enterprise which had hitherto been attempted  
 by none, but TAIO, of *Saragossa*, a writer of the  
 seventh century, and the learned DAMASCENAS,  
 who flourished among the Greeks in the follow-  
 ing age. The Latin Doctors had hitherto con-  
 fined their theological labours to certain branches  
 of the Christian religion, which they illustrated  
 only on certain occasions. The first production  
 which looked like a general system of theology,  
 was that of the celebrated ANSELM; this, however,  
 was surpassed by the complete and universal bo-  
 dy of divinity, which was composed, towards the  
 conclusion of this century, by HILDEBERT, arch-  
 bishop of *Tours* who seems to have been regard-  
 ed both as the first and the best model in this  
 kind of writing, by the innumerable legions of  
 system-makers, who arose in succeeding times [d].  
 This learned prelate demonstrated first the doc-  
 trines of his system by proofs drawn from the  
 holy scriptures, and also from the writings of the  
 ancient

[d] This body of divinity, which was the first complete  
 theological system that had been composed among the Latins,  
 is inserted in the *Works* of HILDEBERT, published by BEAU-  
 GENDRE, who shews evidently, in his *Preface*, that PETER  
 LOMBARD, PULLUS, and the other writers of theological  
 systems, did no more than follow servilely the traces of HIL-  
 DEBERT.

ancient fathers of the church; and in this he C E N T.  
 followed the custom that had prevailed in the XI.  
 preceding ages; but he went yet farther, and P A R T II.  
 answered the objections, which might be brought  
 against his doctrine, by arguments drawn from  
 reason and philosophy; this part of his method  
 was entirely new, and peculiar to the age in which  
 he lived [e].

VII. The moral writers of this century, who Moral  
 undertook to unfold the obligations of Christ- writers.  
 ians, and to delineate the nature, the extent, and  
 the various branches of true virtue and evange-  
 lical obedience, treated this most excellent of all  
 sciences in a manner quite unsuitable to its digni-  
 ty and importance. We find sufficient proofs of  
 this in the moral writings of PETER DAMIEN  
 [f], and even of the learned HILDEBERT [g].  
 The moralists of this age generally confined them-  
 selves to a jejune explication of, what are com-  
 monly called, the four cardinal virtues, to which  
 they added the *Ten Commandments*, to complete  
 their system. ANSELM, the famous prelate of *Can-*  
*terbury*, surpassed, indeed, all the moral writers of  
 his time; the books which he composed, with  
 a design to promote practical religion, and more  
 especially his *Book of Meditations and Prayers*,  
 contain many excellent things, several happy  
 thoughts expressed with much energy and unc-  
 tion.

N n 4

[e] It may not be improper to place here a passage which is  
 taken from a treatise of ANSELM's, entitled *Cur Deus homo?*  
 since this passage was respected, by the first scholastic divines,  
 as an immutable law in theology; "Sicut rectus ordo exigit,  
 says the learned prelate, "ut profunda fidei Christianæ cre-  
 damus, priusquam ea præsumamus ratione discutere: ita ne-  
 gligentia mihi videtur, si, postquam confirmati sumus in fide,  
 non studemus quod credimus intelligere:" which amounts to  
 this, "That we must first believe without examination, but  
 must afterwards endeavour to understand what we believe.

[f] See PETRUS DAMIANUS, *De Virtutibus*.

[g] See HILDEBERTI *Philosophia Moralis*, et *Libellus de*  
*IV. Virtutibus honestæ vitæ*.

C E N T. tion. [Nor did the mystic divines satisfy themselves with piercing, by *extatic thought*, and *feeling*, into the sublime regions of *beauty* and *love*; they *conceived*, and *brought forth* several productions that were destined to diffuse the pure delights of *union* and *communion* through enamoured souls.] JOHANNES JOHANNELLUS, a Latin mystic, wrote a treatise concerning *Divine Contemplation* [b]; and SIMEON, the younger, who was a Grecian sage of the same visionary class, composed several discourses upon subjects of a like nature.

The state of  
controversial divi-  
nity.

VIII. Among the controversial writers of this century, we see the effects of the scholastic method that BERENGER and LANFRANC had introduced into the study of theology. We see divines entering the lists armed with syllogisms, which they manage awkwardly, and aiming rather to confound their adversaries by the subtilties of logic, than to convince them by the power of evidence; while those who were unprovided with this philosophical armour, made a still more wretched and despicable figure, fell into the grossest and most perverse blunders, and seem to have written without either thinking of their subject, or of the manner of treating it with success. DAMIANUS, already mentioned, defended the truth of Christianity against the Jews; but his success was not equal either to the warmth of his zeal, or to the uprightness of his intentions. SAMUEL, a convert from Judaism to Christianity, wrote an elaborate treatise against those of his nation, which is still extant. But the noblest champion that appeared at this period of time in the cause of religion, was the famous ANSELM, who attacked the enemies of Christianity, and the audacious contemners of all religion, in an in-  
genius

[b] See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 48.

genious work [i], which was perhaps, by its depth and acuteness, above the comprehension of those whom it was designed to convince of their errors. [For it happened, no doubt, in these earlier times, as it frequently does in our days, that many gave themselves out for unbelievers, who knew not the first principles of reasoning, and whose incredulity was the fruit of ignorance and presumption, nourished by licentiousness and corruption of heart.]

IX. The famous contest between the Greek and Latin churches, which, though not decided, had, however, been suspended for a considerable time, was imprudently revived, in the year 1053, by MICHAEL CERULARIUS, patriarch of *Constantinople*, a man of a restless and turbulent spirit, who blew the flame of religious discord, and widened the fatal breach by new invectives and new accusations. The pretexts that were employed to justify this new rupture, were zeal for the truth, and an anxious concern about the interests of religion; but its true causes were the arrogance and ambition of the Grecian patriarch and the Roman pontif. The latter was constantly forming the most artful stratagems to reduce the former under his imperious yoke; and, for this purpose, he left no means unemployed to gain over to his side the bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, by withdrawing them from the jurisdiction of the see of *Constantinople*. The tumultuous and unhappy state of the Grecian empire was singularly favourable to his aspiring views, as the friendship and alliance of the Roman pontif was highly useful to the Greeks in their struggles with the Saracens and the Normans, who were settled in *Italy*. On the other hand, the Grecian pontif was not only determined

[i] This work was entitled, *Liber adversus insipientem*, i. e. *The fool refused*.

C E N T. determined to refuse obstinately the least mark of  
 XI.  
 P A R T II. submission to his haughty rival, but was also laying schemes for extending his dominion, and for reducing all the Oriental patriarchs under his supreme jurisdiction. Thus the contending parties were preparing for the field of controversy, when CERULARIUS began the charge by a warm letter written in his own name, and in the name of LEO, bishop of *Achrida*, who was his chief counsellor, to JOHN, bishop of *Trani*, in *Apulia*, in which he publicly accused the Latins of various errors [k]. LEO IX. who was then in the papal chair, answered this letter in a most imperious manner; and, not satisfied with shewing his indignation by mere words, assembled a council at *Rome*, in which the Greek churches were solemnly excommunicated [l].

X. CONSTANTINE, surnamed *Monomachus*, who was now at the head of the Grecian empire, endeavoured to stifle this controversy in its birth, and, for that purpose, desired the Roman pontif to send legates to *Constantinople*, to concert measures for restoring and confirming the tranquillity of the church. Three legates were accordingly sent from *Rome* to that imperial city, who brought with them letters from LEO IX. not only to the emperor, but also to the Grecian pontif. These legates were cardinal HUMBERT, a man of a high and impetuous spirit, PETER, archbishop of *Amalfi*, and FREDERIC, archdeacon and chancellor of the church of *Rome*. The issue of this congress was unhappy in the highest degree, notwithstanding the propensity which the emperor, for political reasons,

[k] See an account of those errors, sect. xi.

[l] These letters of CERULARIUS and LEO are published in the *Annals* of BARONIUS, *ad An.* 1053.—The former is also inserted by CANISIUS, in his *Lectio. Antiq.* tom. iii. p. 281. ed. nov.—LEONIS *Concilia*, &c.



reasons [m], discovered to the cause of the bishop of Rome. The arrogance of LEO IX. and his insolent letters, excited the highest indignation in the breast of CERULARIUS, and produced a personal aversion to this audacious pontif, which inflamed, instead of healing the wounds of the church; while, on the other hand, the Roman legates gave many and evident proofs, that the design of their embassy was not to restore peace and concord, but to establish among the Greeks the supreme authority and the ghostly dominion of the Roman pontif. Thus all hopes of a happy conclusion of these miserable divisions entirely vanished; and the Roman legates finding their efforts ineffectual to overcome the vigorous resistance of CERULARIUS, they, with the highest insolence, as well as imprudence, excommunicated publicly, in the church of *St Sophia*, A. D. 1054, the Grecian patriarch, with LEO of *Achrida*, and all their adherents; and leaving a written act of their inhuman imprecations and anathemas upon the grand altar of that temple, they *shook the dust off their feet*, and thus departed. This violent step rendered the evil incurable, which it was before not only possible, but perhaps easy, to remedy. The Grecian patriarch imitated the vehemence of the Roman legates, and did from resentment what they had perpetrated from a principle of ambition and arrogance. He excommunicated these legates with all their adherents and followers in a public council, and procured an order of the emperor for burning the act of excommunication which they had pronounced against the Greeks [n].

These

[m] He stood greatly in need of the assistance of the Germans and Italians against the Normans, and hoped to obtain it by the good offices of the pope, who was in high credit with the emperor HENRY III.

[n] Besides BARONIUS and other writers, whose accounts of this period of time are generally known, and not always exact,



**C E N T.** These vehement measures were followed on both  
<sup>XI.</sup>  
**P A R T II.** sides with a multitude of controversial writings,  
 that were filled with the most bitter and irritating  
 invectives, and served no other purpose than to  
 add fuel to the flame.

XI. CERULARIUS added new accusations to the ancient charge, which had been brought by PHOTIUS against the Latin churches, of which the principal was, that they used unleavened bread in the celebration of the Lord's supper. This accusation (such were the times!) was looked upon as a matter of the most serious nature, and of the highest consequence; it was, therefore, debated between the Greeks and Latins with the utmost vehemence, nor did the Grecian and Roman pontiffs contend with more fury and bitterness about the extent of their power, and the limits of their jurisdiction, than the Greek and Latin churches disputed about the use of unleavened bread. The other heads of accusation that were brought against the Latins by the Grecian pontif, discovered rather a malignant and contentious spirit, and a profound ignorance of genuine Christianity, than a generous zeal for the truth. He complains, for instance, in the heaviest manner, that the Latins do not abstain from the use of blood, and of things strangled; that their monks eat lard, and permit the use of flesh to such of the brethren as are sick or infirm; that their bishops adorn their fingers with rings, as if they were bride-

exact, see MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. v. lib. 1x. ad A. 1053, et *Præf. ad Sæc. vi. Actor. SS. Benedicti*, part II. p. 1. — LEO ALLATIUS, *De libris Græcor. Ecclesiast. Diss.* ii. p. 160. ed. Fabricii, et *De perpetua Eccles. Orient. et Occident. Consensu*, lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 614. — MICH. LE QUIEN, *Oriente Christiano*, tom. i. p. 260. et *Diss. Damoscena prima*, sect. xxxi. p. 16. HERMANNI *Historia Concertationum de pane azyma et fermentato*, p. 59. published at Leipsic in the year 1739. — JO. BAPT. COTELERIUS, *Monum. Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, tom. ii. p. 108.

bridegrooms ; that their priests are beardless ; and that in the rite of baptism they confined themselves to one single immersion [o]. Such were the miserable and trifling objects that excited a fatal schism, and kindled a furious war between the Greeks and Latins, who carried their animosities to the greatest lengths, and loaded each other with reciprocal invectives and imprecations. The attentive reader will form from hence a just idea of the deplorable state of religion both in the eastern and western world at this period, and will see in this dreadful schism, the true origin of the various sects that multiplied the different forms of superstition and error in these unhappy times.

XII. This vehement dispute, which the Greeks had to carry on against the Latin churches, was well nigh followed by a fatal division among themselves. Amidst the straits and difficulties to which the empire was now reduced by the expences of war, and the calamities of the times, ALEXIUS not only employed the treasures of the church, in order to answer the exigences of the state, but ordered also the plates of silver, and the figures of that metal that adorned the portals of the churches, to be taken down and converted into money. This measure excited the indignation of LEO bishop of *Chalcedon*, a man of austere morals, and of an obstinate spirit, who maintained that the emperor, in this step, was guilty of sacrilege ; and, to prove this charge, published a treatise, in which he affirmed, that in the images of JESUS CHRIST, and of the saints, there resided a certain

[o] See CERULARII *Epistola ad Johannem Tranensem in Canisii Lection. Antiq.* tom. iii. p. 281. where the reader will also find the refutation of this letter by Cardinal HUMBERT.—See likewise CERULARII *Epistola ad Petrum Antiochens.* in COTELERII *Monumentis Ecclesiæ Græc.* tom. ii. p. 138. add to these MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecdol.* tom. v. p. 784.

C. E. N. T. a certain kind of *inherent sanctity*, that was a pro-  
 XL  
 PART II per object of religious worship; and that, there-  
 fore, the adoration of Christians ought not to be  
 confined to the persons represented by the images  
 but extended also to the images themselves. This  
 new controversy excited various tumults and se-  
 ditions among the people, to suppress which the  
 emperor assembled a council at *Constantinople*, in  
 which the question was terminated by the follow-  
 ing decisions: " That the images of CHRIST,  
 " and of the *saints*, were to be honoured only with  
 " a *relative worship* [p], which was to be offered,  
 " not to the substance or matter of which these  
 " images were composed, but to the *forms* and  
 " *features* of which they bore the impression; that  
 " the representations of CHRIST, and of the *saints*,  
 " whether in painting or sculpture, did in no  
 " sense *partake of the nature* of the divine Saviour;  
 " or of these holy men, though they were enrich-  
 " ed with a certain communication of divine  
 " grace; and, lastly, that invocation and worship  
 " were to be addressed to the *saints*, only as the  
 " servants of CHRIST, and on account of their  
 " relation to him, as their master." These de-  
 cisions, absurd and superstitious as they were, were  
 not enough so for LEO, the idolatrous bishop of  
*Chalcedon*, who maintained his monstrous system  
 with obstinacy, and was, for that reason, sent into  
 banishment [o]

Controversies in the  
 Latin  
 church  
 about the  
 Lord's sup-  
 per.

XIII. The famous dispute concerning the *pre-  
 sence* of CHRIST's body and blood in the eucharist  
 was revived about the middle of this century in  
 the Latin church. Hitherto the disputants on  
 both

[p] Σχίζονται προσκυῖναι, ἢ λατρεύειν τὰς εἰκόνας.

[q] An ample account of this whole matter is given by ANNA COMNENA, in her *Alexiad.* lib. v. p. 104. lib. vii. p. 158. edit. *Venet.*—The acts of this council, the very mention of which is omitted by several historians of considerable note, are published by MONTFAUCON, in his *Bibliotheca Cois-  
 liana*, p. 103.

both sides had proposed their jarring opinions C E N T. with the utmost freedom, unrestrained by the de- XI. P A R T II. spotic voice of authority, since no council had given a definitive sentence upon this matter, nor prescribed a rule of faith to terminate all inquiry and debate [*r*]. Hence it was, that, in the beginning of this century, LEUTHERIC, archbishop of *Sens*, affirmed, in opposition to the general opinion of the times, that none but the sincere and upright Christian, none but saints and real believers, received the body of CHRIST in the holy sacrament. This opinion, which was broached in the year 1004, was every way proper to excite rumours among the people; but these its natural effects were happily prevented by the influence of ROBERT, king of *France*, and the wise counsels of some prudent friends who hindered the fanatical prelate from disseminating this whimsical invention [*s*]. It was not so easy to extinguish the zeal, or to stop the mouth of the famous BERENGER, principal of the public school at *Tours*, and afterwards archbishop of *Angers*, a man of a most acute and subtile genius, and highly renowned both on account of his extensive learning, and the exemplary sanctity of his life and manners [*t*]. This eminent ecclesiastic maintained publicly, in the year 1045; the doctrine of JOHANNES SCO'TUS, opposed warmly the monstrous

[*r*] The various opinions concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper, that were embraced during this century, are collected by MARTENE from an ancient manuscript, and published in his *Voyage Littéraire de deux Benedictins de la Congregation de S. Maur*, tom. ii. p. 126.

[*s*] See DU BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris*. tom. i. p. 354.

[*t*] See the Life of Berenger in the Works of HILDEBERT, archdeacon of *Mans*, p. 1324.—See also *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 197.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. i. p. 304. and the authors mentioned by FABRICIUS, *Biblioth. Lat. medi ævi*, tom. i. p. 570. It is probably by a press-error, that HILDEBERT is styled *archbishop*, instead of *archdeacon*, by PARIS *Hist.* lib. i. p. 12. edit. *Watts*.

CEN T. strous opinions of PASCHASIUS RADBERT, which  
 XI.  
 PART II. were adapted to captivate a superstitious multitude  
 by exciting their astonishment, and persevered  
 with a noble obstinacy in teaching, that the bread  
 and wine were not changed into the body and  
 blood of CHRIST in the eucharist, but preserved  
 their natural and essential qualities, and were no  
 more than figures and external symbols of the body  
 and blood of the divine Saviour.—This wise and  
 rational doctrine was no sooner published, than it  
 was opposed by certain doctors in *France* and *Ger-*  
*many*; but the Roman pontif LEO IX. attacked  
 it with peculiar vehemence and fury in the year  
 1050; and in two councils, the one assembled at  
*Rome*, and the other at *Vercelli*, had the doctrine  
 of BERENGER solemnly condemned, and the book  
 of SCOTUS, from which it was drawn, commit-  
 ted to the flames. This example was followed by  
 the council of *Paris*, which was summoned the  
 very same year by HENRY I. and in which BE-  
 RENGER, and his numerous adherents, were me-  
 naced with all sorts of evil, both spiritual and  
 temporal. These threats were executed, in part,  
 against this unhappy prelate, whom HENRY de-  
 prived of all his revenues; but neither threaten-  
 ings, nor fines, nor synodical decrees, could shake  
 the firmness of his mind, or engage him to re-  
 nounce the doctrine he had embraced.

The pontifs  
 strive, in  
 vain, to put  
 an end to  
 this debate.

XIV. After these proceedings, the controversy  
 was for some years happily suspended, and BE-  
 RENGER, whose patrons were as numerous as his  
 enemies were formidable [u], enjoyed, for a  
 while, the sweets of liberty and peace. His ene-  
 mies, however, after the death of LEO IX. re-  
 kindled the flame of religious discord, and per-  
 suaded his successor VICTOR II. to examine anew  
 the

[u] His most formidable enemy and rival was LANFRANC,  
 archbishop of *Canterbury*.

the doctrine of BERENGER. The pontif complied, and sent his legates to two different councils that were assembled at *Tours*, in the year 1054 [*w*], for that purpose. In one of these councils the famous HILDEBRAND, who was afterwards pontif under the title of GREGORY VII. appeared in the character of legate, and opposed the new doctrine with the utmost vehemence. BERENGER was also present at this assembly, and, overpowered with threats, rather than convinced by reason and argument, he not only abandoned his opinions, but (if we may believe his adversaries, to whose testimony we are confined in this matter) abjured them solemnly, and in consequence of this humbling step, made his peace with the church.--- This abjuration, however, was far from being sincere, and the docility of BERENGER was no more than an act of dissimulation; for soon after this period, he taught anew, though with more circumspection and prudence, the opinions he had formerly professed. That his conduct here appears mean and dishonest, is indeed evident; but we are not sufficiently acquainted with the transactions of these councils to fix precisely the degree of his crime.

XV. The account of BERENGER's perfidy being brought to NICOLAS II. the exasperated pontif summoned him to *Rome*, A. D. 1058, and terrified him, in such a manner, in the council held there the following year, that he declared his readiness to embrace and adhere to the doctrines which that venerable assembly should think proper to impose upon his faith. HUMBERT was accordingly appointed unanimously by NICOLAS and the council to draw up a confession of faith for BERENGER, who signed it publicly, and confirmed

⚡ [*w*] Other historians mention but one council, and place it in the year 1055.

CENT.

 XI.  
 PART II.  


his adherence to it by a solemn oath. In this confession there was, among other tenets equally absurd, the following declaration, that *the bread and wine, after consecration, were not only a SACRAMENT, but also the REAL BODY AND BLOOD of JESUS CHRIST; and that this body and blood were handled by the priests and consumed by the faithful, and not in a sacramental sense, but in reality and truth, as other sensible objects are.* This doctrine was so monstrously nonsensical, and was such an impudent insult upon the very first principles of reason, that it could have nothing alluring to a man of BERENGER's acute and philosophical turn, nor could it possibly become the object of his serious belief, as appeared soon after this odious act of dissimulation; for no sooner was he returned into *France*, than taking refuge in the countenance and protection of his ancient patrons, he expressed the utmost detestation and abhorrence of the doctrines he had been obliged to profess at *Rome*, abjured them solemnly both in his discourse and in his writings, and returned zealously to the profession and defence of his former, which had always been his real opinion. ALEXANDER II. employed the seducing influence of soft and friendly expostulation to engage BERENGER to dissemble anew, or, in other words, to return from his pretended apostacy; but his remonstrances were ineffectual, and that perhaps in a great measure, because this rebellious son of a superstitious church was powerfully supported in the maintenance of his opinions. Hence the controversy was prolonged, during many years, by a multitude of writings on both sides of the question, and the followers of BERENGER increased from day to day.

XVI. GREGORY VII. whose enterprising spirit no difficulties nor oppositions could discourage, was no sooner raised to the pontificate than he undertook

dertook to terminate this important controversy, and, for that purpose, sent an order to BERENGER, in the year 1078, to repair to *Rome*. Considering the natural character of this pontif, his conduct in this affair was highly laudable, and discovered a degree of impartiality and candour, which his proceedings upon other occasions gave little reason to expect. He seems to have had a high esteem for BERENGER; and, in the particular points in which he was obliged to oppose him, he did it, with all possible mildness, and with a tenderness which shewed that he acted rather from a forced compliance with the clamours of his adversaries, than from inclination or principle. In the council that was held at *Rome* towards the conclusion of the year 1078, he permitted BERENGER to draw up a new confession of his faith, and to renounce that which had been composed by HUMBERT, though it had been solemnly approved and confirmed by NICOLAS II. and a Roman council. The sagacious pontif perceived clearly the absurdity of HUMBERT's confession, and therefore revoked it, though it had been rendered sacred by papal authority [x]. In consequence of this, the persecuted prelate made a second declaration, confirmed by an oath, that he would adhere for the future to the following propositions: That *the bread laid upon the altar became, after consecration, the true body of CHRIST, which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross, and now sits at the right-hand of the Father*: and that the wine placed

[x] It is worthy of observation, that GREGORY VII. whose zeal in extending the jurisdiction, and exalting the authority of the Roman pontifs, surpassed that of all his predecessors, acknowledged, at least tacitly, by this step, that a pope and council might err, and had erred in effect. How otherwise could he allow BERENGER to renounce a confession of faith, that had been solemnly approved and confirmed by NICOLAS II. in a Roman council?



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upon the altar became, after consecration, the true blood, which flowed from the side of Christ. The pontif was satisfied with this declaration, which was far from producing the same effect upon the enemies of BERENGER: they shewed that it was ambiguous, and so it was in reality; and they insisted that BERENGER should be obliged not only to sign another declaration less vague and equivocal, but should also be required to prove his sincerity by the fiery trial. GREGORY refused absolutely this latter demand, and would have equally refused the other, had not his favourable intentions towards BERENGER yeilded to the importunate clamours of his enemies and persecutors.

XVII. The pontif, therefore, granted that part of their demand that related to a new declaration; and, in a council held at *Rome*, A. D. 1079, had a third confession of faith drawn up, which was somewhat less absurd than the first, though much more harsh than the second, and to which BERENGER, after reading and subscribing it in the midst of the assembly, was obliged to declare his assent by a solemn oath. By this assent, he professed to believe, *That the bread and wine, by the mysterious influence of the holy prayer, and the words of our Redeemer, substantially changed into the true, proper, and vivifying body and blood of Jesus Christ:* and to remove all grounds of suspicion, to dispel all doubt about the reality of his attachment to this ridiculous system, he added to his second confession [y] a solemn declaration, that *the bread and wine, after consecration, were converted into the real body and blood of Christ, not only in quality of external signs and sacramental representations, but in their essential properties, and in substantial reality.* No sooner had BERENGER made

[y] Mentioned in the preceding section.

this

this strange declaration, than the pontif redoubled the marks of esteem which he had formerly shewn him, and sent him back to his country loaded with the most honourable testimonies of his liberality and friendship. The double-minded doctor did not, however, think himself bound by this declaration, solemn as it was; and therefore retracted publicly, upon his return to his residence, what he had subscribed as his real sentiments in the council of *Rome*, and went even so far as to compose an elaborate refutation of the doctrine to which he had been engaged to profess his assent. This new change excited a warm and vehement controversy, in which LANFRANC and GUITMUND endeavoured to perplex BERENGER, with their sophistry, and to overwhelm him with their invectives. Gregory VII. to whose papal thunder the affronted council looked with impatience, seemed neither surprised nor offended by the inconstancy of Berenger, nor did he take any step which could testify the smallest mark of resentment against this pretended apostate. From hence it appears more than probable, that the second confession of Berenger, had entirely satisfied that pontif; and that the violent imposition of the third was by no means agreeable to Gregory, who seems to have adopted, in a great measure, if not wholly, the sentiments of Berenger [z].

XVIII. Amidst

[z] A remarkable treatise of BERENGER's composition, which has been published by MARTENE, in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. iv. p. 99, 109. will contribute to cast a satisfactory light upon this whole affair, and will fully unfold the real sentiments of GREGORY concerning the eucharist. For from this piece it is undoubtedly evident; 1st, That BERENGER was esteemed and favoured, in a singular manner by GREGORY VII. 2^{dly}, That this pontif was of the same opinion with BERENGER concerning the eucharist; it is certain, at least, that he was for adhering to the words of scripture in this matter, and was eager in suppressing all curious researches,

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doctrine.

XVIII. Amidst the clamours of his incensed adversaries, BERENGER observed a profound silence,

and all positive decisions concerning the manner of CHRIST's presence in the holy sacrament. This appears evidently from the following words, which he addressed to BERENGER before the meeting of the last council of Rome, and in which he speaks of his design to consult the Virgin MARY concerning the conduct which it was proper for him to observe in the course of this controversy: *Ego plane te* (says the pontif in the 108th page of the work, cited in the beginning of this note) *de Christi sacrificio secundum scripturas bene sentire non dubito: tamen quia consuetudinis mihi est, ad B. Mariam de his quæ movent recurrere—imposui religioso cuidam amico—a B. Maria obtinere, ut per eum mihi non taceret, sed verbis commendaret, quorsum me de negotio quod in manibus habebam de Christi sacrificio reciperem, in quo immotus persisterem.* We see here plainly, that GREGORY expresses the strongest propensity to the sentiments of BERENGER, not, however, without some hesitation concerning the manner in which he was to conduct himself, and also concerning the precise doctrine, which it was necessary to embrace in relation to the presence of CHRIST in the eucharist. It was this hesitation which led him to consult the Virgin MARY, whose answer the pontif gives in the following words: *A. B. Maria audiuit et ad me retulit, nihil de sacrificio Christi cogitandum, nihil esse tenendum, nisi quod tenerent authenticæ scripturæ, contra quas BERENGARIUS nihil habebat. Hoc tibi manifestare volui, ut securiorem ad nos fiduciam & alacriorem spem habeas.* Here we see an answer of the Virgin pronouncing, that it was necessary to adhere to the express declarations of scripture concerning the presence of CHRIST in the sacrament; and whether GREGORY was fanatical enough to confide in this answer as real, or rogue enough to forge it, it is still certain, that he confined his belief concerning the point in debate to the language of scripture, and held that the true body and blood of CHRIST were exhibited in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, though it was neither necessary nor expedient to enquire into the nature or manner of this mysterious presence. 3dly, It appears manifest from the treatise already mentioned, that the assembling of the second council, and the imposition of another confession of faith, upon the conscience of BERENGER, were measures into which GREGORY was forced by the enemies of that ecclesiastic. *Dejectus est*, says BERENGER, speaking of that pontif, *impertunitate Paduani scurra, non episcopi, et Pisani non episcopi, sed anticristi . . . ut permetteret calumniatoribus veritatis in posteriori quadragesima concilio scriptum a se firmatum in priori mutari.* 4thly, We see here the

lence, and was prudent enough to return no answer to their bitter and repeated invectives. Fatigued with a controversy, in which the first principles of reason were so impudently insulted, and exhausted by an opposition which he was unable to overcome, he abandoned all his worldly concerns, and retired to the isle of *St Cosme*, in the neighbourhood of *Tours*, where he spent the remainder of his days in fasting, prayer, and pious exercises. In the year 1088, death put an end to the affliction he suffered in his retirement, from a bitter reflection upon the dissimulation he had been guilty of at *Rome*, and to the penitential acts of mortification and austerity, to which he seems to have submitted with a design to expiate the enormity of his criminal compliance, and the guilt of his perjury [a]. He left behind him in

the true reason why GREGORY shewed not the smallest mark of resentment against BERENGER, when, upon his return to his own country, he violated the promise by which he had so solemnly bound himself in the last council, and refuted the confession to which he had sworn his assent. For the pontif was very far from adopting the sentiments of those who had drawn up or suggested that monstrous confession, and esteemed it sufficient to believe with BERENGER, that the body and blood of JESUS CHRIST were exhibited to Christians in the eucharist. Hence he left the violent adversaries of his persecuted friend to murmur, scribble, bawl, and refute, while he himself observed a profound silence, and persisted in his resolution to put that unhappy man to no farther trouble. It is, however, proper to observe, that in the same book from whence these particulars are taken, we find BERENGER addressing himself, with the utmost humility, to the divine mercy, for the pardon of the crime of dissimulation and perjury he had committed at *Rome*; and confessing that the fear of death had extorted from him oaths and declarations diametrically opposite to his real sentiments, and engaged him to subscribe to a set of tenets which he abhorred. *Deus omnipotens, says he, miserere, fons misericordiarum, tantum sacrilegium agnoscenti.*

[a] This will appear evident to such as peruse the treatise of his composition; which we have mentioned in the preceding note, as published in MARTENE'S *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. iv. p. 109.

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the minds of the people a deep impression of his extraordinary sanctity ; and his followers were as numerous as his fame was illustrious [b]. There have been disputes among the learned about the real sentiments of this eminent man : yet, notwithstanding the art which he sometimes used to conceal his opinions, and the ambiguity that is often remarkable in his expressions, whoever examines with impartiality and attention such of his writings as are yet extant, will immediately perceive, that he looked upon the bread and wine in the sacrament as no more than the signs or symbols of the body and blood of the divine Saviour [c]. In this opinion Berenger persevered to the last ; nor have we any authentic proof of

[b] The canons of the cathedral of *Tours* continue to honour the memory of BERENGER by an annual procession, in which they perform a solemn service at his tomb in the isle of *St. Cosme*. See MOLEON, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 130.

[c] MABILLON, and other Roman catholic writers, as also a few Lutheran divines, are of opinion, that BERENGER denied only the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, while he maintained, at the same time, the real presence of the body and blood of CHRIST in the eucharist. And this opinion will, indeed, appear plausible to such as consider only the declaration he signed in the first council at *Rome*, to which he was summoned by GREGORY VII. and which he never retracted, without comparing this declaration with the rest of his writings. On the other hand, USHER, BASNAGE, and almost all the writers of the reformed church maintain, that the doctrine of BERENGER was exactly the same with that which CALVIN afterwards adopted ; and I cannot help joining with them in this opinion, when I peruse attentively the following words of his *Letter to ALMANNUS*, published in MARTENE's *Thesaur.* tom. iv. p. 109. *Constat*, says BERENGER in express terms, *verum Christi corpus in ipsa mensa preponi, SED SPIRITUALITER INTERIORI HOMINI VERUM in ea Christi corpus ab his duntaxat, qui Christi membra sunt, incorruptum, intaminatum, inattritumque SPIRITUALITER MANDUCARI*. These words demonstrate so clearly, that, by the presence of CHRIST's body in the eucharist, BERENGER meant no more than a spiritual presence, that they dispel all doubt about his real sentiments, though, upon other occasions, he concealed these sentiments under dubious expressions, to deceive his adversaries.

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his having departed from it before his death, as CENT.
 some of the Roman catholic writers vainly pre- XI.
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[d] It is well known what laborious efforts the Roman catholic writers have employed to persuade us, that BERENGER, before his death, abandoned the opinion he had so long and so warmly defended, and returned to the doctrine of the church of *Rome* concerning the corporal presence of CHRIST in the eucharist. But when we enquire into the reasons on which this assertion is founded, we shall immediately perceive their weakness and insufficiency. They allege, in the first place, that BERENGER gave an account of his doctrine and belief in the council of *Bourdeaux*, A. D. 1087; and add to this, that the ancient writers applaud his penitential sentiments, and affirm that he died in the catholic faith. In all this, however, we see no proof of BERENGER's retraction. He adhered, indeed, to the confession of faith, which he had subscribed and adopted in the first of the two Roman councils, to which he had been summoned by GREGORY VII. and which that pontif judged sufficient to clear him from the imputation of heresy; and they who confined their attention to the *literal sense* of the words of that confession, without considering their *spirit*, and the different meanings of which they were susceptible, might easily imagine that BERENGER's confession was agreeable to the doctrine of the church. GREGORY, in order to pacify matters, confirmed them in this notion; and though he was well informed of BERENGER's having retracted the confession which he had signed in the last Roman council before which he appeared, and of his opposing, with the utmost warmth, the opinion he had there so solemnly professed, yet he let the inconstant doctor remain unmolested, and thereby tacitly acquitted him of the crime and the error that were laid to his charge.

It is of the utmost importance to observe here, that the Roman church was not come, in this century, to a fixed determination concerning the *nature* and *manner* of CHRIST's presence in the eucharist. This appears most evidently from the three confessions which BERENGER signed by the order of three councils, which confessions differed from each other, not only in the terms and the turn of expression, but also in the opinions and doctrines they contained. Pope NICOLAS II. and the council he assembled at *Rome*, A. D. 1059, obliged him to subscribe, as the true and orthodox doctrine of the church, the first of these confessions, which was composed by Cardinal HUMBERT. This confession was however rejected, not only as harsh in point of expression, but also as erroneous
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XIX. It is not rare to find, in the history of the church, the most trifling objects exciting the warmest

and unfound, by GREGORY and the two Roman councils, which he had expressly summoned to enquire into that matter; for had HUMBERT's declaration appeared to the pontif to be a just expression of the doctrine and sense of the church concerning the eucharist, neither he nor the succeeding councils would have permitted other forms of doctrine to be substituted in its place. GREGORY, as we have already seen, was of opinion, that it was highly improper to pry with too much curiosity into the mysteries of the eucharist, and that, laying aside all disputes concerning the manner of CHRIST's presence in that holy institution, it was safest to adhere to the plain words of scripture; and as this was also the opinion of BERENGER, and was plainly expressed in his confession of faith, the judicious pontif pronounced him innocent. But a following council departed from this equitable sentence of GREGORY, who, though with much reluctance, was induced to confirm their rigorous decisions; and hence arose a third confession, which was extremely different from the two preceding ones. We may remark, by the by, that in this controversy the councils seem plainly to have swayed the pontifs, since we see the obstinate, the invincible GREGORY, yielding, against his will, to one of these clamorous assemblies. BERENGER had no sooner got out of the hands of his enemies, than he returned to the second confession, which the pontif had approved, and publicly declaimed against that which had been imposed upon him in the last Roman council before which he had appeared, without receiving the least mark of disapprobation from GREGORY.—From this it was natural to conclude, that, although he opposed the decree of that council, he adopted nevertheless the opinion of the pope and of the church.

In the account which I have here given of this memorable controversy, I have not only consulted the ancient records relating to that matter, which have been made public (for several of them lie as yet in MSS. in the cabinets of the curious), but have also been assisted by the labours of those among the learned, who have treated that important branch of Ecclesiastical History in the most ample and accurate manner: such as first, FRANC. DE ROYE's book, published at *Angers* in the year 1656; *Ad Can. Ego Berengarius 41. de consecrat. distinct. 2. Ubi vita, heresis, et penitentia Berengarii Andegavensis Archidiaconi, et ad Josephi locum de Christo* (a book which is extremely curious, and very little known). MABILLON's *Prefat. ad tom. ix. Act. SS. Ord. Bened. seu Sac. vi. Part II. p. 4. et Dissert. de multiplici damnatione, fidei professione et lapsu*, which is published

warmest and most vehement controversies. Such was the dispute that arose in *France*, in the year 1023, between the priests and monks of *Limoges*, concerning the place that was to be assigned in the public liturgy to MARTIAL, the first bishop of that diocese. One party, headed by JORDAN, bishop of *Limoges*, were for placing him among the *confessors*; while HUGO, abbot of the monastery of *St Martial*, maintained, that the prelate in question was to be ranked among the *apostles*, and branded, with the opprobrious and heretical title of *Ebionites*, all such as adhered to the proposal of JORDAN. This *momentous* affair was debated first, in a council held at *Poitiers* in the year 1023, and in another assembled at *Paris* the year following; in which latter it was determined, that MARTIAL was to be honoured with the title of an *apostle*, and that all who refused him this eminent rank were to be considered as *Ebionites*, who, as is well known, confined the number of the apostles to twelve, that they might exclude St. PAUL from that sacred order. The decree, however, of this council did not produce the effects that were expected from it; for it exasperated, instead of calming, the zeal and animosity of the contending parties, so that this miserable dispute became daily more universal, and spread like a contagion through all the provinces of *France*. The matter was at length brought before the tribunal of the Roman pontif, JOHN XIX. who decided it

published in his *Analec̃ta veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 456. DE BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 404. tom. ii. p. 452. The authors of the reformed church, which I have followed in this controversy, are, USSERIUS, *De Successione Ecclesiar. Christianar. in occidente*, cap. vii. § 14. p. 195.—BASNAGE, *Hist. des Eglises Reformees*, tom. i. p. 105. & *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. p. 1391.—CAS. OUDIN, *Dissert. de Doctrina et Scriptis Berengarii in Comment. de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 624. There appears more or less a certain spirit of partiality in all these writers; but this spirit is particularly notorious among those of the church of *Rome*.

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in favour of the monks ; and, in a letter addressed to JORDAN and the other bishops of the nation, pronounced MARTIAL worthy of the title and honours of an apostle. This decision produced the most substantial and permanent effects : for in a council assembled at *Limoges*, A. D. 1029, JORDAN declared his acquiescence in the papal sentence ; in a provincial council at *Bourges*, two years after, MARTIAL was associated to the company of the apostles with great solemnity, in consequence of the decision of the Roman see, and about the same time this controversy was completely and finally terminated in a numerous council assembled at *Limoges*, in which the prayers that had been consecrated to the memory of the apostle MARTIAL, by the zealous pontif, were publicly recited [*e*]. The warm contenders for the apostleship of MARTIAL asserted, that he was one of the seventy disciples of CHRIST ; from whence they concluded, that he had an equal title with PAUL and BARNABAS to the honour of an apostle.

[*e*] See BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 372. 101.—J. LONGEVAL, *Histoire de l'Eglise Galicane*, tom. vii. p. 188, 189, 231.—The Benedictine monks, in their *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. *Append. Documentor.* p. 162. have published the *Letter of JORDAN to Pope BENEDICT VIII. against the Apostleship of MARTIAL.* The decrees of the councils of *Bourges* and *Limoges* concerning this matter are published by LABBE, in his *Biblioth. Nova Manuscriptor.* tom. ii. p. 769. MABILLON has given an ample account of ADEMAR, a monk of *St. Cybar*, the first promoter of this ridiculous controversy, in his *Annal. Ord. S. Benedict.* tom. iv. p. 318. and among the original papers subjoined to that volume, has published a letter wrote by that monk in favour of the apostleship of MARTIAL. See also the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vii. p. 301.

C H A P.

## C H A P. IV.

*Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this century.*

I. **T**HE form of public worship, which was established at *Rome*, had not, as yet, been universally received in the western provinces. This was looked upon by the imperious pontiffs as an insult upon their authority, and therefore they used their utmost efforts to introduce the Roman ceremonies every where, and to promote a perfect uniformity of worship in every part of the Latin world. GREGORY VII. employed all his diligence, activity, and zeal in this enterprise, as appears from several passages in his letters, and he, perhaps, alone was equal to the execution of such an arduous attempt. The Spaniards had long distinguished themselves above all other nations, by the noble and resolute resistance they made to the despotic attempts of the popes upon this occasion; for they adhered to their ancient *Gothic* liturgy [*f*] with the utmost obstinacy, and could not be brought to change it for the method of worship established at *Rome*. ALEXANDER II. had indeed proceeded so far, in the year 1068, as to persuade the inhabitants of *Arragon* into his measures [*g*], and to conquer the aversion which the Catalonians had discovered for the Roman worship. But the honour of finishing this difficult work, and bringing it to perfection, was reserved for GREGORY VII. who, without interruption, exhorted, threatened, admonished, and intreated

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[*f*] See MABILLON, *De Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. i. cap. ii. p. 10.—JO. BONA, *Rerum Liturgicarum*, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 220. opp.—PETR. LE BRUN, *Explication des Ceremonies de la Masse*, tom. ii. Diss. v. p. 272.

[*g*] PETR. DE MARCA, *Histoire de Bearn*, liv. ii. cap. ix.

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SANCIUS and ALPHONSO, the kings of *Arragon* and *Castile*, until, fatigued with the importunity of this restless pontif, they consented to abolish the Gothic service in their churches, and to introduce the Roman in its place. SANCIUS was the first who complied with the request of the pontif, and, in the year 1080, his example was followed by ALPHONSO. The methods which the nobles of *Castile* employed to decide the matter were very extraordinary. First, they chose two champions, who were to determine the controversy by single combat, the one fighting for the Roman liturgy, the other for the Gothic. * This first trial ended in favour of the latter; for the Gothic hero proved victorious. The fiery trial was next made use of to terminate the dispute; the Roman and Gothic liturgies were committed to the flames, which, as the story goes, consumed the former, while the latter remained unblemished and entire. Thus were the Gothic rites crowned with a double victory, which, however, was not sufficient to maintain them against the authority of the pope, and the influence of the queen CONSTANTIA, who determined ALPHONSO in favour of the Roman service [b].

Divine
 worship
 performed
 in an un-
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 foreign
 tongue.

II. The zeal of the Roman pontifs for introducing the uniformity of worship into the western churches may be, in some measure, justified: but their not permitting every nation to celebrate divine worship in their mother tongue was absolutely inexcusable. While, indeed, the Latin language was in general use among the western nations, or, at least, was unknown to but a very small number, there was no reason why it should not be employed in the public service of the church. But when the decline of the Roman em-

[b] BONA, *Rerum Liturgicar.* lib. i. cap. xi. p. 216.—LE BRUN, *loc. citat.* p. 292.—JO. DE FERRERAS, *Hist. de l'Espagne*, tom. iii. p. 237, 241, 246.

pire drew on by degrees the extinction of its language in several places, and its decay in all the western provinces, it became just and reasonable that each people should serve the Deity in the language they understood, and which was peculiar to them. This reasoning, however evident and striking, had no sort of influence upon the Roman pontifs, who, neither in this nor in the following centuries, could be persuaded to change the established custom, but persisted, on the contrary, with the most senseless obstinacy, in retaining the use of the Latin language in the celebration of divine worship, even when it was no longer understood by the people [i]. This strange conduct has been variously accounted for by different writers, who have tortured their inventions to find out its secret reasons, and have imagined many that seem extremely improbable and far-fetched. A superstitious and extravagant veneration for whatever carried the hoary aspect of a remote antiquity, was undoubtedly the principal reason that rendered the pontifs unwilling to abolish the use of the Latin language in the celebration of divine worship. The same absurd principle produced a similar effect in the eastern churches; thus the Egyptian Christians perform their religious service in the language of the ancient Copts, the Jacobites and the Nestorians in the Syriac, and the Abyssinians in the old Ethiopic, though all these languages have been long since obsolete, and are thereby become absolutely unintelligible to the multitude [k].

III. It would be tedious to enumerate, in a circumstantial manner, the new inventions that

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Ceremonies multiplied.

[i] USSERIUS, *Historia Dogmatica de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis* ab HEN. WHARTONO edita et aucta, Londini 1690, in 4to.

[k] See EUSEB. RENAUDOT, *Dissertat. de Liturgiis Oriental. origine et antiquitate*, cap. vi. p. 40.

were

CENT. were imposed upon Christians, in this century,  
 XI.  
 PART II. under the specious titles of piety and zeal, by the  
 ~~~~~ superstitious despotism of an imperious clergy. It  
 would be also endless to mention the additions
 that were made to former inventions, the multi-
 plication, for example, of the rites and ceremo-
 nies that were used in the worship of saints, re-
 lics, and images, and the new directions that were
 administered to such as undertook pilgrimages,
 or other superstitious services of that nature. We
 shall only observe, that, during the whole of this
 century, all the European nations were most dili-
 gently employed in rebuilding, repairing, and
 adorning their churches [1]. Nor will this ap-
 pear surprising, when we consider, that, in the
 preceding century, all *Europe* was alarmed with a
 dismal apprehension that the *day of judgment* was
 at hand, and that the world was approaching to
 its final dissolution; for among the other effects
 of this panic terror, the churches and monasteries
 were suffered to fall into ruin, or at least to re-
 main without repair, from a notion that they
 would soon be involved in the general fate of all
 sublunary things. But when these apprehensions
 were removed, things immediately put on a new
 face; the tottering temples were rebuilt, and the
 greatest zeal, attended with the richest and most
 liberal donations, was employed in restoring the
 sacred edifices to their former lustre, or rather in
 giving them new degrees of magnificence and
 beauty.

[1] GLABER. RODOLPHUS, *Hist.* lib. iii. cap. iv. in Du-
 CHESNE's *Scriptor. Franc.* tom. iv. p. 217. *Infra millesimum*
tertio jam fere imminente anno contigit in universo pene terrarum
orbe, precipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innovari Ecclesiarum
basilicas.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.

I. **T**HE state of the ancient sects, and particularly of the Nestorians and Monophysites, who resided in *Asia* and *Egypt*, under the Mahometan government, was now much the same that it had been in the preceding century, neither extremely prosperous, nor absolutely miserable. The case of the Manichæans, or Paulicians, whom the Grecian emperors had banished from the eastern provinces into *Bulgaria* and *Thrace*, was much more unhappy, on account of the perpetual conflicts they had to sustain with the Greeks, who persecuted and oppressed them with much keenness and animosity. The Greeks, as usually happens upon like occasions, laid the blame of their violent measures upon the Manichæans, whom they represented as a turbulent, perfidious, and sanguinary faction, and as the declared and inveterate enemies of the Grecian empire [m]. This, however, is by no means to be received as an impartial state of the case; at least, it appears from many circumstances, that if the Manichæans were exasperated against the Greeks, their resentment was owing to the violent and injurious treatment they had received from them. The Grecian pontifs and clergy were far from being destitute of the odious spirit of persecution; and it is certain that the emperors, instigated and set on by them, had exhausted the patience of the Paulicians by repeated cruelties and vexations, and alienated their affections by inflicting upon

C E N T.
X I.
P A R T II.
Ancient
sects.
Manichæ-
ana.

Vol. II. P them,

[m] ANNA COMNENA *Alexiados*, lib. v. p. 105. lib. vi. p. 124. 126. 145.

C E N T. them, without interruption, a variety of punish-
 XI.
 P A R T II. ments, such as banishment, confiscation of goods,
 and other such marks of severity and violence.

ALEXIUS COMMENUS, who, by his learning, was an ornament to the imperial sceptre, perceiving that the Manichæans were not to be vanquished, without the greatest difficulty, by the force of arms, and observing also that their numbers increased from day to day both in *Thrace* and in the adjacent provinces, had recourse to the power of reason and argument to conquer their obstinacy, and spent whole days at *Philippopolis*, in disputing with the principal doctors of that pernicious sect. Many of them yielded to the victorious arguments of this royal disputant, and his learned associates; nor is this to be so much wondered at, since their demonstrations were accompanied and enforced by rewards and punishments. Such of the Manichæans as retracted their errors, and returned to the bosom of the Greek church, were loaded with gifts, honours, and privileges, according to their respective stations; while such as stood firm against the reasoning of the emperor, were inhumanly condemned to perpetual imprisonment [n].

An account
 of the Paulicians in
 Europe.

II. Many of the Paulicians, either from a principle of zeal for the propagation of their opinions, or from a desire of getting rid of their opinions, or from a desire of getting rid of the persecution and oppression they suffered under the Grecian yoke, retired from *Bulgaria* and *Thrace*, and formed settlements in other countries. Their first migration was into *Italy*; from whence, in process of time, they sent colonies into almost all the other provinces of *Europe*, and formed gradually a considerable number of religious assemblies,

[n] There is an ample and circumstantial account of this controversy between the emperor and the Manichæans in the work mentioned in the preceding note, *lib. xiv. p. 337.*

blies, who had adhered to their doctrine, and who were afterwards persecuted with the utmost vehemence by the Roman pontifs [o]. It is difficult to fix the precise period of time when the Paulicians began to take refuge in *Europe*; it is, however, undoubtedly certain from the most authentic testimonies, that a considerable number of that sect were, about the middle of this century, settled in *Lombardy*, *Insubria*, and principally at *Milan*; and that many of them led a wandering life in *France*, *Germany*, and other countries, where they captivated the esteem and admiration of the

C E N T.
X I.
P A R T. II.

P p 2

multitude;

[o] See LUD. ANT. MURATORI *Antiquitat. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 83. LIMBORCH *Historia Inquisitionis* p. 31.—THOM. AUG. RICHINII *Dissertatio de Catharis*, which is prefixed to the *Summa* B. MONETÆ contra Catharos, p. 17, 18. We might also refer, upon this occasion, to GLAB. RODULPH. *Histor. lib. iii. cap. viii.* to MATTH. PARIS, and other ancient writers. Certain Italian authors, and among others RICHINII, seem unwilling to acknowledge, that the Paulicians arrived first in *Italy*, and proceeded from thence into the other provinces of *Europe*; and maintain, on the contrary, that their first settlement was in *France*, and that from thence they came into *Italy*. These writers look upon it as ignominious to their country, to be considered as the first European nation which fostered such a pernicious and impious sect in its bosom. Be that as it may, their hypothesis is favoured by PETR. DE MARCA himself, a Frenchman, who, in his *Histoire de Bearn*, livr. viii. cap. xiv. p. 728. declares it as his opinion, that the Paulicians joined themselves to the Gallic armies that returned from the holy war in *Palestine*, by the province of *Bulgaria*, and were thus conducted into *France*. But that learned author alleges no proof to support this opinion; it appears on the contrary, from the records of the *Inquisition of Thoulouse*, published by LIMBORCH, and from other authentic pieces, that the Paulicians settled first in *Sicily*, *Lombardy*, *Liguria*, and the *Milanese*, and sent from thence their doctors and missionaries into *France*. See the *Codex Tolosanus*, p. 13, 14. 32. 68. 69. & *passim*. We learn, also from the *Code of Thoulouse*, that the French Paulicians, who were called *Albigenses*, had no bishop to consecrate their *Anciani* (such was the title they gave to their presbyters), so that such of them as were desirous of being placed in the order of presbyters, were obliged to repair to *Italy*, in order to their being regularly installed.

C E N T XI.
P A R T II. multitude, by their sanctimonious looks, and the uncommon air of piety, which they put on with much affectation. In *Italy* they were called *Paterini* and *Cathari*, or rather *Gazari*, which latter appellation the Germans have preserved, with a small alteration only, which was proper to adapt it to the genius of their language [p]. In *France* they were called *Albigenses*, from the town of *Alby*, in the Upper *Languedoc*, in Latin *Albigia* [q]. They were likewise called *Bulgarians*, in *France*, because they came from *Bulgaria*, and because the head of their sect resided in that country; as also *Publicans*, which was probably a corrupt pronunciation of *Paulicians*, and *boni homines* or *good men*, with several other titles and epithets [r].

III. The

[p] The title of *Paterini*, which was given to this sect in *Italy*, has been already explained in the second chapter of the second part of this century, sect. 13, note [r]. As to the term *Catharus*, it was, undoubtedly, when applied to the Paulicians, the same with *Gazarus*, as I have elsewhere demonstrated. See *Histor. Ord. Apostol.* p. 367. The country which bore, in this century, the name of *Gazaria*, was what we now call the *Lesser Tartary*.

[q] That the Paulicians were called *Albigenses* in *France*, and were a sect entirely distinct from the *Waldenses* and other heretics, appears evidently from the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, already mentioned. They received this name from a town in *Aquitain*, called *Albigia*, or *Alby*, where their errors were condemned in a council held in the year 1176. See CHATEL, *Memoires de la Histoire de Languedoc*, p. 305. It is, therefore, a mistake to consider the *Albigenses* as a sect so called from *Alby*'s being the place of their birth, their residence, or the seat of their principal assembly; since that name was given them for no other reason than their having been condemned in a council held in that town. There were, indeed, several Paulicians among the various dissenters from the church of *Rome*, that inhabited the country about *Alby*; and it is also true, that the title of *Albigenses* is usually extended to all the heretics, of whatever sect or denomination they were, who dwelt in these parts.

[r] The learned DU FRESNE, in his *Glossarium Latin mediævi*, tom. i. p. 1338, has proved, in an ample manner, that the Paulicians were called in *France*, *Bulgores*, and, by a corrupt

III. The first religious assembly which the Paulicians had formed in *Europe*, is said to have been discovered at *Orleans*, in the year 1017, under the reign of ROBERT. A certain Italian lady is said to have been at the head of this sect; its principal members were twelve canons of the cathedral of *Orleans*, men eminently distinguished by their piety and learning, among whom LISIUS and STEPHEN held the first rank; and it was composed, in general, of a considerable number of citizens, who were far from being of the meanest condition. The impious doctrines, professed by these canons, were discovered by a certain priest named HERIBERT, and by ARIFASTUS, a Norman nobleman, upon which ROBERT assembled a council at *Orleans*, and employed the most effectual methods that could be thought of to bring these heretics to a better mind. But all his endeavours were to no purpose; this pernicious sect adhered obstinately to their principles, and hence they were at length condemned to be burnt alive [s].

XI.
PART II.
The Manichæans of Orleans seem to have been Mystics.

It is difficult to come to a fixed determination with respect to the character and doctrine of these people; for when we examine matters attentively,

P p 3

we

rupt pronunciation of that word *Bougres*. The same author in his *Observations ad Villeharduini Historiam Constantinopolit.* p. 169. has fully demonstrated, that the names *Popolici* and *Publicani*, that were imposed upon these Manichæans, were no more than a corruption of the term *Pauliciani* ill pronounced. The appellation of *Boni Homines*, or *Los bos Homes*, as the southern French spoke at that time, was a title which the Paulicians attributed to themselves. See the *Codex Inquisit. Tolosanae*, p. 22. 84. 95, &c. and more especially p. 131.

[s] The accounts that the ancient writers have given of these heretics are collected by BOULAY, in his *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 364.—CHARL. PLESSIS D' ARGENTRE, *Collection judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 5.—JO. LAUNOY, *De Scholis celebrioribus Caroli Magni*, cap. xxiv. p. 90. The history of the synod of *Orleans*, in which this sect was condemned, is given by LUC. DACHERIUS, in his *Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor.* tom. i. p. 604.

C. E. N. T. we find that even their enemies acknowledged the
 XI.
 P. A. R. T. II. sincerity of their piety; that they were blackened
 by accusations which were evidently false; and
 that the opinions for which they were punished,
 differ widely from the Manichæan system [t].
 As far as we can see into the case, it appears to
 us, that these pretended Manichæans of *Orleans*
 were a set of *Mystics*, who looked with contempt
 upon all external worship, rejected all rites and
 ceremonies, and even the Christian sacraments, as
 destitute of any, even the least spiritual efficacy
 or virtue, placed the whole of religion in the in-
 ternal contemplation of God, and the elevation of
 the soul to divine and celestial things; and in
 their philosophical speculations concerning God,
 the Trinity, and the human soul, soared above
 the comprehension of the age in which they lived.
 A like set of men proceeded in vast numbers out
 of *Italy* in the following ages, spread like an inun-
 dation through all the European provinces, and
 were known in *Germany* under the name of the
Brethren of the free spirit, while they were dis-
 tinguished in other countries by the appellation
 of *Beghards* [u].

IV. We

[t] BASNAGE, in his *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, tom. i. period iv. p. 97. and in his *Hist. de l' Eglise*, tom. ii. p. 1388. pleads the cause of the canons of *Orleans*; but this learned and worthy man seems to have been carried too far by his zeal for augmenting the number of those who have been martyrs to the truth.

[u] We shall have occasion to give a fuller account of these fanatics in the history of the thirteenth century, in which they first were drawn from their obscurity, and condemned in many councils, especially in *Germany*. It is, however, certain, that they had a clandestine existence long before that period; and that they propagated their tenets secretly in several places. Their doctrine resembles, in some particulars, that of the Manichæans; and hence it was natural for the ignorant divines of the age in which they lived, to consider them as a branch of that pernicious sect.

IV. We find in history another branch of this C E N T. XI. P A R T II. numerous sect, whose errors were not accompa-
 nied with the crimes that were laid to the charge Another branch of that sect converted by Ger-
 of their brethren, and who were converted by a
 pathetic discourse that was addressed to them by
 GERHARD, bishop of *Cambray* and *Arras*, in an
 assembly of the clergy that was held in the last
 of these two cities, A. D. 1030. These honest
Mystics, who were equally remarkable for their
 docility and their ignorance, had received the
 doctrine they professed from the Italians, and par-
 ticularly from a certain chimerical doctor, whose
 name was GUNDULF. They maintained in ge-
 neral, according to their own confession, that the
 whole of religion consisted in the study of prac-
 tical piety, and in a course of action conforma-
 ble to the divine laws, and treated all external
 modes of worship with the utmost contempt.
 Their particular tenets may be reduced to the
 following heads: 1. They rejected baptism, and in
 a more especial manner, the baptism of infants, as
 a ceremony that was in no respect essential to sal-
 vation. 2. They rejected, for the same reason,
 the sacrament of the Lord's supper. 3. They de-
 nied, that the churches were endowed with a
 greater degree of sanctity than private houses, or
 that they were more adapted to the worship of
 God than any other place. 4. They affirmed,
 that the altars were to be considered in no other
 light than as heaps of stones, and were there-
 fore unworthy of any marks of veneration or re-
 gard. 5. They disapproved of the use of incense
 and consecrated oil in services of a religious na-
 ture. 6. They looked upon the use of bells in
 the churches, as an intolerable superstition.
 7. They denied, that the establishment of bishops,
 presbyters, deacons, and other ecclesiastical dig-
 nities, was of divine institution, and went so far
 as

C E N T. as to maintain that the appointment of stated ministers in the church was entirely needless.

XI.
PART II.

8. They affirmed, that the institution of funeral rites was an effect of sacerdotal avarice, and that it was a matter of indifference whether the dead were buried in the churches, or in the fields. 9. They looked upon those voluntary punishments, called *penance*, which were so generally practised in this century, as unprofitable and absurd. 10. They denied that the sins of departed spirits could be, in any measure, atoned for by the celebration of *masses*, the distribution of alms to the poor, or a *vicarious penance* [w]; and they treated, of consequence, the doctrine of purgatory as a ridiculous fable. 11. They considered marriage as a pernicious institution, and absurdly condemned, without distinction, all connubial bonds [x]. 12. They looked upon a certain sort of veneration and worship as due to the *apostles* and *martyrs*, from which, however, they excluded such as were only *confessors*, in which class they comprehended the *saints*, who had not suffered death for the cause of CHRIST, and whose bodies, in their esteem, had nothing more sacred than any other human carcase. 13. They declared the use of instrumental music in the churches, and other religious assemblies, superstitious and unlawful. 14. They denied, that the cross on which CHRIST suffered was in any respect more sacred than other kinds of wood, and, of consequence,

[w] By a *vicarious penance* is understood the course of mortification and voluntary suffering, that one person undergoes in order to procure absolution for another.

[x] This eleventh article is scarcely credible, at least as it is here expressed. It is more reasonable to suppose, that these Mystics did not absolutely condemn marriage, but only held celibacy in higher esteem, as a mark of superior sanctity and virtue.

quence, refused to pay to it the smallest degree C E N T.
of religious worship. 15. They not only refused ^{XI.}
all acts of adoration to the images of CHRIST, and ^{P A R T II.}
of the saints, but were also for having them re-
moved out of the churches. 16. They were shock-
ed at the subordination and distinctions that were
established among the clergy, and at the different
degrees of authority that were conferred upon the
different members of that sacred body [y].

When we consider the corrupt state of religion
in this century, and particularly, the superstiti-
ous notions that were generally adopted in rela-
tion to outward ceremonies, the efficacy of penance
and the sanctity of churches, relics, and images,
it will not appear surprising, that many persons
of good sense and solid piety, running from one
extreme to another, fell into the opinions of these
Mystics, in which, among several absurdities,
there were many things plausible and specious,
and some highly rational.

V. A controversy, of a much more subtile and
difficult nature, arose in *France*, about the year ^{The contro-}
1089; and had for its principal author ROSCEL- ^{versy set on}
LINUS, a canon of *Compeigne*, a profound dialecti- ^{foot by}
cian, and the most eminent doctor of the sect ^{Roscellinus.}
called *Nominalists*, which we have already had oc-
casion to mention in the course of this history.
This subtile doctor held it inconceivable and im-
possible, that the Son of God should take on the
human nature alone, *i. e.* without the Father and
the Holy Ghost becoming incarnate also, unless
by the three persons in the godhead were meant
three distinct *objects*, or natures existing separately
(such as three angels, or three distinct spirits),
though

[y] See an account of the synod of *Arras* in DACHERIUS,
Spicilegium Scriptor. Veter. tom. i. p. 607—624. CAR. PLES-
SIS D'ARGENTRE, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom.
i. p. 7.

C E N T. though endowed with one will, and acting by one
 XI.
 PART II. power. When it was insinuated to ROSCELLINUS,
 that this manner of reasoning led directly to *Tri-*
theism, or the doctrine of three gods, he answered
 boldly, that the existence of three gods might be
 asserted with truth [x], were not the expression
 harsh

[x] Such is the account given by JOHN, the accuser of this metaphysical ecclesiastic, in a letter to ANSELM, arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, published by BALUZIUS, in his *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 478. The same account is confirmed by ANSELM, himself, in the book *De fide Trinitatis*, which he wrote against ROSCELLINUS, see *Oper.* tom. i. p. 41. 43. and lib. ii. *Epistolar.* ep. xxxv. p. 335. tom. ii. opp. And also by FULCO, bishop of *Beauvais*, as may be seen in the second book of the *Epistles of ANSELM*, ep. xli. lib. ii. tom. ii. opp. p. 357. It must, however, be considered, that the learned men now mentioned were the inveterate enemies of ROSCELLINUS, and that they perhaps comprehended his meaning imperfectly, or perverted it willingly. Several circumstances prove, that some of his adversaries were in one or the other of these two cases, ANSELM himself furnishes sufficient grounds for this suspicion, since, notwithstanding his aversion to the *Nominalists*, of whom ROSCELLINUS was the chief, he grants, in his book *De Fide Trinitatis*, cap. iii. p. 44. that the opinion of his antagonist may be admitted, or at least tolerated, in a certain sense; and even frequently intimates, that he is not perfectly assured of his understanding fully the meaning of ROSCELLINUS, and that he believes the sentiments of that ecclesiastic less pernicious than his accusers have represented them. “Sed forsitan (says ANSELM) ipse (ROSCELLINUS) non dicit, sicut sunt tres anima aut tres *Angeli*: sed ille qui mihi ejus mandavit quæstionem, hanc ex suo posuit similitudinem: sed solum modo tres personas affirmat esse tres RES, sine additamento alicujus similitudinis.” The same ANSELM (*Epistolar.* lib. ii. ep. xli. p. 357.) declares, that the account which he had received of the opinions of ROSCELLINUS appears to him extremely dubious, “Quod tamen (says he) absque dubitate credere non possum.” From all this it is evident, that ANSELM was far from having an entire confidence in the equity and impartiality of the accusers of ROSCELLINUS, or from looking upon that ecclesiastic as so black, as his enemies had endeavoured to make him.

As to the merits of the cause, it appears manifest to me, that this subtile dispute was a consequence of the warm controversy that subsisted, in this century, between the *Realists* and the *Nominalists*.

harsh and contrary to the phraseology generally received. He was, however, obliged to retract this error in a council assembled at *Soissons*, in the year 1092; but he resumed it when the council was dismissed, and the danger over. Persecuted anew on account of his doctrine, he took refuge in *England*, and excited there divisions and contests of another kind, by maintaining, among other things, that persons born out of lawful wedlock ought to be deemed incapable of admission to holy orders. This doctrine, which was by no means suited to the times, procured ROSCELLINUS many enemies, and was in a great measure the occasion of his involuntary removal from *England*. Banished thence, he returned to *France*, and taking up his residence at *Paris*, he fomented again the old dispute concerning the Trinity. This, however, succeeded not according to his hopes, but exposed him to much trouble and vexation from the redoubled attacks of his adversaries, who pressed hard on him from all quarters. Fatigued with their persecutions, he retired at last to *Acquitain*, where he acquired universal esteem by

Nominalists. The former attacked the latter by the dangerous conclusions that seemed deducible from their principles, and reasoned thus: "If, as your doctrine supposes, *universal substances* are no more than mere *sounds* or *denominations*, and the whole science of logic is only conversant about words, it must of necessity follow, that the three persons in the God-head, are only three NAMES, and not three REALITIES, or THINGS. We deny the conclusion, replied ROSCELLINUS; the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, are not placed by us in the rank of *denominations*, but in the class of *realities*, or *things*." The subtile doctor here, as all must, more or less after him, by avoiding *Scylla*, fell into *Charibdis*, and was charged by his adversaries, with the introduction of tritheism, by holding an opinion, that supposed the existence of three divine substances. Were any of the writings of ROSCELLINUS now extant, they would help us, no doubt, to form a juster notion of this controversy than we can have at present.

C E N T. by his eminent piety, and passed the rest of his
 XI.
 P A R T II days in tranquillity and repose [a].

[a] BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 485. 489. MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 262.—*Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 358.—ANTON. PAGI *Critica in Baronium ad A.* 1094. tom. iv. p. 317.—JACQUES LONGUEVAL, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. viii. p. 59.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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